Missouri Persecutions

Rise and Fall of Nauvoo

Roberts

To my friend and
brother,

Joseph F. Smith.

The Author

Feb. 14th 1901.
333 West 1st North St.
Salt Lake City.

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LYMAN WIGHT'S HOUSE AT DIAHMAN.

—THE—

MISSOURI PERSECUTIONS.

BY ELDER B. H. ROBERTS,

Author of "Outlines of Ecclesiastical History," "A New Witness for God," "The Rise and Fall of Nauvoo," "The Gospel," "Succession in the Presidency," etc.

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PREFACE.

MY chief purpose in publishing this book, and the one which will immediately follow—"The Rise and Fall of Nauvoo"—is to place in the hands of the youth of the Latter-day Saints a full statement of the persecutions endured by the early members of The Church in this last dispensation, in the States of Missouri and Illinois, that they may be made acquainted with the sacrifices which their fathers have made for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ. And I indulge the hope that by becoming acquainted with the story of the suffering of the early saints, the faith of the Gospel will become all the more dear to the hearts of their immediate posterity and all the youth of Zion for many generations to come.

I think without depreciating at all any other narrative of these events in our Church literature, I may claim that the story of the Missouri Persecutions in these pages is told more thoroughly than in any other of our present publications. This arises from the fact that this book deals with but a brief period in the history of The Church—from 1830 to 1838—and therefore admits of such a consideration of details as could not possibly be given to that period in any general history of The Church. This detailed treatment of the subject, in the opinion of the author, is justified because of the very important events which the treatise covers, and also for the reason that it is a period of our history which has been very much misrepresented, upon which misrepresentations false accusations are made against The Church and its leaders to this day. Those who have thought themselves called upon to oppose, if not to persecute, The Church in later years, frequently attempt to justify their present

opposition by insinuating that The Church was driven from Missouri and Illinois for other reasons than adherence to an unpopular religion. The impression is sought to be created that it was for some overt acts against the State or National government, or for some offense against the spirit of American institutions, or because The Church leaders "were determined to be a law unto themselves," in disregard of the rights of others.

It is, in part, to correct these false statements, and guard our youth against the influence of such calumnious insinuations, that I tell this story of the Missouri Persecutions; not that the history in these pages is written for the purpose of glozing over the defects in the character of the early members of The Church, or to claim for them absolute freedom from errors in judgment, or actual sinfulness in conduct. I have not written what may be called "argumentative history," only so far as a statement of the truth may be considered an argument. After these pages are read I feel sure that no one will be able to accuse me of failing to point out the errors of the early members of The Church; indeed, I have been careful to call attention to the complaints which the Lord made against their conduct; the reproofs of his inspired servants; and the repeated warnings sent to them by the Prophet Joseph Smith concerning the results of their conduct if there was not a speedy repentance.

In Appendices will be found accounts of these same persecutions as told by writers of Missouri history. I quote these extracts from the "*History of Jackson County*," published by the Union Historical Company of Kansas City, Missouri, 1881; the "*History of Clay County*," published by the National Historical Company, 1885; the "*History of Daviess County*," by D. L. Kort; the "*History of Caldwell County*," by Crosby Johnson; and the "*History of Missouri*," published by the Union Historical Company. While these alleged histories of the "Mormon War," "Mormons in Jackson County," "Mormon Exodus," etc., etc.,

are contemptible for their distortion of facts and misrepresentations, the reader by having them at hand will at least have both sides of the story presented to him, and will be able by the means of comparison thus afforded, to judge where the truth of the matter lies; and it will contribute to the making of this book a valuable work of reference to the student of Church history.

One other thing I ought to say in justice to myself, both in reference to this book and "The Rise and Fall of Nauvoo." Very much of the matter contained in the two volumes, indeed most of it, was published in a series of twenty-four articles some fifteen years ago, in *The Contributor*, under the respective titles now used. Since that time very extensive quotations have been made from those articles, sometimes with, but often without, acknowledgement of the authorship; and to such extent has this been the case, that I feel it necessary to make mention of it, that I myself may not be charged with using the matter prepared by others, when in reality I am but using my own. Having called attention to this subject, I feel that it will not be out of place to say something further upon it. The fault, not to say literary crime, of plagiarism is by far too common. Some men who would never think of stealing a man's property, or even of using it without his permission, sometimes do not hesitate in public speech or in written articles or books to take all sorts of liberties with another's writings, quoting without acknowledgement not only sentences and paragraphs, but whole pages, and often page after page. And thus they bedeck themselves, not with "old, odd ends stolen out of Holy Writ," but in borrowed phrases and sentences—the fruits of another's research and thought and genius, if the writer from whom they steal possesses any. It is true that plagiarism is not a crime under the law. A man, if he so elects, may steal both the ideas and the literary construction of another, without fear of fine or imprisonment, but no writer or speaker worthy of respect would

be found pilfering the thoughts or expressions of another, any more than a self-respecting, honest man would be found with stolen goods upon his back. Gradually there is being built up in The Church a very considerable and stately literature, historical, doctrinal and poetical; and for one I hope to see it, first of all, of a character that will be in harmony with the great Dispensation of the Gospel which it celebrates, that is, that it be honest.

THE AUTHOR.

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THE

MISSOURI PERSECUTIONS.

CHAPTER I.

THE FACTS IN WHICH THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS HAD ITS ORIGIN.

THE story of the persecutions endured by the Latter-day Saints in Missouri, one of the sovereign States of the United States of America, properly begins with the advent of a mission to the Lamanites,* at Independence, Missouri, in the winter of 1830. But in order that those not acquainted with the history of The Church may understand how there came to be a mission to the Lamanites in 1830, and how there came to be a Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to be persecuted, I think it proper to state briefly those facts in which The Church had its origin.

I know the story has often been told—so often indeed that all novelty in relation to it has long since passed away. But in history there are certain foundation facts that are as essential to the right understanding of some particular phase of history as the employment of the first principles of the science of mathe-

*American Indians.

matics is to the solution of some particular problem in algebra; and the historical writer is as much bound to state those foundation facts as the mathematician is to use the first principles of his science in the solution of his problem.

In the present instance, however, though I deem it necessary to tell again such a well known story as the rise of The Church, I shall attempt no embellishment of it; nor shall I deal with the religious condition of the world at the time of the origin of The Church with any view to establish the probability of the story; nor stop to call attention to the reasonableness and strength of it; nor the evidences of its truth, or necessity, although the temptation to do this is always strong whenever the facts of that story are passed before me in review. I shall content myself on this occasion with a mere statement of the facts, such as an annalist might make, without any further consideration of them whatsoever; and this because such a statement will serve my present purpose.

Joseph Smith, the man who, under the direction of God, was the founder of The Church, was born at the little village of Sharon, Windsor County, in the State of Vermont, on the 23rd of December, in the year of our Lord 1805.

When he was ten years of age the Smith family moved from Vermont to the State of New York, settling in Palmyra, Wayne County. Four years later the family moved a few miles south to the town of Manchester, Ontario County.

Here, in the spring of 1820, a great religious revival agitated the community, and Joseph Smith was much affected by it.

In the course of this religious excitement he was much perplexed over the discussion and strifes of the different Christian sects, and often wondered how it was that the Church of Christ could be so divided into contending factions. "I found," he said some years later when writing his recollections of those early days of his religious experience—"I found that there was a great clash in religious sentiment; if I went to one society they

referred me to one plan, and another to another—each one pointing to his own particular creed as the *summum bonum* of perfection. Considering that all could not be right, and that God could not be the author of so much confusion, I determined to investigate the subject more fully, believing that if God had a Church it would not be split up into factions, and that if he taught one society to worship one way and administer in one set of ordinances, he would not teach another principles which were diametrically opposed."*

In the midst of these perplexities Joseph's attention was called to the first chapter of the epistle of James, where it is written: "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and unbraideth not; and it shall be given him."

This instruction the youth determined to follow, and accordingly repaired to a secret place in the woods near his father's house, where he called upon God for wisdom.

While so engaged he was seized upon by some power of darkness which threw him violently to the ground, and it seemed for a time that he was doomed to sudden destruction. It was no imaginary power, but some actual being from the unseen world who thus seized him. His tongue for a time was bound that he could not speak; darkness gathered about him; but, exerting all his powers, he called upon God to deliver him out of the hands of his enemy, and at the very moment he was ready to give up in despair and abandon himself to destruction, he beheld a pillar of light immediately over his head descending towards him. Its brightness was above that of the sun at noonday, and no sooner did it envelop him than he was freed from the enemy who had held him in his power.

When the light rested upon him he beheld within it two

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* From a letter to Mr. John Wentworth, written in 1842. Mr. Wentworth at the time was the editor of the *Chicago Democart*.

personages standing above him in the air, whose brightness and glory defied all description. They exactly resembled each other in form and features. One of them, pointing to the other, said:

"JOSEPH, THIS IS MY BELOVED SON, HEAR HIM."

As soon as the youth gained his self-possession, he asked the personage to whom he was thus introduced, which of all the religious sects was right, that he might join it.

He was answered that none of the sects were right; that their creeds were an abomination to God; that their professors were corrupt; that they drew near to God with their lips but their hearts were far removed from him; that they taught for doctrine the commandments of men; that they had a form of godliness but denied the power thereof; and he was strictly commanded to join none of them: but was informed that at some future time the fullness of the Gospel would be made known to him.*

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* Letter to Mr. John Wentworth, 1842.

I cannot refrain at this point from calling attention, at least in a foot note, to the importance of this great vision which lies at the very foundation of what the world calls "Mormonism."

At a glance it gives the reason for the existence of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; and also the reason for the proclamation of the new dispensation of the Gospel it presents to the world.

It makes known the awful fact that the Gospel was not on the earth at that time; that none of the churches were acknowledged of God as his; that divine authority to preach and administer the ordinances of salvation was not among men. Therefore if men were to have the Gospel of Jesus Christ it must be restored from heaven; the Church of Christ must be again established; divine authority must be renewed.

Moreover, this splendid vision dispelled the vagaries that men had conjured up in respect to the person of Deity. Instead of being a personage without body, parts or passions, it revealed the fact that he had both body and parts, that he was in the form of man, or, rather, that man had been made in his image.

The vision clearly proves that the Father and Son are distinct

This heavenly visitation Joseph Smith related to many of his acquaintances, including some sectarian ministers, who generally disbelieved his story and ridiculed him for telling it; all said inspired dreams and revelations from God were no more to be expected.

After an interval of three years Joseph Smith again received a heavenly visitant. On the 21st of September, 1823, after having retired to his chamber, he betook himself to prayer, seeking to know his standing before the Lord. While so engaged his room began to be filled with beautiful light, in the midst of which he beheld a personage who announced himself to be Moroni, one of the ancient prophets of the western hemisphere, now raised from the dead, and made an angel of God. He said he was sent from the Divine Presence to reveal the existence of an ancient record engraven upon plates of gold, giving an account of the origin of the American Indians; of God's hand-dealings with their forefathers; of the rise and fall of their civilization; of the

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persons, and not one person as the Christian world believes. The oneness of the Godhead, so frequently spoken of in scripture, must therefore relate to oneness of sentiment and agreement in purpose—to likeness.

The great revelation swept away the rubbish of human dogma, tradition and speculation that had accumulated in all the ages since Messiah's personal ministry on earth, by announcing that God did not acknowledge any of the sects of Christendom as his Church, nor their creeds as his gospel. Indeed, the Lord himself declared that they taught for doctrine the commandments of men. Thus the ground was cleared for the planting of the truth.

The vision showed how mistaken the Christian world was in claiming that all revelation had ceased—that God would no more reveal himself to man.

The vision created a witness for God on the earth: a man lived who could say to some purpose that God lived and that Jesus was the Christ, for he had seen and talked with them. Thus was laid anew the foundation for faith in God.—*Roberts.*

ministry of the Lord Jesus Christ among them after his resurrection from the dead; and of the establishment of the Christian religion and the Church of God in their midst.

Joseph Smith was also informed that this record was concealed in a hill not far distant; and that with it would be found a Urim and Thummim,* consisting of two stones fastened in silver bows attached to a breast-plate, by means of which the record could be translated through the power of God. The Prophet then beheld in a vision the hill where the plates were hidden.

When this vision was passed the angel quoted a number of ancient prophecies relating to the gathering of Israel in the last days, and the judgments of God upon the wicked, all of which he declared would soon be fulfilled.† The angel visited him three times during that same night, repeating to him each time the message he first announced.

The next day Moroni again appeared to him when he was crossing a field, and announced to him once more the message of the night before, and instructed the youth to make a confidant of his father, Joseph Smith, Sen., and make known to him the visitations he had received and the things revealed, which the youth promptly and gladly did, and from that hour received consolation and encouragement from his father.

The same day, namely, 22nd of September, 1823, Joseph Smith went to the place where the record was deposited—called by Moroni, Cumorah—and there in a rude stone box, the crown-

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* Those who would be informed concerning the Urim and Thummim and its use among the ancients, should consult the following scriptures: Ex. 28: 30; Lev. 8: 8; Deut. 33: 8; Ezra 2: 63; Neh. 7: 65; Num. 17: 21; I Sam. 28: 6.

† The passages quoted are as follows: Malachi, part of chapter 3. (most likely the first part); Malachi, chapter 4; Isaiah 11; Acts 3: 22, 23; Joel 2: 28-32.

ing cover of which he could see above the surface of the hill-side, he found the record, together with the Urim and Thummim.

Moroni appeared to him again while he was viewing the sacred treasure, and forbade him taking the plates from their place of concealment, as the time had not yet come for him to take possession of them. He was required to meet the angel at that place in one year from that time, and from year to year, until the time should come for the record to be given to him for translation.

These annual visits at Cumorah continued until the 22nd of September, 1827, when the plates were committed to his keeping with instructions to translate them. He received a strict commandment to show them to no man, except such as God would appoint to see them, and bear witness of their existence and the truth of what they contained; nor was he to have any other object in view in obtaining and translating the record than the glory of God and the establishment of his Church in the earth.

With the assistance of a man of the name of Martin Harris, and another of the name of Oliver Cowdery, the latter acting as his scribe, Joseph translated the record in about two years and a half, and published it at Palmyra, New York, early in the spring of 1830.

The stone box in which the record had been preserved, and the record itself, is thus described by Joseph Smith:

Convenient to the village of Manchester, Ontario County, New York, stands a hill of considerable size, and the most elevated of any in the neighborhood. On the west side of this hill, not far from the top, under a stone of considerable size, lay the plates, deposited in a stone box. This stone was thick and rounding in the middle on the upper side, and thinner towards the edges, so that the middle part of it was visible above the ground, but the edge all round was covered with earth. Having removed the earth, and obtained a lever, which I got fixed under the edge of the stone, and with a little exertion

raised it up, I looked in, and there indeed did I behold the plates, the Urim and Thummim and the breast-plate, as stated by the messenger. The box in which they lay was formed by laying stones together in some kind of cement. In the bottom of the box were laid two stones crossways of the box, and on these stones lay the plates, and the other things with them.*

These records were engraven on plates which had the appearance of gold; each plate was six inches wide and eight inches long, and not quite so thick as common tin. They were filled with engravings, in Egyptian characters, and bound together in a volume as the leaves of a book, with three rings running through the whole. The volume was something near six inches in thickness, a part of which was sealed. The characters on the unsealed part were small, and beautifully engraved. The whole book exhibited many signs of antiquity in its construction and much skill in the art of engraving.†

The following is a summary of this interesting record as given by the Prophet in his letter to Mr. Wentworth:

In this important and interesting book the history of ancient America is unfolded, from its first settlement by a colony that came from the Tower of Babel, at the confusion of languages, to the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era. We are informed by these records that America in ancient times had been inhabited by two distinct races of people. The first was called Jaredites and came directly from the Tower of Babel. The second race came directly from the city of Jerusalem, about six hundred years before Christ. They were principally Israelites, of the descendants of Joseph. The Jaredites were destroyed about the time that the Israelites came from Jerusalem, who succeeded them in the inheritance of the country. The principal nation of the second race fell in battle towards the close of the fourth century (A. D.) The remnant are the Indians that now inhabit this country. This book also tells us that our Savior made his appearance upon this continent after his resurrection; that he planted the gospel here in all its fullness, and richness, and power,

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* Millennial Star, Supplement to Vol. 14, p. 6.

† Letter to Mr. Wentworth.

and blessing; that they had apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers and evanglists; the same order, the same priesthood, the same ordinances, gifts, powers and blessings, as were enjoyed on the eastern continent; that the people were cut off in consequence of their transgressions; that the last of their prophets who existed among them were commanded to write an abridgment of their prophecies, history, etc., and to hide it up in the earth, and that it should come forth and be united with the Bible for the accomplishment of the purposes of God in the last days.

The Book of Mormon was not brought forth without serious opposition. The commandment not to show the plates to anyone except those whom God should appoint to be witnesses of their existence and their truth, necessarily enjoined secrecy upon Joseph Smith, and involved more or less of mystery in his movements; and yet it became necessary for some to know of his having the records, or else how could he obtain the necessary assistance to translate them? These prohibitions upon the Prophet and the necessary secrecy they involved, gave rise to a perfect flood of misrepresentations and slanders; enemies pursued him at every turn; the vilest calumnies were circulated both with respect to himself and his family; they were charged with the grossest ignorance, superstition, idleness, and all things that go to the making of vicious and low characters; and yet it is evident from the testimony of those who personally knew them, that the Smiths, while poor, were nevertheless people of upright lives, kind neighbors, and good citizens. This is not said for the purpose of claiming for Joseph Smith exemption from many boyish follies, and the common weaknesses of humanity—the existence of these weaknesses, in fact, he himself freely admits and deplores; and as much has been made of his own admissions on that head, I think it proper that what he has said upon the subject should be given in full, and hence I republish here a letter of his to Oliver Cowdery which the Prophet wrote upon hearing that Cowdery, in 1834, was about to publish a series of letters

on the subject of "Early Scenes in the Church." Following is the letter:

Oliver Cowdery:

DEAR BROTHER: Having learned from the first number of the *Messenger and Advocate,* that you were not only about to "give a history of the rise and progress of the Church of the Latter-day Saints," but that said history would necessarily embrace my life and character, I have been induced to give you the time and place of my birth; as I have learned that many of the opposers of those principles which I have held forth to the world, profess a personal acquaintance with me, though when in my presence, represent me to be another person in age, education, and stature, from what I am.

I was born (according to the record of the same, kept by my parents) in the town of Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, on the 23rd of December, 1805.

At the age of ten my father's family removed to Palmyra, New York, where, and in the vicinity of which, I lived, or made it my place of residence, until I was twenty-one; the latter part in the town of Manchester.

During this time, as is common to most or all youths, I fell into many vices and follies; but as my accusers are and have been forward to accuse me of being guilty of gross and outrageous violations of the peace and good order of the community, I take the occasion to remark that, though as I have said above, "as is common to most, or all, youths, I fell into many vices and follies," I have not, neither can it be sustained, in truth, been guilty of wronging or injuring any man or society of men; and those imperfections to which I allude, and for which I have often had occasion to lament, were a light, and too often, vain mind, exhibiting a foolish and trifling conversation.

This being all, and the worst, that my accusers can substantiate against my moral character, I wish to add that it is not without a deep feeling of regret that I am thus called upon in answer to my own conscience, to fulfill a duty I owe to myself, as well as to the cause of truth, in making this public confession of my former uncircumspect walk, and trifling conversation and more particularly, as I often acted in violation of those holy precepts which I knew came from God. But

as the "Articles and Covenants" of this Church are plain upon this particular point, I do not deem it important to proceed further. I only add, that I do not, nor never have, pretended to be any other than a man "subject to passion," and liable, without the assisting grace of the Savior, to deviate from that perfect path in which all men are commanded to walk.

By giving the above a place in your valuable paper, you will confer a lasting favor upon myself, as an individual, and, as I humbly hope, subserve the cause of righteousness.

I am, with feelings of esteem, your fellow-laborer in the Gospel of our Lord. JOSEPH SMITH.

It is clear from this letter that Joseph Smith, while acknowledging his imperfections, does not accuse himself of any dark crimes of a nature to disqualify him for his subsequently exalted station or the great work to which he was called. He goes no further than to confess to lightness and vanity of mind, resulting in "a foolish and trifling conversation;" but even that, on account of his quick conscience and innocent life, occasioned him much remorse.

While the Book of Mormon was in process of translation, namely, in May, 1829, the question of baptism came up between Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery. They repaired to the woods to inquire of the Lord concerning it, when an angel from heaven appeared to them and announced himself to be John the Baptist, of the New Testament, now raised from the dead, and sent to them by the Apostles Peter, James and John, under whose direction he acted, to confer upon them the Aaronic Priesthood.* He placed his hands upon their heads and said:

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*Elsewhere the writer has said concerning this event: "When the work reached that stage of development that men could be taught repentance, and receive baptism for the remission of sins, who so qualified or who with more propriety could be sent to deliver the keys of the priesthood that is especially appointed to cry repentance and administer baptism, than *the* teacher of repentance and *the* Baptist?"—*New Witness for God, p. 221.*

Upon you, my fellow servants, in the name of Messiah, I confer the Priesthood of Aaron, which holds the keys of the ministration of angels and of the gospel of repentance, and of baptism for the remission of sins, and this shall never be taken from the earth until the sons of Levi do offer again an offering unto the Lord in righteousness.

They were then commanded to each baptize the other, which they did, and thus baptism for the remission of sins, under divine authority, was again commenced on earth. This ordination received under the hands of the angel gave them the right and power to preach the gospel, call men to repentance, and baptize them for a remission of their sins. This they began to do and in a short time quite a number had been baptized.

Soon after this first ordination, namely, some time in the month of June, 1829, Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery were again visited by angels. The ancient Apostles Peter, James and John came to them on the banks of the Susquehanna River, between Harmony, Susquehanna County, and Colesville, Broome County, and conferred upon them the holy Apostleship, the keys of the higher or Melchisedek Priesthood, which gave them power not only to preach the gospel and administer baptism, but to lay on hands for the Holy Ghost, together with right to all the offices in The Church. This Priesthood gave them power to organize The Church, set in order the affairs thereof in all the world, and preside over it as God's representatives.

The authority of God thus restored to earth, the way was prepared for the organization of The Church. Still the young men to whom had been entrusted these great powers waited further direction from the Lord, and did not proceed with so great an undertaking until he commanded them.

At length the commandment came, and the 6th day of April, 1830, was appointed as the day on which to effect the organization of The Church. A number of the people who had been baptized met with Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery, on the day appointed, at the house of Peter Whitmer, Sen., in Fayette, Sen-

eca County, New York, to effect that organization. The meeting was opened by solemn prayer, after which, according to previous instructions from the Lord, the Prophet Joseph called upon the brethren present to know if they would accept himself and Oliver Cowdery as their teachers in religion, and if they were willing that they should proceed to organize The Church according to the commandment of the Lord. To this the converts to the faith consented by unanimous vote. Joseph then ordained Oliver an Elder of the Church of Jesus Christ; after which Oliver ordained Joseph an Elder of said Church. The sacrament was administered, and those who had been previously baptized were confirmed members of The Church, and received the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands. Some enjoyed the gift of prophecy, and all rejoiced exceedingly.

While The Church was yet assembled a revelation was received from the Lord, directing that a record be kept, and that in it Joseph Smith be called a Seer, a Translator, a Prophet, and an Apostle of Jesus Christ, an Elder of The Church; and The Church was commanded to give heed to all his words and commandments which he should receive from the Lord, accepting his word as the word of God in all patience and faith. On condition of their doing this, the Lord promised them that the gates of hell should not prevail against The Church; but on the contrary he would disperse the powers of darkness before them, and shake the very heavens for their good.

In addition to the ordination of Joseph and Oliver to be Elders in The Church, as stated above, other brethren were called and ordained to different offices in the Priesthood as the Spirit directed. "And after a happy time," says the Prophet, "spent in witnessing and feeling for ourselves the power and blessings of the Holy Ghost, through the grace of God bestowed upon us, we dismissed with the pleasing knowledge that we were now individually, members of, and acknowledged of God, The Church of Jesus Christ, organized in accordance with commandments and

revelations given by him to ourselves in the last days, as well as according to the order of The Church as recorded in the New Testament."

On Sunday, the 11th of April, the public ministry of The Church may be said to have begun. Oliver Cowdery on that day preached the first public discourse of the new dispensation then opening. Of the nature of the discourse we know little or nothing. The meeting was held by previous appointment at the house of Mr. Peter Whitmer, in Fayette, and was largely attended by people of the neighborhood, and the preaching was certainly successful, as upon the same day, and doubtless as a result of the explanations, teachings, doctrines and spirit of the discourse, a number came forward for baptism, and a few days later a number more —thirteen in all. And so the work grew and prospered.

Fayette, in Seneca County, New York, and Colesville, Broome County, in the same State, were the centers of activity for The Church in those early days. In both places meetings were occasionally held, and baptisms were frequent, in the clear, beautiful waters of Seneca Lake. What historical associations will yet gather about these localities! Fayette! Seneca Lake! I venture to predict that these places will in the ages to come be as famous as Capernaum and Lake Gennesaret. The latter were the scenes of Christ's early ministry. The former the scenes of Joseph Smith's. The latter were identified with the Dispensation of the Meridian of Time. The former with the Dispensation of the Fullness of Times. Capernaum and Gennesaret are associated with memories of the Christ, with Simon Peter, with John, with Andrew and Nathaniel, and Mary of Magdala. Fayette and Seneca with Joseph Smith, with Oliver, with David Whitmer, with Joseph Knight and Newel, his son, with Emily Coburn and others. Gennesaret was but the widening of the Jordan; Seneca but one of the river valleys once occupied and modified by the glaciers which in ancient times filled that land.* The site of the an-

* Enc. Brit., Art. New York.

cient Capernaum is now unknown; so, too, the Fayette of our Church history is no more; but of the latter as of the former, and of Seneca as of Gennesaret it may be said: If every vestige of human habitation should disappear from beside it, and the jackal and the hyena should howl about the shattered fragments where Joseph once taught, yet the fact that he chose it as the scene of his ministry will give a sense of sacredness and pathos to its lovely waters till Time shall be no more.

On the first of June The Church held its first conference as an organized body. At that conference—held in Fayette—more brethren were ordained to the various offices of the Priesthood; a number who had been baptized were confirmed; the sacrament was administered, and many spiritual manifestations were enjoyed, such as beholding heavenly visions and prophesying.

Thus The Church was organized and well started upon its career, the history of which was to be so thrilling; the success of which was to be so great; and the final victory of which over every opposing power is assured by the promises of God.

CHAPTER II.

THE MISSION TO THE LAMANITES.

THE Book of Mormon, the coming forth of which has already been detailed, contains many promises to the Lamanites—that is, to the American Indians, whom it reveals to be the remnants of mighty nations that once inhabited the Americas, and also proclaims them to be descendants of the house of Israel. Their present fallen state arises from their departure from the ways of the Lord, and the instructions and doctrines of their ancient prophets; the very blackness of their skin is the result of God's curse upon them for their unrighteousness; yet are they promised that they shall know their origin—the favored race from which they are descended; it is promised that the gospel of Jesus Christ shall be declared among them, and they shall regard it as a blessing from the hand of the Lord; "and their scales of darkness shall begin to fall from their eyes, and many generations shall not pass away among them save they shall be a white and delightsome people."* It is promised that Zion, the New Jerusalem, shall be built upon the land of their fathers—the Americas—which, according to the Book of Mormon, is a land especially dedicated to the seed of Joseph, of Egyptian fame, the son of Jacob, "and they are the ten thousands of Ephraim, and they are the thousands of Manasseh;" and in this great work of building up the Zion of God, the Lamanites are assigned a special part, which will be a manifestation of God's favor towards them.†

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* II Nephi, chap. 30.

† Book of Mormon, Ether 13, and III Nephi 20.

Very naturally, of course, those who accepted the Book of Mormon as true, possessed a lively interest in this people, that is, in the Lamanites; and anxiously looked forward to the commencement of the fulfillment of the words of their ancient prophets concerning them; and hence at the close of a conference held in the last days of September, and which also extended into the early days of October, "a great desire," says the Prophet, "was manifested by several elders respecting the remnants of the house of Joseph—the Lamanites residing in the west—knowing that the purposes of the Lord were great to that people, and hoping that the time had come when the promises of the Almighty in regard to that people were about to be accomplished, and that they would receive the gospel and enjoy its blessings. The desire was so great that it was agreed upon that we should inquire of the Lord as to the propriety of sending some of the elders among them, which we accordingly did."*

The result of this inquiry was a revelation in which Oliver Cowdery, Peter Whitmer, Parley P. Pratt and Ziba Peterson were called to go on a mission to the Lamanites who then inhabited the western states and the Indian Territory. On their journey westward the Indian missionaries stopped at Kirtland, Ohio, where they converted a number of people to the gospel, and organized a branch of The Church.

It was here that Sidney Rigdon, a somewhat noted Campbellite preacher, resided and had a large following. These Campbellites, or Disciples of Christ, as they preferred to be called, were reformed Baptists: that is, in addition to believing that immersion is the only acceptable mode of baptism, they also taught that baptism, when preceded by true faith in God and sincere repentance, was "for the remission of sins;" and that forgiveness of sins really followed every proper baptism. It was on the occasion of this visit of the Indian missionaries to Kirt-

* Millennial Star, (Supplement), Vol. 14, p. 44.

land, that Sidney Rigdon first heard of Joseph Smith and Mormonism; and the first time he ever saw the Book of Mormon was when young Parley P. Pratt, himself formerly a Campbellite preacher, presented a copy of it to him to read. I think it important to make this statement here, because it has been asserted that Sidney Rigdon had much to do with producing the Book of Mormon; the theory of some being that it was he who stole from a printer in Pittsburg—a Mr. Patterson—a manuscript story written by a sort of harebrained, retired minister, of the name of Solomon Spaulding; and that, after making some changes in the text, he then connived with Joseph Smith to palm it off upon the world as a new revelation from God—a theory which, in addition to being absolutely untrue, always was inadequate as an explanation of the origin of the Book of Mormon, and is now quite generally abandoned, since the manuscript of Solomon Spaulding most unexpectedly came to light in 1884, verbatim copies of which have been widely published; the original now being in Oberlin College, in the State of Ohio. It needs only a perusal of the "Manuscript Found" to satisfy anyone that it never could in the remotest manner have suggested the Book of Mormon, or any part of it; while the fact that Sidney Rigdon knew nothing of the Book of Mormon until Parley P. Pratt presented it to him at Kirtland, Ohio, on the occasion above referred to, is a complete refutation of the idle stories that he was associated with Joseph Smith in writing the Book of Mormon.

Sidney S. Rigdon was born in St. Clair Township, Alleghany County, Pennsylvania, on the 19th of February, 1793, and was the youngest son of William and Nancy Rigdon. On his father's side his forefathers were English; on his mother's, Irish. In his youth and early manhood he followed the vocation of a farmer and tanner. At the age of twenty-five he became associated with a Baptist society, and possessing a natural gift of oratory he drifted into the ministry of that society. He seems

to have been much in doubt as to the Baptist church possessing the fullness of the truth, and he at last severed his connection with it and joined in the reform movement inaugurated by one Alexander Campbell, of Bethany, Virginia, founder of the church of the "Disciples," or "Christians." This new religious movement was very successful in what was called the Western Reserve, that region of country lying south of Lake Erie, and constituting the present State of Ohio. It derived its name, Western Reserve, from the fact that the State of Connecticut in ceding its claims upon western lands reserved to itself this magnificent tract for the purposes of a school fund. Among the settlers on this Western Reserve, I repeat, the doctrines of faith, repentance and baptism for the remission of sins, preached by Alexander Campbell, Sidney S. Rigdon, Parley P. Pratt and others, as the cardinal doctrines of Christianity, and the means provided in the gospel for man's salvation, had great success. Sidney Rigdon's labors in this new ministry led him to settle at Kirtland, where he had a large congregation, the members of which, in addition to accepting the primitive faith and ordinances referred to above, were also trying to carry out that order of things incidentally mentioned in the early Christian writings,* namely, none of them said that which he possessed was his own; but they had all things in common.

Such was the state of affairs in Kirtland, and with Sidney Rigdon, when Parley P. Pratt and his associates arrived there in the fall of 1830, and presented the Book of Mormon to him, and preached the gospel of the Dispensation of the Fullness of Times.

Here it may not be amiss to speak a word with reference to the character of Sidney Rigdon. His subsequent prominence in The Church, both the good and the injury he did it, warrant

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* Acts 4: 32-37.

my doing so, and will doubtless be a key to his conduct. That he possessed talents of an extraordinary nature goes without saying, especially in the line of public speaking. Few men in The Church, perhaps none, have possessed the gift of oratory to an equal degree; spontaneous, fervid, rapid, brilliant, captivating; abounding in flights of fancy, rich in coloring and original in its wealth of historical illustration, which his wide and various reading made possible. It can well be imagined how one so gifted would be useful in the work just beginning to come forth through the instrumentality of Joseph Smith—what a welcome the young Prophet would give to such a help-meet, and what influence he would have in The Church then struggling into existence. The Prophet could receive the word of the Lord through the Urim and Thummim, and by the visitation of angels; but at that time he was evidently lacking in ability to expound it or show that what he brought forth was in harmony with the predictions of ancient prophets, a part of a great whole, and admirably dovetailed into the general purposes and designs of God. Neither his powers of expression nor his historical information fitted him for this task. Whatever his abilities in the later years of his ministry, in the earlier days of it he was somewhat slow of speech. He was as Moses waiting for Aaron, and that Aaron, that spokesman, he found in Sidney Rigdon, and bade him welcome.

But talented as Sidney Rigdon was, moral, too, and spiritually minded and sincere as we believe him to have been in these early days of his career, he possessed traits of character which neutralized to a very great extent his great abilities. He was vain of his talents; vainglorious of his importance; too proud of what he regarded as his sacrifices for the truth. The very qualities which made him brilliant prevented him from being profound. The fervid imagination which enabled him to clothe with such splendid imagery his speech, made him a dangerous man when called to act with reference to stern and often disagree-

able and prosy realities. He was constitutionally unsound. Remarkably gifted in one or two directions, he was markedly deficient in others. He was wanting in soundness of judgment, steadiness of purpose, a high sense of honor. He was moody, petty, jealous, selfish; and in a word, lacked that mysterious quality so well expressed by the phrase, "weight of character." But with all his imperfections he was useful, and for many years was faithful and devoted to the Prophet and the work of God. He was an instrument in the hands of the Almighty through whom was accomplished much good. He endured much for the truth's sake—persecution, poverty, imprisonment, mob violence, almost death. For such men, whatever may be their defects of character, —especially when such defects are constitutional, the effect of temperament—we can have but the kindest sentiments; and only make mention of such defects as they may have possessed in order to bring to pass a proper understanding of events with which they were associated.

At Kirtland, Frederick G. Williams, who subsequently occupied an important station in The Church—counselor to the Prophet Joseph in the First Presidency—was also baptized. He volunteered to accompany the Indian missionaries on their journey westward.

The Indian missionaries arrived at Independence, Missouri, in midwinter. Independence was then a frontier town; one of the outposts of Anglo-American advancement westward. It was on the line that divided our frontier from the possessions of the red man west of the great Missouri River; and it can be very well understood that its civilization was not of the highest order. Here had drifted many outcasts from society, and there was, at the time of which we are writing, very little regard for God, religion, refinement, or for civilization. As the Indian missionaries were destitute and weary from the extended journey on foot through what, at that time, was at best but a sparsely-settled country, and very much of it wilderness—it was

arranged that two of the company who had been tailors should obtain work at their trade in Independence, while the three others should cross the frontier line and enter the reservation occupied by the Shawnees and the Delaware Indians.

The chief of the Delawares, who is described by Elder Parley P. Pratt as a "venerable looking man," and the "sachem of ten nations or tribes," called together some forty chief men of his people, and to these Oliver Cowdery delivered, in substance, the following message:

Aged Chief and Venerable Council of the Delaware nation: We are glad of this opportunity to address you as our red brethren and friends. We have traveled a long distance from towards the rising sun to bring you glad news; we have traveled the wilderness, crossed the deep and wide rivers, and waded in the deep snows, and in the face of the storms of winter, to communicate to you great knowledge which has lately come to our ears and hearts; and which will do the red man good as well as the pale face.

Once the red men were many; they occupied the country from sea to sea—from the rising sun to the setting sun; the whole land was theirs; the Great Spirit gave it to them, and no pale faces dwelt among them. But now they are few in numbers; their possessions are small, and the pale faces are many.

Thousands of moons ago, when the red man's forefathers dwelt in peace and possessed this whole land, the Great Spirit talked with them and revealed his law and his will, and much knowledge to their wise men and prophets. This they wrote in a book; together with their history, and the things which should befall their children in the latter days.

This book was written on plates of gold, and handed down from father to son for many ages and generations.

It was then that the people prospered, and were strong and mighty; they cultivated the earth; built buildings and cities, and abounded in all good things, as the pale faces now do.

But they became wicked: they killed one another and shed much blood; they killed their prophets and wise men, and sought to destroy the book. The Great Spirit became angry, and would speak to

them no more; they had no good and wise dreams; no more visions; no more angels sent among them by the Great Spirit; and the Lord commanded Mormon and Moroni, their last wise men and prophets, to hide the book in the earth that it might be preserved in safety, and be found and made known in the latter day to the pale faces who should possess the land; that they might again make it known to the red men; in order to restore them to the knowledge of the will of the Great Spirit and to his favor. And if the red men would then receive this book and learn the things written in it, and do according thereunto, they should be restored to all their rights and privileges; should cease to fight and kill one another; should become one people: cultivate the earth in peace, in common with the pale faces, who are willing to believe and obey the same book, and be good men and live in peace. Then should the red men become great, and have plenty to eat and good clothes to wear, and should be in favor with the Great Spirit and be his children, while he would be their Great Father, and talk with them, and raise up prophets and wise and good men amongst them again, who should teach them many things.

This book, which contained these things, was hid in the earth by Moroni, in a hill called by him Cumorah, which hill is now in the State of New York, near the village of Palmyra, in Ontario County.

In that neighborhood there lived a young man named Joseph Smith, who prayed to the Great Spirit much, in order that he might know the truth; and the Great Spirit sent an angel to him, and told him where this book was hidden by Moroni; and commanded him to get it. He accordingly went to the place, and dug in the earth, and found the book written on gold plates.

But it was written in the language of the forefathers of the red men; therefore this young man, being a pale face, could not understand it; but the angel told him and showed him, and gave him knowledge of the language and how to interpret the book. So he interpreted it into the language of the pale faces, and wrote it on paper, and caused it to be printed, and published thousands of copies of it among them; and then sent us to the red men to bring some copies of it to them, and to tell them this news. So we have now come from him, and here is a copy of the book, which we now present to our red

friend, the chief of the Delawares, and which we hope he will cause to be read and known among his tribe; it will do them good.

To these remarks the Indian chief made the following reply:

We feel truly thankful to our white friends who have come so far, and been at such pains to tell us good news, and especially this news concerning the book of our forefathers; it makes us glad in here, [placing his hand on his heart]. It is now winter, we are new settlers in this place; the snow is deep, our cattle and horses are dying, our wigwams are poor; we have much to do in the spring—to build houses, and fence and make farms; but we will build a council house, and meet together, and you shall read to us and teach us more concerning the book of our fathers and the will of the Great Spirit.*

The interest awakened among the Indians by the brethren aroused the jealousy of sectarian missionaries who were also at work among this tribe. They falsely charged the Elders with disturbing the peace, and through their influence with the Indian agents, secured the banishment of the Mormon mission from the reservation.

The Indian missionaries, after their banishment, met with their brethren at Independence, on the 14th of February, 1831, for consultation as to their future movements. It was finally agreed by the meeting that Parley P. Pratt should return to Ohio, and report their labors to the Prophet. Elder Pratt immediately set out upon this long journey, and after enduring much fatigue and sickness, he arrived early in the spring at Kirtland, where he found the Prophet Joseph Smith, to whom he reported the labors of himself and companions.

How Joseph Smith came to be in Ohio at this particular time is of some interest. After joining The Church at Kirtland under the ministrations of Oliver Cowdery, Parley P. Pratt and others, Sidney Rigdon, in company with Edward Partridge (who

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*Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt, ch. 8.

had not yet received baptism), determined upon a personal visit to the Prophet in New York. They arrived at Fayette, New York, early in the month of December, and soon thereafter the Prophet received revelations which must have been a source of great comfort to these brethren. Sidney Rigdon was declared to have been inspired of God and sent forth to prepare the way before the coming of the Lord and of Elijah, though he knew it not. He had baptized by water unto repentance, but those who received his ministrations did not receive the Holy Ghost; now he was called to a greater work, and was promised that the baptism of the Holy Ghost, under his hands, should follow the baptism of the water, even as was the case with the apostles of old. He was commanded to tarry with Joseph Smith and assist him in writing and in counseling with him in relation to the great work that the Lord was bringing forth.

Edward Partridge, who is described by the Prophet as a pattern of piety, one of the Lord's great men, and, like Nathaniel of old, a man in whom there was no guile, after some investigation of the truth, was baptized by the Prophet in Seneca Lake, and was also called by revelation to the ministry.

The addition of these brethren to The Church greatly strengthened the ministry; they preached almost daily, and were frequently engaged in receiving the word of the Lord by revelation and through the revision of the scriptures; for it had been made known that in consequence of imperfections in translation in some instances, and the omission of many plain and precious parts in other instances, the scriptures—the Old and New Testaments—were imperfect, and hence the necessity for the revision. Finally the brethren received a commandment that after they had strengthened The Church in these parts, they should go to Ohio. The Church in New York was also commanded to gather to Ohio, which commandment, by the way, is the first one given to The Church to gather together in this dispensation. Obedient to this commandment, Joseph Smith,

in company with Elders Rigdon and Partridge, and with his family, about the latter part of January removed to Kirtland, where he received a hearty welcome, and was there when Parley P. Pratt arrived from the west with his report of the labors of the Indian missionaries, as already stated.

What effect this Indian mission report had upon the mind of the Prophet he has left no word to indicate; but that a deep impression was made upon him, and that he attached much importance to that mission, can scarcely be doubted, because of the mighty consequences which subsequently grew out of it.

Since the departure of the Indian missionaries for the west a very great amount of knowledge had been revealed concerning the work of the Lord in the last days. Soon after the arrival of Sidney Rigdon at Fayette, in New York, as already related, work upon the translation of scripture was begun, and among the ancient scriptures that were revealed in the course of this work, was "The Prophecy of Enoch," which is alluded to in the writings of Jude,* in the New Testament. According to this "Prophecy of Enoch" the Lord revealed to that patriarch very much that would take place in the last days, among which is the following:

> And righteousness and truth will I cause to sweep the earth as with a flood, to gather out mine own elect from the four quarters of the earth, unto a place which I shall prepare, a holy city, that my people may gird up their loins, and be looking forth for the time of my coming; for there shall be my tabernacle, and it shall be called Zion, a New Jerusalem. And the Lord said unto Enoch, then shall you and all your city meet them there, and we will receive them unto our bosom, and they shall see us, and we shall fall upon their necks, and they shall fall upon our necks, and we will kiss each other, and there shall be my abode, and it shall be Zion, which shall come forth out of all the creations which I have made; and for the space of a thousand years shall the earth rest.†

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*Jude 14, 15 and 16.

† Prophecy of Enoch, Pearl of Great Price.

This is the city also spoken of in the Book of Mormon, to which reference before has been made.*

Again, before the Prophet and his companions departed from Fayette, in the month of January, speaking of the provisions that he would make for the poor, the Lord said:

I have made the earth rich; and behold it is my footstool, wherefore, again I will stand upon it; and I hold forth, and deign to give unto you greater riches, even a land of promise, a land flowing with milk and honey, upon which there shall be no curse when the Lord cometh: and I will give it unto you for the land of your inheritance, if you seek it with all your hearts. And this shall be my covenant with you, ye shall have it for the land of your inheritance, and for the inheritance of your children forever, while the earth shall stand, and ye shall possess it again in eternity, no more to pass away.†

After the Prophet's arrival in Kirtland, the branch of The Church there in the meantime having increased to about one hundred members, the elders of The Church were sent out into the surrounding country, two and two, to preach the gospel; and a promise of a future mission was given to them in which it was said:

And from this place ye shall go forth into the regions westward; and inasmuch as ye shall find them that will receive you, ye shall build up my Church in every region, until the time shall come when it shall be revealed unto you from on high, when the city of the New Jerusalem shall be prepared, that ye may be gathered in one, that ye may be my people and I will be your God.‡

Moreover, in the same revelation, something of the law under which the holy city is to be built up unto the Lord was revealed, of which we shall say more in the course of this history.

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* Page 24.

† Doc. & Cov. Sec. 38.

‡ Ibid Sec. 42.

In the latter part of February a brief revelation was given, making known that it was the will of the Lord that the elders who had been sent out to preach in the regions round about should be called together; and this led to the appointment of a somewhat notable conference of The Church that was called to meet on the sixth day of June ensuing. On the 7th of March (1831), the Lord gave a somewhat lengthy revelation setting forth the judgments that should come upon the generation in which this new dispensation of the gospel came forth, in the course of which it is said:

Wherefore I, the Lord, have said, gather ye out from the eastern lands, assemble ye yourselves together ye elders of my Church; go ye forth into the western countries, call upon the inhabitants to repent, and inasmuch as they do repent, build up churches unto me; and with one heart and with one mind, gather up your riches that ye may purchase an inheritance which shall hereafter be appointed unto you, and it shall be called the New Jerusalem, a land of peace, a city of refuge, a place of safety for the saints of the Most High God; and the glory of the Lord shall be there, insomuch that the wicked will not come unto it, and it shall be called Zion.

And it shall come to pass, among the wicked, that every man that will not take his sword against his neighbor, must needs flee unto Zion for safety. And there shall be gathered unto it out of every nation under heaven; and it shall be the only people that shall not be at war one with another. And it shall be said among the wicked, Let us not go up to battle against Zion, for the inhabitants of Zion are terrible; wherefore we cannot stand.*

For a time, however, both the saints who had come from New York in obedience to the commandment from the Lord, and also the saints in Ohio, were commanded by revelation to remain in Ohio for the present, the saints in the latter State being called upon to share their lands with their eastern brethren.

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* Doc. & Cov. Sec. 45.

"It must needs be necessary," continues the revelation, "that ye save all the money that ye can, and that ye obtain all that ye can in righteousness, that in time ye may be enabled to purchase land for an inheritance, *even the city*. The place is not yet to be revealed, but after your brethren come from the east, there are to be certain men appointed, and to them it shall be given to know the place, or to them it shall be revealed. And they shall be appointed to purchase the lands, and to make a commencement to lay the foundation of the city."*

Thus it will be seen that considerable knowledge had been imparted to The Church concerning "Zion" during the absence of the Indian missionaries; and as all the revelations indicated that the location of Zion was in the west, very naturally the interest of The Church was intense concerning this Indian mission operating on the very western borders of American civilization.

This brings us to the before mentioned conference,appointed for the 6th of June, 1831.

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* Doc. & Cov. Sec. 48

CHAPTER III.

IN SEARCH OF ZION.

THE conference of The Church appointed for the 6th of June assembled on that date, in Kirtland. It was an occasion of great importance. In what way it was done is not recorded, but the Prophet in speaking of the matter says: "The Lord displayed his power in a manner that could not be mistaken." He further recounts that the Man of Sin was revealed, and the authority of the Melchisedek Priesthood was manifested and conferred for the first time upon several of the elders. "It is clearly evident," says the Prophet, "that the Lord gives us power in proportion to the work to be done, and strength according to the race set before us, and grace and help as our needs require."

The day following (June 7th), the Lord, in a revelation given through the Prophet, appointed the next conference to convene in Missouri, "upon the land which I will consecrate unto my people, which are a remnant of Jacob, and them who are heirs according to the covenant. Wherefore, verily I say unto you, let my servants Joseph Smith, Jr., and Sidney Rigdon take their journey as soon as preparations can be made to leave their homes, and journey to the land of Missouri. And inasmuch as they are faithful unto me, it shall be made known unto them what they shall do; and it shall also, inasmuch as they are faithful, be made known unto them the land of your inheritance."

This announcement caused great joy to the conference. The place for the Zion of God—the New Jerusalem—was to be made known! It was to be the land of their inheritance! The city which Enoch, the seventh from Adam, saw in its splendor—the city of refuge for the righteous in the last days; the city of peace; the joy of the godly; the terror of the wicked—this city

was to be located, and they were to be instruments in the founding of it! Small wonder if the thought of it exalted them until even the weak felt strong, and the strong yet more powerful.

Twenty-eight elders in all were called by name to go in different directions through the western states, two by two—"preaching by the way in every congregation, baptizing by water and the laying on of hands by the water's side." They were to meet in western Missouri in a conference appointed at that place, and there learn the location of Zion.

Soon after the close of the conference the elders started upon this mission, some going on foot, others going part way by stage and steamboat. The Prophet, in company with Sidney Rigdon, Martin Harris, Edward Partridge, W. W. Phelps, Joseph Coe, A. S. Gilbert and wife, left Kirtland for Missouri *via* Cincinnati and St. Louis.

At Cincinnati the Prophet Joseph had an interview with Rev. Walter Scott, the associate of Alexander Campbell in founding the sect of "The Disciples," or "Campbellites." It was with these gentlemen that Sidney Rigdon was associated in a religious reform movement, to which reference has already been made. Their design was to re-establish primitive Christianity. This object they proposed to achieve by discarding all man-made creeds and accepting the Bible alone—and especially the New Testament—as the authority and groundwork of their faith. Their cardinal doctrines were, faith in God and in Jesus Christ, repentance of sin, and baptism by immersion for the remission of sins, followed by righteousness of life. This unquestionably was a good beginning in the way of restoring the primitive Christian faith. Most of the fundamentals of the Christian faith are here; and if Sidney Rigdon, as the Lord declared, was sent forth even as John the Baptist to prepare the way before the Lord Jesus and Elijah—though he knew it not—then undoubtedly Alexander Campbell and Walter Scott, who were engaged in the same work, were also sent forth to prepare the way before the Lord. Certain it is that

Alexander Campbell did a great work among the Protestant sects of the United States in getting them to turn from the creeds of men to the scriptures; and the elders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints have found in the sect of "The Disciples" more who would listen to their teachings, and a greater proportion of them who would accept the fullness of the gospel, than among any other sect. And those among them who have rejected the fullness of the gospel when it was presented to them, have failed to understand aright the meaning of the Campbell-Scott-Rigdon reform movement—they have failed to recognize in that movement merely a preparation for the incoming of the fullness of the gospel.

That their teaching was not a complete return to the Christianity of the New Testament ought to have been clear to them, especially to the originators of the movement. They lacked divine authority—divine commission from God to administer the sacraments of the gospel. They baptized only with water for the remission of sins. The baptism of the Holy Ghost—apparently unknown to them—is equally a vital part of primitive Christianity, and is as plainly taught in the New Testament as an essential to salvation as water baptism. They lacked the organization of the primitive Church—apostles, prophets, bishops, elders, teachers, deacons, etc., etc.; and especially were they lacking in the enjoyment of those spiritual gifts of the gospel, so prominent a characteristic of the primitive Christian Church.

Unfortunately, and very unlike Sidney Rigdon, both Mr. Campbell and Mr. Scott violently opposed the work of God brought forth by Joseph Smith. Alexander Campbell, through his "Millennial Harbinger," bitterly assailed both the Book of Mormon and the character of Joseph Smith; and Mr. Scott in this Cincinnati interview with the Prophet, opposed the work strenuously for that it set forth that men accepting the gospel of Jesus Christ were now entitled to the same spiritual powers and gifts as were enjoyed in the primitive Church. "Before the close of our inter-

view," says the Prophet, "he manifested one of the bitterest spirits against the doctrine of the New Testament, (that these signs shall follow them that believe, as recorded in the 16th chapter of the Gospel according to St. Mark), that I ever witnessed among men."

From St. Louis, those who continued in the company of the Prophet made the journey on foot to Independence, where they arrived about the middle of July.

In a few days the other elders of this mission through the western states began to arrive. These men had suffered all the hardships incident to a long journey performed for the most part on foot through a sparsely settled country and in the hot summer months; but the consciousness that they were seeking the place of the city of Zion; that they had been promised, on condition of their faithfulness, that its location would be revealed to them; that it should be the land of their inheritance—sustained them in every trial and made the journey pleasant to them.

The meeting between these brethren from the eastern states and the elders of the Indian mission who had remained at Independence since the departure of Elder Pratt to report their operations to the Prophet at Kirtland, was a memorable one. Those from the east could tell their brethren of the west of the expansion of The Church both in numbers and in doctrine; of the commandment of The Church to gather from New York to Ohio; of the appointment of a Bishop in The Church; of the revelation of the prophecy of Enoch, in which they had learned more about the city of Zion; of the other revelations that had been given upon that same subject—the city of Zion—the promise of God to reveal the place where eventually it is to be founded; the laws that must govern its inhabitants; of the glory which at last it shall possess; and finally of their God-commanded journey toward the place where it had been indicated its location was, and all the incidents that had happened on the way westward. All these and a thousand other things—their hopes for the advancement

of the Kingdom; the peace of Zion that shall be; the safety, the glory;—all these were interesting themes for conversation.

Of their meeting the Prophet himself said:

The meeting with our brethren who had long waited our arrival, was a glorious one, and moistened with many tears. It seemed good and pleasant for brethren to meet together in unity. But our reflections were great, coming as we had from a highly cultivated state of society in the east, and standing now upon the confines or western limits of the United States, and looking into the vast wilderness of those that sat in darkness; how natural it was to observe the degradation, leanness of intellect, ferocity and jealousy of a people that were nearly a century behind the times, and to feel for those who roamed about without the benefit of civilization, refinement or religion; yea, and to exclaim in the language of the prophets: When will the wilderness blossom as the rose? When will Zion be built up in her glory, and where will Thy templestand, unto which all nations shall come in the last days?

The brethren were not long left in doubt upon this subject, for within a day or two—the date of the revelation is not definitely known further than the fact that it was given in July—a revelation was given in which the Lord made known that Missouri was the land which the Lord had appointed and consecrated for the gathering of his people: "Wherefore this is the land of promise," said the Lord, "and the place for the city of Zion," and "behold, the place which is now called Independence, is the center place, and a spot for the temple is lying westward, upon a lot which is not far from the court house." *

The Saints were commanded to purchase this land, and that lying westward, to the extent of their ability, that they might "obtain it as an everlasting inheritance."

Sidney Gilbert was appointed an agent to The Church to receive money and to purchase lands, and also to engage in the

* Doc. & Cov. Sec. 57.

business of a general merchant, the proceeds of which business were to be used in the purchase of lands.

Edward Partridge, by virtue of his office as bishop, was to divide to the Saints their inheritance as the lands were purchased.

W. W. Phelps was to be established as a printer and publisher to The Church in Zion, assisted by Oliver Cowdery.

Immediate preparations were to be made by the bishop and his agents for settling the families then on their way from the east to settle in Zion.

The first Sunday after the arrival of the elders of this western mission, a public meeting was held over the western boundary of the United States. Such a congregation was present as was only possible in an American frontier district—Indians, Negroes (then slaves), and all classes and conditions of people from the surrounding counties—Universalists, Atheists, Deists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, both priests and people—a motly crowd, truly! At the conclusion of the services two were baptized, but they were not the fruits of this meeting as they previously believed the gospel.

During the week following, the Colesville branch of The Church, which had emigrated bodily from Colesville, Broome County, State of New York, arrived and settled in the edge of an extensive prairie about twelve miles west of Independence, and in what must now be the suburbs of Kansas City. It is worth while observing as we pass, that this branch of The Church was made up wholly of northern people, and therefore constituted a different class of settlers from the old inhabitants of Independence, who came chiefly from the south. They had been commanded to come to western Missouri in a body, with a view to permanently settling in the land of Zion, when that place should be designated; and in this their mission differed from that given to the twenty-eight elders who were commanded to

travel two and two, preaching the gospel through the western states en route for Missouri.

These people were unquestionably plunged into new conditions. They had been reared in a district of New York where the land was heavily timbered, and where to clear a farm for cultivation took well-nigh the lifetime of one generation. But here they found alternate woodland and prairie, great stretches of open country which only needed to be fenced to be ready for plowing, and doubtless their hearts swelled with gratitude when they contemplated the possibilities and prosperity that could come to the industrious in such a goodly land.

They soon set about their work of founding Zion, for on the 2nd day of August they began the erection of a log house. The first log was carried and placed by twelve men—of whom the Prophet was one—in honor of the twelve tribes of Israel; and Sidney Rigdon who had arrived at Independence sometime after the Prophet, from whom he separated at St. Louis, dedicated the land of Zion for the gathering of God's people. "It was a season of joy to those present," writes the Prophet, "and afforded a glimpse of the future which time will yet unveil to the satisfaction of the faithful."

Sidney Rigdon was also commanded to write a description of the land of Zion, but of that more later.

It will be remembered that a site for the temple in Zion was also revealed at the time Independence was declared to be the center place thereof, and that it was described as lying a short distance west from the court house. A scant half mile from the latter place one comes to the summit of a hill—

A gentle hill of mild declivity

—the crown of which is about an acre and a half in area, perhaps more. On the 3rd day of August, 1831, upon this spot, then covered with a rich growth of timber, the Prophet and a number of the brethren, among whom were Sidney Rigdon, Ed-

ward Partridge, W. W. Phelps, Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris and Joseph Coe—assembled to dedicate the place as the temple site in Zion. In the course of the impressive ceremonies then conducted, the 87th Psalm was read:

His foundation is the holy mountains.

The Lord loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob.

Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God.

I will make mention of Rahab and Babylon to them that know me; behold Philistia, and Tyre, with Ethiopa: this man was born there.

And of Zion it shall be said, This and that man was born in her; and the Highest himself shall establish her.

The Lord shall count when he writeth up the people, that this man was born there.

As well the singers as the players on instruments shall be there: all my springs [i. e. hopes] are in thee.

The Prophet Joseph then dedicated the spot where the temple is to be built—a temple, by the way, on which the glory of God shall visibly rest; yea, the Great God hath so declared it, saying: "Verily this generation shall not all pass away until an house shall be built unto the Lord, and a cloud shall rest upon it, which cloud shall be even the glory of the Lord, which shall fill the house; * * * the sons of Moses, and also the sons of Aaron shall offer an acceptable offering and sacrifice in the house of the Lord, which house shall be built unto the Lord in this generation, upon the consecrated spot as I have appointed."*

On the 4th of August a conference was held at the house of Joshua Lewis, in Kaw Township, Jackson County, among the Colesville saints. This was the conference that was appointed to convene by the revelation received on the 7th of June, directing the elders to go westward in search of Zion.

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* Doc. & Cov. Sec. 84: 4-6, 31.

Thus the work of building up the center place of Zion was commenced, and although the commencement was humble in the extreme, the final result shall be the erection of a city that shall be the crowning glory of the western world—a city from which shall go forth the law of the Lord unto all nations, for it is written: "The law shall go forth from Zion."*

It shall be a city of refuge, for the Lord has said that "every man that will not take his sword against his neighbor, must needs flee unto Zion for safety." †

The wicked will consider her inhabitants terrible, while the righteous out of every nation will come unto her with songs of everlasting joy in their hearts. ‡

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* Isaiah, 2: 3.
† Doc. & Cov. Sec. 45: 68.
‡ Doc. & Cov. Sec. 45: 69-71.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LAND AND THE CITY.

THE land in which the city of Zion is to be built will ever be of interest to the saints, and I therefore give the following description of that section of Missouri.

The Missouri River, though flowing east in the main, takes a meandering course through the State to which it has given its name. The "river bottom" is a low strip of land on either bank of the stream, and varies in width from a few hundred yards to several miles. The character of the soil in the bottom is, of course, alluvial, and very fertile. The Missouri is said to be a "treacherous stream" by the people living on its banks. By that they mean it frequently changes its channel. Several places were pointed out to me, as I passed down it, that used to be the main channel of the stream; but which are now overgrown with trees, underbrush, and fields of waving corn; while here and there the stream is cutting its banks, and mass after mass of sandy, alluvial deposit of former times is caving in—the river is cutting for itself a new channel—or moving obstructions from an old one in which it flowed ages ago.

But however often the Missouri may change its banks, the main stream never leaves the river bottoms, for the reason that these bottoms are walled in by the "bluffs." The word bluff naturally suggests to the mind rugged cliffs rising almost perpendicularly from the bottoms to dizzy heights—but such are not the bluffs of the Missouri. While occasionally one may see a bold cliff rising from the water's edge, yet they are not numerous. The Missouri bluffs are sharp, rolling hills that run parallel with

the river on either side, and are usually timbered. They vary in width, sometimes extending ten or fifteen miles, and then again narrowed down to a few hundred yards by some patch of prairie that approaches very nearly to the river bank.

Back from these bluffs are stretched out great rolling prairies, the extent of which quite bewilders one. They are divided into what appear to be immense meadows by the strips of timber land which invariably border the winding streams. Standing on an eminence that overlooks these alternate prairie and timber lands, extending as they do as far as the eye can reach —with here and there a crowning hill ornamented with a pretentious farm house, or some more humble dwelling half hidden from your view by the thick foliage of the trees, with cattle feeding on a thousand hills—all this is very likely to make the beholder imagine himself in some enchanted realm. But to be more particular:

Jackson County, which is the center place of Zion, is in ninety-four west longitude, and thirty-nine north latitude, being nearly equally distant from the northern boundary of the United States and the Gulf of Mexico. It is also about midway between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, making it the most central point within the United States, and, with reference to both North and South America, a central place in this western hemisphere, of which in the future it will be the great capital. The climate is delightful, being mild at least three-fourths of the year. The soil of Missouri is, for the most part, a rich, black loam, in places intermingled with sand and clay, and is from two to ten feet in depth, with a sub-soil of a fine quality of clay. Both climate and soil are favorable to the production of all the fruits and vegetables of the warm temperate climate: not only the hardy cereals, such as oats, barley, wheat, rye, buck-wheat, corn, etc., but also tobacco, cotton, flax, sweet-potatoes and all other common vegetables, as also fruit, apples, pears, apricots, persimmons, plums of many varieties, the luscious peach, the

delicious grape, and a great many kinds of berries grow in abundance. It is either Stanley or Livinstone who, in speaking of some parts of Africa, says: "The people tickle the soil with a hoe, and it laughs with plenty." It is so with the land of Zion.

Though the supply of timber useful for lumber purposes is nearly exhausted, you still find luxuriant growths of hickory, some black walnut, a variety of oaks, plenty of elm, cherry, honey-locust, mulberry, bass-wood and boxelder; huge sycamores and cottonwoods grow in the river bottoms, as also hard and soft maple.

Formerly many wild animals roamed over the prairies or lived in the woods; such as the buffalo, elk, deer, bear, wolf, beaver, and many smaller animals; wild turkeys, geese, quail, and a variety of singing birds: in short, it was once the hunter's paradise. Civilization, however, has driven away nearly all these animals, especially the larger ones; but they are replaced by the domestic species so useful to man, both for food and clothing, as well as being of valuable assistance in his labors.

The clay, of which there is unlimited quantities, makes a fine quality of brick. Stone quarries which supply a good quality of light-colored sand-stone, are abundant, so that substantial building material may be said to be plentiful. Such is the land of Zion as I found it—a land with resources well-nigh unlimited, a land yielding an abundance of all useful products though but indifferently cultivated by the husbandmen who possess it—a land of surpassing loveliness, though its beauties are often marred rather than increased by those who inhabit it; while its magnificent resources are very far from anything like complete development.

The land being thus beautiful in its products when only partially developed, the mind naturally inquires what will it be when its resources are fully developed—when the idleness and indifference of its people shall be banished—when it shall be

possessed by the saints of the Most High, who will consecrate their substance for the building of Zion; and all their exertions will be to glorify God, and benefit mankind—when covetousness is subdued and virtue and righteousness shall reign in every heart—and when under the blessings of Jehovah the land shall yield in its strength! When the glory of Lebanon shall be brought to Zion, the fir tree, the pine tree and the box tree together; when for brass, will be brought gold; and for iron, silver; for wood, brass; and for stones, iron, to glorify the place of God's sanctuary! Surely when this shall come to pass, the land of Zion shall be the perfection of beauty.

Independence, designated as the center place of Zion, is in the northern part of Jackson county, about three or four miles south of the Missouri River. It is located nearly midway between two small rivers which flow northward and empty into the Missouri; the stream on the west is called "Big Blue," and the one on the east "Little Blue." The town is situated in the river bluffs already described as sharp, rolling hills, many of which at one time were covered with fine growths of timber and even now some of them are partially covered with beautiful groves. Independence in 1831, as stated in a previous chapter, was a frontier town with all the disadvantages implied by that term. It had a mixed population of white men from many sections of the Union, chiefly, however, from the south, some of whom had moved into the western wilderness to escape the consequences of unlawful deeds committed elsewhere; vagabond Indians and renegades who had mingled with them; besides a number of negro slaves. Society was as varied as the character of the population, but on the whole may be described as being without stability, regard for law, or religion. Of late years, of course, the character of Independence has been entirely changed. Western Missouri is no longer the frontier of the United States, nor is Independence a frontier town. It is now a delightful

residence suburb of Kansas City, Missouri, with many attractive homes.

Having given a description of the land of Zion and the town of Independence, it may be interesting to learn something concerning the city of Zion that shall yet stand there to the glory of God. Of necessity the description will be imperfect, as the available materials for such description are very meagre. While the prophets have written much concerning Zion and her future glory, their rapturous effusions do not furnish matter for a definite description of the city. In June, 1833, however, Joseph Smith and the elders in Kirtland, Ohio, sent a plat of the city to the brethren in Missouri. We have been unable to find the plat, but an explanation of it is recorded in the history of Joseph Smith,* from which we learn the following:

The city plat is one mile square, divided into blocks containing ten acres each—forty rods square—except the middle range of blocks running north and south; they will be forty by sixty rods, containing fifteen acres, having their greatest extent east and west. The streets will be eight rods wide, intersecting each other at right angles. The tier of blocks forty by sixty rods will be reserved for public buildings, temples, tabernacles, school houses, etc.†

All the other blocks will be divided into half- acre lots, a four rod front to every lot, and extending back twenty rods. In

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*Millennial Star, Vol. 14, p. 438.

†By this arrangement, it will be observed that the blocks in the city cannot be uniformly forty rods square (if the middle range of blocks running north and south are made forty by sixty), as the plat east and west would lack twenty-eight rods, and north and south eight rods, of being sufficient for such an arrangement. Either the outside tier of blocks must be less than forty rods square, or the city plat must be more than a mile square. It must be three hundred and forty-eight rods east and west, (instead of three hundred and twenty) by three hundred and twenty-eight north and south.—B. H. R.

one block the lots will run from the north and south, and in the next one from the east and west, and so on alternately throughout the city, except in the range of blocks reserved for public buildings. By this arrangement no street will be built on entirely through the street; but on one block the houses will stand on one street, and on the next one on another street. All of the houses are to be built of brick or stone; and but one house on a lot, which is to stand twenty-five feet back from the street, the space in front being for lawns, ornamental trees, shrubbery, or flowers according to the taste of the owners; the rest of the lot will be for gardens, etc.

It is supposed that such a plat when built up will contain fifteen or twenty thousand population, and that they will require twenty-four buildings to supply them with houses for public worship and schools. These buildings will be temples, none of which will be less than eighty-seven feet by sixty-one, and two stories high, each story to be fourteen feet, making the building twenty-eight feet to the square. I say none of these temples will be smaller than this, but of course there will be others much larger; the above, however, are the dimensions of the one the saints were commanded to build first.

Lands on the north and south of the city will be laid off for barns and stables for the use of the city, so there will be no barns or stables in the city among the homes of the people.

Lands for the agriculturist are also to be laid off on the north and south of the city plat, but if sufficient land cannot be laid off without going too great a distance, then farms are to be laid off on the east and west also; but the tiller of the soil as well as the merchant and mechanic will live in the city. The farmer and his family, therefore, will enjoy all the advantages of schools, public lectures and other meetings. His home will no longer be isolated, and his family denied the benefits of society, which has been, and always will be, the great educator of the human race; but they will enjoy the same privileges of society, and can sur-

round their homes with as much refinement as will be found in the home of the merchant or banker.

"When this square is thus laid off and supplied, lay off another in the same way," said Joseph to those to whom the city plat was sent, "and so fill up the world in these last days, and let every man live in the city, *for this is the city of Zion.*

CHAPTER V.

SETTLEMENT OF THE SAINTS IN MISSOURI—THEIR ERRORS—REPROOFS AND WARNINGS.

ON the 4th of August, 1831, a conference was held among the Colesville saints, at the house of Joshua Lewis, in Kaw Township; and about this time a number of revelations were given in which the Lord made known his will to his servants and gave his reasons for calling them to Missouri. Those reasons were:

1. That the Lord's servants might give to him a witness of their obedience;

2. That they might have the honor of laying the foundation of Zion;

3. That they might bear record in all their travels hereafter, where the city of Zion shall stand;

4. That the testimony of these things might go forth from "the city of the heritage of God."*

The Lord commanded the saints to purchase lands in Jackson County, to the extent of their ability; and for the better accomplishment of this object, Sidney Gilbert was appointed agent for The Church. Having accomplished these things, the elders, except Edward Partridge and a few others whom the Lord appointed to settle permanently in Missouri, were commanded to return to their homes, bearing record by the way of what had been revealed.

The saints and elders who remained in the land of Zion

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* Doc. & Cov. Sec. 58: 1-13.

began the work of building up permanent homes. They had arrived too late to raise crops that season, but they cut hay for their cattle, and prepared some ground for cultivation. The fall and winter were. occupied in building log cabins; but with all their industry they were not able to provide shelter for all. Through that long, cold winter the saints cheerfully submitted to all kinds of inconveniences, such as several families living in an open, unfinished log room, without windows, and nothing but the frozen ground for a floor. Their food consisted chiefly of beef and a little bread, made of coarse corn meal, manufactured by rubbing the ears of corn on a tin grater. The spirit of peace, union and love, however, was in their midst, and at their prayer meetings, and in their family worship, they were blessed with many seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord.

Thus the winter of 1831 passed away.

As soon as the churches scattered abroad learned that the Lord had revealed the place where the city of Zion was to be built, preparations to purchase inheritances absorbed the minds of the faithful; and money was sent to The Church agent from all quarters to buy lands. Edward Partridge had been appointed the bishop in Zion, and it was made his duty to divide unto the saints their inheritances.* As early as February, 1831, the Lord had said that those who loved him would remember the poor, and consecrate of their property to sustain them, for inasmuch as they did it to the poor, they did it unto him; and that which was consecrated to the poor, should be imparted to them with a deed and a covenant that could not be broken. Moreover every man was to be made a steward over his own property.†

This law of consecration and stewardship was as follows: Every man was to consecrate his property to the bishop of The

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* Doc. & Cov. Sec. 57: 7.

† Doc. & Cov. Sec. 42: 29-35.

Church without reserve, with a covenant that could not be broken; and then from this consecrated property receive an inheritance from the bishop—sharing equally with his brethren, according to his family and circumstances—this inheritance being deeded* to him by the bishop; which inheritance then became his stewardship, upon which he was to improve according to the measure of wisdom he possessed. Every man is to be independent in the management of his stewardship. By every man consecrating his property to the bishop, and then receiving back as his stewardship only sufficient for his support, there was a surplus left in the hands of the bishop to be placed in the Lord's storehouse. Then if in the management of his stewardship a man obtained more than was needful for his support, it, too, was put into the Lord's storehouse, and that, as well as the surplus first named, was to be used in giving inheritances to the poor; and in assisting the brethren in the improvement of their respective stewardships, as should be appointed by the high council of The Church, and the bishop and his counselors.† And thus the saints were to be made equal in temporal things as well as in things that are spiritual.‡

The hearts of the saints in Zion were made glad in the spring of 1832 by a visit from their youthful Prophet and Sidney Rigdon, both of whom had suffered much for the truth's sake, during the winter that had just past, at the hands of a furious mob in Ohio.

At the time the mobbing referred to occurred, the Prophet was living at the house of a Brother John Johnson, Sen., (usually called "Father Johnson" by Joseph and the saints), in the little town of Hiram, Portage County, Ohio, about thirty miles from Kirtland. Before removing to that place, the Prophet's wife

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* Doc. & Cov. Sec. 51: 4.

† Doc. & Cov. Sec. 42: 33, 53-55.

‡ Doc. & Cov. Sec. 78.

had taken two children (twins) to rear, their mother, the wife of a Brother John Murdock, having died when the children were a few days old. Emma Smith received them when they were nine days old, and at the time of the event to be related they were eleven months old.

Nothing of unusual importance had occurred in Hiram since the Prophet's arrival. He had occupied his time in the revision of the Bible that hehad been commanded to make, and in holding public meetings in the evenings and on the Sabbath day. Here, too, he received a number of revelations, among them the one called the "Vision,"* which describes the different degrees of glory to which men may attain in the future life.

A number of men, however, had apostatized from the truth and left The Church; among them one Ezra Booth, formerly a Methodist minister. He had been converted on seeing a person healed of an infirmity of many years' standing, and, as is so frequent in such cases, he required a constant succession of miracles to keep him in The Church. "But when," as the Prophet remarks in stating his case, "he actually learned that faith, humility, patience, and tribulation were before blessing, and that God brought low before he exalted; that instead of the Savior's granting him power to smite men and make them believe (as he said he wanted God to do with him), he found he must become all things to all men, that he might peradventure save some; and that, too, by all diligence, by perils, by sea and land, as was the case in the days of Jesus"—when he found this was the course the servants of God must run, he was disappointed and turned away from the faith and The Church. So, too, did one Simonds Rider, and also Eli Johnson, Edward Johnson, and John Johnson, Jr.

This by way of introducing the matter, the rest is as related by the Prophet himself:

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* Doc. & Cov. Sec. 76.

On the 25th of March, 1832, the twins before mentioned, which had been sick of the measles for some time, caused us to be broke of our rest in taking care of them, especially my wife. In the evening I told her she had better retire to rest with one of the children, and I would watch with the sickest child. In the night she told me I had better lie down on the trundle bed, and I did so, and was soon after awakened by her screaming *murder!* when I found myself going out of the door in the hands of about a dozen men, some of whose hands were in my hair, and some hold of my shirt, drawers and limbs. The foot of the trundle bed was towards the door, leaving only room enough for the door to swing. My wife heard a gentle tapping on the windows which she then took no notice of, (but which was unquestionably designed for ascertaining whether we were all asleep), and soon after the mob burst open the door and surrounded the bed in an instant, and as I said, the first thing I knew I was going out of the door in the hands of an infuriated mob. I made a desperate struggle as I was forced out, to extricate myself, but only cleared one leg, with which I made a pass at one man and he fell on the door steps. I was immediately confined again, and they swore by God they would kill me if I did not be still, which quieted me. As they passed around the house with me, the fellow that I kicked came to me and thrust his hand into my face, all covered with blood, (for I hit him on the nose,) and with an exulting hoarse laugh, muttered, "Gee, gee, God damn ye, I'll fix ye."

They then seized me by the throat, and held on till I lost my breath. After I came to, as they passed along with me, about thirty rods from the house, I saw Elder Rigdon stretched out on the ground whither they had dragged him by the heels. I supposed he was dead.

I began to plead with them, saying, "you will have mercy and spare my life, I hope?" To which they replied, "*God damn ye, call on yer God for help*, we'll show ye no mercy;" and the people began to show themselves in every direction; one coming from the orchard had a plank, and I expected they would kill me and carry me off on the plank. They then turned to the right and went on about thirty rods further—about sixty rods from the house and thirty from where I saw Elder Rigdon, into the meadow, where they stopped, and one

said, "Simonds, Simonds," (meaning, I supposed, Simonds Rider,) "pull up his drawers, pull up his drawers, he will take cold." Another replied, "a'nt ye going to kill 'im, a'nt ye going to kill 'im?" A group of mobbers collected a little way off, and said: "Simonds, Simonds, come here;" and Simonds charged those who had hold of me to keep me from touching the ground (as they had done all the time), lest I should get a spring upon them. They went and held a council, and as I could occasionally overhear a word, I supposed it was to know whether it was best to kill me. They returned after awhile, when I learned they had concluded not to kill me, but pound and scratch me well, tear off my shirt and drawers, and leave me naked. One cried, "Simonds, Simonds, *where's the tar bucket?*" "I don't know," answered one, "*where 'tis, Eli's left it.*" They ran back and fetched the bucket of tar, when one exclaimed, "*God damn it, let's us tar up his mouth;*" and they tried to force the tar paddle into my mouth; I twisted my head around so that they could not; and they cried out, "*God damn ye, hold up yer head and let us give ye some tar.*" They then tried to force a vial into my mouth and broke it in my teeth. All my clothes were torn off me except my shirt collar; and one man fell on me and scratched my body like a mad cat, and then muttered out: "*God damn ye, that's the way the Holy Ghost falls on folks.*"

They then left me and I attempted to rise, but fell again; I pulled the tar away from my lips, so that I could breathe more freely, and after awhile I began to recover, and raised myself up, when I saw two lights. I made my way towards one of them, and found it was Father Johnson's. When I had come to the door I was naked, and the tar made me look as though I was covered with blood, and when my wife saw me she thought I was all mashed to pieces, and fainted. During the affray abroad, the sisters of the neighborhood had collected at my room. I called for a blanket; they threw me one and shut the door: I wrapped it around me and went in.

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My friends spent the night in scraping and removing the tar, and washing and cleansing my body; so that by morning I was ready to be clothed again. This being Sabbath morning, the people assembled for meeting at the usual hour of worship, and among those came also the mobbers, viz.: Simonds Rider, a Campbellite preacher and

leader of the mob; one McClentic, son of a Campbellite minister; and Pelatiah Allen, Esq., who gave the mob a barrel of whiskey to raise their spirits; and many others. With my flesh all scarified and defaced, I preached to the congregation as usual, and in the afternoon of the same day baptized three individuals.

It was during this visit to Missouri in the spring of 1832, that Joseph was acknowledged by The Church and Priesthood in Zion, "President of the High Priesthood." It was on the occasion of this visit, too, that he sought to so "organize The Church that the brethren might, eventually, be independent of every incumbrance beneath the celestial kingdom, by bonds and covenants of mutual friendship and mutual love."*

In a revelation given July, 1831, W. W. Phelps had been appointed a printer unto The Church in the land of Zion. Accordingly a press and type were purchased, and in June, 1832, the first number of a monthly paper was issued, called the *Evening and Morning Star*. This was the first periodical published by The Church. According to its prospectus it was to be a messenger of truth; a harbinger of peace and good will; to bring good tidings of great joy to all people, but more especially to the house of Israel scattered abroad, telling them that the day of their redemption was near; to proclaim the ensign to which all nations must come, in order to worship God acceptably; to declare that goodness consists in *doing* good, not merely in teaching it; and to show that all men's religion is vain without charity; and as the paper was to be devoted to the great concerns of eternal things, and the gathering of the saints, it would leave politics, broils, the gainsayings of the world, and many other matters for their proper channels.†

So rapidly did the saints gather to Zion during this summer that the *Star* for November reported eight hundred and thirty

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* History of Joseph Smith. Millennial Star Vol. 14, p. 162.

† Millennial Star Vol. 14: 146-8.

souls in the new settlements. The Lord had blessed them both with food and with raiment, and there was plenty in Zion. A feeling of insubordination, however, existed among the brethren of the priesthood. Seven high priests had been appointed to preside over the affairs of The Church in Zion, viz., Oliver Cowdery, W. W. Phelps, John Whitmer, Sidney Gilbert, Edward Partridge, Isaac Morley and John Corrill. These brethren, with the common consent of the several branches comprising The Church in Missouri, were to appoint elders to preside over the respective branches, and attend to all the affairs of The Church in that land. But a number of those high priests and elders who went up to Zion, ignored the authority of the seven who were placed there to preside, and began setting some of the branches in order without being appointed to do so; and it resulted in some confusion. Others who went there sought to obtain inheritances in some other way than according to the laws of consecration and stewardship; and these things, together with jealousies, covetousness, light-mindedness, unbelief, and general neglect to keep the commandments of God, enkindled the displeasure of the Almighty against Zion and her inhabitants.

This state of affairs coming to the knowledge of the Prophet Joseph, through his correspondence with the leading elders in Zion, he wrote a letter to the saints in Missouri, severely reproving them for their neglect to keep the commandments of God; and as the communication is full of prophecy of those calamities which eventually befell the Church, I quote it entire:

KIRTLAND, January 11, 1833.

Brother Wm. W. Phelps:

I send you the Olive Leaf which we have plucked from the tree of Paradise, the Lord's message of peace to us; for though our brethren in Zion indulge in feelings towards us which are not according to the requirements of the new covenant, yet we have the satisfaction of knowing that the Lord approves of us and has accepted us, and established his name in Kirtland for the salvation of the nations;

for the Lord will have a place from which his word will go forth, in these last days, in purity, for if Zion will not purify herself, so as to be approved of in all things, in his sight, he will seek another people; for his work will go on until Israel is gathered, and they who will not hear his voice must expect to feel his wrath. Let me say unto you, seek to purify yourselves, and also the inhabitants of Zion, lest the Lord's anger be kindled to fierceness. Repent, repent, is the voice of God to Zion; and strange as it may appear, yet it is true, mankind will persist in self-justification until all their iniquity is exposed, and their character past being redeemed, and that which is treasured up in their hearts be exposed to the gaze of mankind. I say to you (and what I say to you, I say to all), hear the warning voice of God, lest Zion fall, and the Lord swear in his wrath, "The inhabitants of Zion shall not enter into my rest."

The brethren in Kirtland pray for you unceasingly, for, knowing the terrors of the Lord, they greatly fear for you. You will see that the Lord commanded us, in Kirtland, to build a house of God, and establish a school for the prophets; this is the word of the Lord to us, and we must, yea, the Lord helping us, we will obey; as on conditions of our obedience he has promised us great things; yea, even a visit from the heavens to honor us with his own presence. We greatly fear before the Lord lest we should fail of this great honor, which our Master proposes to confer upon us; we are seeking for humility and great faith lest we be ashamed in his presence. Our hearts are greatly grieved at the spirit which is breathed both in your letter and that of Brother G——'s; the very spirit which is wasting the strength of Zion like a pestilence; and if it is not detected and driven from you, it will ripen Zion for the threatened judgments of God. Remember, God sees the secret springs of human action, and knows the hearts of all living.

Brother, suffer us to speak plainly, for God has respect for the feelings of his saints, and he will not suffer them to be tantalized with impunity. Tell Brother G—— that low insinuations God hates; but he rejoices in an honest heart, and knows better who is guilty than he does. We send him this warning voice, and let him fear greatly for himself, lest a worse thing overtake him; all we can say by way of conclusion is, if the fountain of our tears is not dried up,

we will still weep for Zion. This from your brother who trembles for Zion, and for the wrath of heaven which awaits her if she repent not. JOSEPH SMITH, JUN.

P. S.—I am not in the habit of crying peace, when there is no peace, and, knowing the threatened judgments of God, I say, Woe unto them that are at ease in Zion; fearfulness will speedily lay hold of the hypocrite. I did not expect that you had lost the commandments, but thought from your letters you had neglected to read them, otherwise you would not have written as you did.

It is in vain to try to hide a bad spirit from the eyes of those who are spiritual, for it will show itself in speaking and in writing, as well as in all our other conduct. It is also needless to make great pretensions when the heart is not right; the Lord will expose it to the view of his faithful saints. We wish you to render the *Star* as interesting as possible, by setting forth the rise, progress and faith of our Church, as well as the doctrine; for if you do not render it more interesting than at present, it will fall, and The Church suffer a great loss thereby. J. S.

A council of high priests at Kirtland also appointed Hyrum Smith and Orson Hyde to write a letter of reproof and warning, in which they cried, "Repent! repent! or Zion must suffer, for the scourge and judgment must come upon her." The whole of this communication, however, is likewise so full of prophetic warning to the saints in Zion that I consider it too important to be omitted, and hence give it *in extenso:*

KIRTLAND MILLS, GEAUGA COUNTY, OHIO,
January 14, 1833.

From a conference of twelve High Priests, to the Bishop, his Council, and the inhabitants of Zion:

Orson Hyde and Hyrum Smith being appointed by the said conference to write this epistle in obedience to the commandment, given the 22nd and 23rd of September last which says: "But verily I say unto all those to whom the kingdom has been given, from you it must be preached unto them that shall repent of their former evil works, for they are to be upbraided for their evil hearts of unbelief; and your

brethren in Zion, for their rebellion against you at the time I sent you."

Brother Joseph, and certain others, have written to you on this all-important subject, but you have never been apprized of these things by the united voice of a conference of those high priests that were present at the time this commandment was given.

We, therefore, Orson and Hyrum—the committee appointed by said conference to write this epistle—having received the prayers of said conference, that we might be enabled to write the mind and will of God upon this subject, now take up our pen to address you in the name of the conference, relying upon the arm of the great Head of The Church.

In the commandment alluded to, the children of Zion were all, yea, even every one, under condemnation, and were to remain in that state until they repented and remembered the new covenant, even the Book of Mormon, and the former commandments, which the Lord had given them, not only to say but to do them, and bring forth fruit meet for the Father's Kingdom; otherwise there remaineth a scourge and a judgment to be poured out upon the children of Zion; for "shall the children of the kingdom pollute the holy land? I say unto you, nay!"

The answers received from those letters which have been sent to you upon this subject, have failed to bring to us that satisfactory confession and acknowledgment, which the spirit of our Master requires. We, therefore, feeling a deep interest for Zion, and knowing the judgments of God that will come upon her except she repent, resort to these last and most effectual means in our power to bring her to a sense of her standing before the Most High.

At the time Joseph, Sidney and Newel left Zion, all matters of hardness and misunderstanding were settled and buried (as they supposed), and you gave them the hand of fellowship; but afterwards you brought up all these things again, in a censorious spirit, accusing Brother Joseph in rather an indirect way of seeking after monarchial power and authority. This came to us in Brother Carroll's letter of July 2nd. We are sensible that this is not the thing Brother Joseph is seeking after, but to magnify the high office and calling whereunto he has been called and appointed by the command of God, and the united voice of this Church. It might not be amiss for you to call to mind the circumstances of the Nephites, and the children of

Israel rising up against their prophets, and accusing them of seeking after kingly power, etc., and see what befell them, and take warning before it is too late.

Brother Gilbert's letter of December 10th has been received and read attentively, and the low, dark, and blind insinuations which were in it were not received by us as from the fountain of light, though his claims and pretensions to holiness were great. We are not unwilling to be chastened or rebuked for our faults, but we want to receive it in language that we can understand, as Nathan said to David, "Thou art the man." We are aware that Brother G—— is doing much and has a multitude of business on hand, but let him purge out all the old leaven, and do his business in the spirit of the Lord, and then the Lord will bless him, otherwise the frown of the Lord will remain upon him. There is manifestly an uneasiness in Brother Gilbert, and a fearfulness that God will not provide for his saints in these last days, and these fears lead him on to covetousness. This ought not to be, but let him do just as the Lord has commanded him, and then the Lord will open his coffers, and his wants will be liberally supplied. But if this uneasy, covetous disposition be cherished by him, the Lord will bring him to poverty, shame and disgrace.

Brother Phelps' letter of December 15th, is also received, and carefully read, and it betrays a lightness of spirit that ill becomes a man placed in the important and responsible station that he is placed in. If you have fat beef and potatoes, eat them in singleness of heart and boast not yourselves in these things. Think not, brethren, that we make a man an offender for a word; this is not the case; but we want to see a spirit in Zion, by which the Lord will build it up; that is the plain, solemn, and pure spirit in Christ. Brother Phelps requested in his last letter that Brother Joseph should come to Zion; but we say that Brother Joseph will not settle in Zion until she repent and purify herself and abide by the new covenant, and remember the commandments that have been given her, to do them as well as to say them.

You may think it strange that we manifest no cheerfulness of heart upon the reception of your letter; you may think that our minds are prejudiced so much that we can see no good that comes from you, but rest assured, brethren, that this is not the case.

We have the best of feelings, and feelings of the greatest anxiety for the welfare of Zion; we feel more like weeping over Zion than rejoicing over her, for we know that the judgments of God hang over her, and will fall upon her except she repent, and purify herself before the Lord, and put away from her every foul spirit. We now say to Zion, this once, in the name of the Lord, Repent! repent! awake, awake, put on thy beautiful garments, before you are made to feel the chastening rod of him whose anger is kindled against you. Let not Satan tempt you to think we want to make you bow to us, to domineer over you, for God knows this is not the case; our eyes are watered with tears, and our hearts are poured out to God in prayer for you, that he will spare you, and turn away his anger from you.

There are many things in the last letters of Brothers G—— and P—— that are good, and we esteem them much. The idea of having "certain ones appointed to regulate Zion, and traveling elders have nothing to do with this part of the matter," is something we highly approbate, and you will doubtless know before this reaches you, why William E. McLellin opposed you in this move. We fear there was something in Brother Gilbert when he returned to this place from New York last fall, in relation to his brother William, that was not right. For Brother Gilbert was asked two or three times about his brother William, but gave evasive answers, and at the same time he knew that William was in Cleveland; but the Lord has taken him. We merely mention this that all may take warning to work in the light, for God will bring every secret thing to light.

We now close our epistle by saying unto you, the Lord has commanded us to purify ourselves, to wash our hands and our feet, that he may testify to his Father and our Father, to his God and our God, that we are clean from the blood of this generation; and before we could wash our hands and our feet we were constrained to write this letter. Therefore, with the feelings of inexpressible anxiety for your welfare, we say again, Repent, repent, or Zion must suffer, for the scourge and judgment must come upon her.

Let the bishop read this to the elders that they may warn the members of the scourge that is coming, except they repent. Tell them to read the Book of Mormon and obey it; read the commandments that are printed and obey them: yea, humble yourselves under

the mighty hand of God that peradventure he may turn away his anger from you. Tell them that they have not come up to Zion to sit down in idleness, neglecting the things of God, but they are to be diligent and faithful in obeying the new covenant.

There is one clause in Brother Joseph's letter which you may not understand; that is this, "If the people of Zion did not repent, the Lord would seek another place and another people." Zion is the place where the temple will be built, and the people gathered, but all people upon that holy land being under condemnation, the Lord will cut them off, if they repent not, and bring another race upon it that will serve him. The Lord will seek another place to bring forth and prepare his word to go forth to the nations, and as we said before, so we say again, Brother Joseph will not settle in Zion, except she repent and serve God, and obey the new covenant. With this explanation the conference sanctions Brother Joseph's letter.

Brethren, the conference meets again this evening to hear this letter read, and if it meets their minds, we are all agreed to kneel down before the Lord, and cry unto him with all our hearts, that this epistle, and Brother Joseph's, and the revelations also, may have their desired effect, and accomplish the thing whereunto they are sent, and that they may stimulate you to cleanse Zion, that she mourn not. Therefore, when you get this, know ye that a conference of twelve high priests have cried unto the Lord for you, and are still crying, saying, Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thy heritage to reproach. We now feel that our garments are clean from you and all men, when we have washed our feet and hands according to the commandment.

We have written plain at this time, but we believe not harsh. Plainness is what the Lord requires, and we should not feel ourselves clear, unless we had done so: and if the things we have told you be not attended to, you will not long have occasion to say, or to think rather, that we may be wrong in what we have stated. Your unworthy brethren are determined to pray unto the Lord for Zion, as long as we can shed the sympathetic tear, or feel any spirit to supplicate a throne of grace in her behalf.

The school of the prophets will commence, if the Lord will, in two or three days. It is a general time of health with us. The cause

of God seems to be rapidly advancing in the eastern country; the gifts are beginning to break forth so as to astonish the world, and even believers marvel at the power and goodness of God. Thanks be rendered to his holy name for what he is doing. We are your unworthy brethren in the Lord, and may the Lord help us all to do his will, that we may at last be saved in his kingdom.

ORSON HYDE.
HYRUM SMITH.

N. B.—We stated that Brother Gilbert knew that William was in Cleveland last fall when he was in Kirtland. We wrote this upon the strength of hearsay: but William being left at St. Louis, strengthened our supposition that such was the fact. We stated further, representing this matter, or this item, than the testimony will warrant us. With this exception the conference sanctions this letter.

These words of reproof and warning had the effect of awakening in the hearts of the saints the spirit of repentance. A solemn assembly was called at which a sincere and humble repentance was manifested. A general epistle to The Church authorities in Kirtland, bearing date of 26th of February, 1833, was adopted at a conference of the saints in Zion, expressing their repentance, and desires to keep the commandments of God in the future. This was satisfactory to the brethren in Kirtland; and the Lord said in a revelation given the 8th of March, that the brethren in Zion "*began*" to repent; and that the angels rejoiced over them. Still there were many things with which the Lord was not well pleased, and he said that he would contend with Zion, and plead with her strong ones, and chasten her until she overcame.*

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*Doc. & Cov. Sec. 90: 32-36.

CHAPTER VI.

STORM CLOUDS.

THE spring of 1833 opened early in western Missouri. The streams, which had been so long locked up in ice, broke loose under the genial rays of the returning sun, and rushed madly on to swell the majestic current of the Missouri. The winter snows early melted before the balmy breath of spring, and grass and flowers in rich profusion and of varied hue clothed the great rolling prairies of the west in their loveliest attire. The forests along the water courses put forth their tender buds, and the birds that had migrated to the south in the autumn, to escape the severity of the winter, joyfully returned to build their nests in the same old woods, and make the wilderness glad with their sweet songs. All nature rejoiced, and the saints who had gathered to that land to build up Zion rejoiced with her. They had repented of the sins which had called forth the reproofs of the servants of God: and although there were some persons among them with whom the Lord was not well pleased, yet they had received assurances from God that the angels rejoiced over them.

Under these auspicious circumstances eighty officials and a large number of the members of The Church met for the service of God, and to be instructed in the things of eternal life, at the Ferry on Big Blue, a small forest-lined stream a few miles west of Independence. Their conversation and discourses ranged over immense periods of time; extending back to that time when the morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy in anticipation of the blessings that would follow the

creation of this earth.* They spoke of the cruel persecutions endured by the disciples of Jesus in former ages, little dreaming that the time was at hand when they, too, would be required to endure like trials for the truth's sake—for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus. Their minds were absorbed in contemplating the future glory of Zion; their souls were filled with joy unspeakable—filled with that spirit which ages before caused men and angels to unite in singing, "Peace on earth; good will to man." This occurred on the 6th of April, and was the first attempt of The Church to celebrate the anniversary of her birthday. Only three years before, in the house of Peter Whitmer The Church had been organized; and now the saints in Missouri were exclaiming, How The Church has grown! How much has been accomplished! The Gospel had been preached in nearly all the states of the Union: thousands had hailed the message with delight, and numerous branches of The Church had been established. The place of the city of Zion had been revealed, and nearly a thousand of the saints gathered there. A printing establishment had been founded, and the precious truths from heaven were being published to the world; and all this had been accomplished in the face of poverty and bitter opposition.

During the summer of 1833, a school for the elders was organized in Zion, presided over by Elder Parley P. Pratt, who labored with all the zeal of an apostle in teaching them the things of God. They held their meetings in the shady groves—in "God's first temples," and their instructor frequently walked several miles bare-footed to meet with them. How strange it seems to record the above as occurring in this age! It appears to be quite out of joint with the times, and smacks rather of that age in which John the Baptist preached the gospel in the wilderness

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*Job 38: 3-7.

of Judea, clothed with camel's hair, and a girdle of skin about his loins; and whose food was locusts and wild honey. Some day, however, when a parallel shall be drawn between the introduction of the gospel in this dispensation, and that in which John figured, it will appear that the men who have been chosen of the Lord in this age to perform his work, possess the same simplicity of character as those whom he chose in Judea, nineteen hundred years ago—the same guileless honesty of purpose; the same child-like confidence in God, and the same unwavering fidelity to their Master's cause; as willing to undergo privations, hunger and cold, and toil and nakedness; as willing to endure the scorn and hatred of the world; as willing to suffer bonds and even death.

The migration of the saints to Missouri in the early summer of 1833, exceeded that of the previous season; but they were settling among a people who possessed characteristics with which, from the nature of things, they were bound to be at variance. The "old settlers" of Jackson County were principally from the mountainous portions of the Southern States. They had settled along the water-courses, in the forests which lined their banks, instead of out on the broad and fertile prairies, which only required fencing to prepare them for cultivation. It was the work of years to clear a few acres of the timber lands, and prepare them for cultivation, but with these small fields the "old settlers" were content. They had no disposition to beautify their homes, or even make them convenient or comfortable. They lived in their log cabins without windows, and very frequently without floors other than the ground; and the dingy, smoked log walls were unadorned by pictures or other ornaments. They were uneducated; those who could read or write being the exception and not the rule; and they had an utter contempt for the refinements of life. It is needless to add that they were narrow-minded, ferocious, and jealous of those who sought to obtain

better homes, and who aspired to something better in life than had yet entered into the hearts of these people.

There was another element in western Missouri which did not tend to the improvement of its society. Western Missouri at the time of which I write, and as before remarked, was the frontier of the United States, and therefore a place of refuge for those who had outraged the laws of society elsewhere. Here they were near the boundary line of the United States, and if pursued by the officers of the law, in a few hours they could cross the line out of their reach, as the officers could not operate outside of their own nation. These outcasts helped to give a more desperate complexion to the already reckless population of western Missouri.

The Saints could not join the Missourians in their way of life—in Sabbath-breaking, profanity, horse-racing, idleness, drunkenness, and debauchery. They had been commanded to keep the Sabbath day holy, to keep themselves unspotted from the sins of the world. The fact of people having so little in common with each other was of itself calculated to beget a coldness and suspicion, which would soon ripen into dislike. The saints, too, had come, for the most part, from the Northern and New England States, and the hatred that existed at that time between the people of the slave-holding and free states, was manifested toward the saints by their "southern" neighbors. Moreover, the old settlers were dear lovers of office, and the honors and emoluments growing out of it; and they greatly feared that the rapidly increasing saints would soon outnumber them, and that the offices would be wrested from them. Political jealousy is always cruel and unscrupulous; and is not slow to find excuses for destroying the object of its hatred. To the politician as well as to the lover,

> "Trifles light as air,
> Are to the jealous confirmations strong
> As proofs of Holy Writ."

And where these "trifles" do not exist, we shall see in the progress of our narrative that sectarian meanness and political jealousy do not hesitate to manufacture them.

As early as the spring of 1832 there began to appear signs of an approaching storm. In the deadly hours of the night the houses of some of the saints were stoned, the windows broken, and the inmates disturbed. In the fall of the same year a large quantity of hay in the stack belonging to the saints was burned, houses shot into, and the people insulted with abusive language. In the month of April, 1833, the old settlers to the number of some three hundred met at Independence, to consult upon a plan for the destruction, or immediate removal, of the "Mormons" from Jackson County. They were unable, however, to unite on any plan, and the mob becoming the worse for liquor, the affair broke up in a "Missouri row."

The secret of their failure in accomplishing anything was this: A few of the brethren, learning that such a meeting was being held, met for secret prayer, and petitioned the Father to frustrate the plans of this ungodly mob, who were seeking their destruction. The Lord, in view of the fact, doubtless, that this people were partially repenting of the evils for which they had been reproved, in his mercy heard their prayers, and thwarted the designs of their enemies. But the angry clouds of the threatened persecution had been merely drifted aside, not driven from the horizon; and in a few months they assumed a more threatening aspect than on their first appearance.

The sectarian priests inhabiting Jackson and the surrounding counties were earnestly engaged in fanning the flames of prejudice, already burning in the public mind. The Rev. Finis Ewing, the head and front of the Cumberland Presbyterian church, published this statement: "The 'Mormons' are the common enemies of mankind and ought to be destroyed."

The Rev. Pixley, who had been sent out by the Missionary Society to Christianize the savages of the west, spent his time

in going from house to house, seeking to destroy The Church by spreading slanderous falsehoods, to incite the people to acts of violence against the saints.

Early in July, a document was in circulation known as the "Secret Constitution," setting forth the alleged grievances of the mob, and binding all who signed it to assist in "removing the 'Mormons.'" The document set forth the following: The signers believed an important crisis was at hand in their civil society, because a pretended religious sect—the "Mormons"—had settled in their midst. The civil law did not afford them a sufficient guarantee against the threatening evils, and therefore they had determined to rid themselves of the "Mormons," "peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must;" and for the better accomplishment of this object, they had organized themselves into a company—pledging to each other their "bodily powers, their lives, fortunes, and sacred honors!"

The saints are represented as being the very dregs of that society from which they came; and also as being poor, "idle, lazy, and vicious." They are accused of claiming to receive direct revelation from God; to heal the sick by the laying on of hands; to speak in unknown tongues by inspiration; and, in short, "to perform all the wonder-working miracles wrought by the inspired apostles and prophets of God;" all of which, the document claims, "is derogatory of God and religion, and subversive of human reason."

The signers of this document also accuse the saints of sowing dissensions and inspiring seditions among their slaves. They further charge that the "Mormons" had invited "free people of color" to settle in Jackson County; and state that the introduction of such a caste among their slaves, would instigate them to rebel against their masters, and to bloodshed.

The "Mormons" are also charged with having openly declared that God had given them the land of Jackson County; and that sooner or later they would possess it as an inheritance. The

document then concludes by saying that if after timely warning, and receiving an adequate compensation for what property they could not take with them, the saints shall refuse to leave the county, such means as might be necessary to remove them were to be employed; and calls a meeting of the signers to convene at the court-house in Independence on the twentieth of July, to consult on subsequent movements. *

It may not be amiss here to notice the charges made against the saints:

The statement made by the mob that the "civil law did not afford them a sufficient guarantee against the threatening evils" of which they complained, is good evidence that the saints, although they may have fallen far short of coming up to the full requirements of the high moral and spiritual laws of the gospel of Jesus Christ, had violated none of the laws of man—it is an acknowledgement that they lived above that law.

As to the saints being the dregs of the society from which they came—it is untrue; they had a respectable standing in the society from which they came, and that society was far in advance in civilization and enlightenment of the people of western Missouri. This is an old and oft repeated charge against the early members of The Church—this charge that they were of the "dregs of the society from which they came," and I repeat again that it is not true. I know the usual method of defense is to concede the charge, and then quote the well-known and, I may add also, the well-worn passage from Paul's writings, where, in speaking of the early Christians, he says: "For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called: but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world, * * *

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*The document of which the foregoing is a summary was published in the December number (1833) of the Evening and Morning Star.

the weak things of the world, * * * and base things of the world, and things which are despised, * * * and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are: that no flesh should glory in his presence."* But however complete such an answer may have been in the days of Paul with reference to the Christians of the first century; and however satisfying it may be now in some particulars as to the character of the early membership of The Church, so far as the charge, that the early members thereof were of the "dregs of that society from which they came," is concerned, there is a better course to pursue, a more direct and perfect answer, a more complete argument; and that better course, that more complete answer, is to deny *in toto* the charge. I do deny it. It is not true. Nobler men and women than those who first embraced the gospel of the Son of God in this last dispensation are not to be found; nobler spirits were not on earth. It counts for nothing that in the main they were poor in this world's goods. It is of little moment that they were not famous for learning in the schools of men. I care nothing about their not being regarded as constituting "polite society," having neither the leisure nor the means to cultivate the special graces supposed to go to the making of "polished" gentlemen and ladies. But honesty of heart, purity of motive, nobility of soul, righteousness of life, devotion to God—all characteristics and all attributes which go to the making of a people worthy in the sight of God, may exist quite apart from all that man considers essential to entitle certain of their fellow-men to be considered as forming "good society;" and these attributes the early members of The Church possessed. The Smiths, the Whitmers, the Cowderys, the Johnsons, the Pages, the Corrills, the Knights, the Partridges, the Pratts, the Morleys, the Rigdons, the Whitneys, the Gilberts, the Allens; and a little later, the Youngs, the Snows,

* I Cor. chap. 1.

the Kimballs, the Taylors, the Richardses—and a host of others whose names do not appear so prominently in the very early history of The Church, were a class of people of whom both The Church and God might well be proud. So far removed were they from being the dregs of society that they were the very choicest part of it; respected and honored because possessed of those cardinal virtues which always command respect, however fallen the material fortunes, or humble the station or calling of those who possess them. Nor is this general statement concerning the respectability of the early members of The Church to be weakened because some of them were unhappily overcome of the world, the flesh and the devil. It is not to be supposed that all who start in the way of salvation will be equal to the task of persevering to the end. The inherent weakness of human nature forbids us to hope for that. The innate weakness of many of the saints was made apparent. The gospel is calculated to do that. "If men come unto me I will show them their weakness,"* is the word of the Lord in the Book of Mormon, and indeed it is self-evident that if men are to be perfected—and that is the mission of the gospel—then it is necessary that their defects be pointed out to them; for the first step in reformation is to learn in what particular direction reformation is needed. All that can be said, then, against some of the early saints of this dispensation is that they manifested some of the sinfulness common to humanity, and much of that weakness which is the heritage of the sons of Adam; and some of them—many of them if you will—were not quite equal to the great task of overcoming that sinful nature, that human frailty. Meantime, their future is in the hands of God, and he alone will judge them. To the world we may say: "Who art thou that judgeth another man's servants? To his own master he standeth or falleth. Yea,

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*Ether 12: 27.

he shall be holden up; for God is able to make him stand."*

The charge of idleness comes with a bad grace from the slave-holders of Missouri. Especially so since the charge is made against people chiefly from New England; who, whatever other faults they may possess, can never be truthfully charged with idleness. In addition to the saints who settled in Missouri having been trained from childhood to habits of industry in their former homes, they had received an express command from God to labor, and the idler was not to eat the bread nor wear the garment of the laborer,† and unless the idler repented, he was to be cast out of The Church. ‡

The saints in Missouri, it is true, claimed to receive revelations from God through the Prophet Joseph Smith; and they also enjoyed the gifts of tongues, and of healing the sick through the anointing with oil and the prayer of faith, in fulfillment of the promises of the Lord; § but how all this can be "derogatory of God and true religion," when these blessings of revelation and the enjoyment of the spiritual gifts enumerated are the same as those that were possessed by the primitive Christians, which they were encouraged to "desire,"‖ and have ever been regarded as a crowning glory of the early Church; or how they could be "subversive of human reason," can only be comprehended by a Missouri mob, seeking a vain excuse for the destruction of an unoffending people.

The charge of sowing dissensions and inspiring seditions among the slaves, and inviting free people of color to settle in Jackson County, has no foundation in truth. The July number of the *Evening and Morning Star*, for 1833, contains an article

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* Rom. 14: 4.
† Doc. & Cov. Sec. 42: 42.
‡ Ibid, Sec. 75: 28.
§ St. James, 5: 14, 15.
‖ I Cor. 14: 1.

on "Free People of Color," and publishes the laws of Missouri relating to that class of people. "Free people of color" were negroes or mulattoes who were set free through the kindness of their masters, or who, by working extra hours, for which they were sometimes allowed pay, were able at last to purchase their liberty. Concerning such people the Missouri laws provided that: If any negro or mulatto come into the State of Missouri, without a certificate from a court of record in some one of the United States, evidencing that he was a citizen of such State, on complaint before any justice of the peace, such negro or mulatto could be commanded by the justice to leave the State; and if the colored person so ordered did not leave the State within thirty days, on complaint of any citizen, such person could be again brought before the justice who might commit him to the common jail of the county, until the convening of the circuit court, when it became the duty of the judge of the circuit court to inquire into the cause of commitment; and if it was found that the negro or mulatto had remained in the State contrary to the provisions of this statute, the court was authorized to sentence such person to receive ten lashes on his or her bare back, and then order him or her to depart from the State; if the person so treated should still refuse to go, then the same proceedings were to be repeated, and punishment inflicted as often as was necessary until such person departed.

And further: If any person brought into the State of Missouri a free negro or mulatto, without the aforesaid certificate of citizenship, for every such negro or mulatto the person offending was liable to a forfeit of five hundred dollars; to be recovered by action of debt in the name of the State. The editor of the *Star* commenting upon this law said:

> Slaves are real estate in this and other states, and wisdom would dictate great care among the branches of The Church of Christ on this subject. So long as we have no special rule in The Church, as to people of color, let prudence guide; and while they, as well as we, are in

the hands of a merciful God, we say: shun every appearance of evil.

Publishing this law, and the above comment, was construed, by the old settlers, to be an invitation to free people of color to settle in Jackson County! Whereupon an extra was published to the July number of the *Star* on the sixteenth of the month, which said:

The intention in publishing the article, "Free People of Color," was not only to stop free people of color from emigrating to Missouri, but to prevent them from being admitted as members of The Church.* * * * * To be short, we are opposed to having free people of color admitted into the State.

But in the face of all this the mob still claimed that the article was merely published to give directions and cautions to be observed by colored brethren, to enable them upon their arrival in Missouri, to "claim and exercise the rights of citizenship." "Contemporaneous with the appearance of this article"—the above article in the *Star*—continued the charge published in the *Western Monitor*—"was the expectation among the brethren, that a considerable number of this degraded caste were only waiting this information before they should set out on their journey." †

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* In making the statement that it was the intention of the *Star* article not only to stop "free people of color" emigrating to Missouri, but also to "prevent them from being admitted as members of The Church," the editor of the *Star* goes too far; if not in his second article, explaining the scope and meaning of the first, then in the first article; for he had no business to seek to prevent "free people of color" from being admitted members of The Church. And in forming a judgment of this matter the reader must remember that it is the statement of the editor of the *Star*, and by no means represents the policy of The Church. As a matter of fact there were very few if any "free people of color" in The Church at that time. The "fears" of the Missourians on that head were sheer fabrications of evil-disposed minds.

† Western Monitor for the 2nd of August, 1833.

And this base falsehood was used to inflame the minds of the old settlers against the saints.

That the saints may have said the Lord would yet give them the land of Missouri for their inheritance, is doubtless true; but that they were to obtain it in any other than a legal way never entered their minds. They had been commanded of the Lord to purchase* the land for an inheritance. Besides, the elders stationed in Zion about this time, addressed an epistle to the churches abroad, in which they alluded to the gathering of ancient Israel, and pointing out the difference in their circumstances and those by which the saints now were surrounded. Ancient Israel had been compelled to obtain the lands of their inheritance by the sword. "But," the address adds, "to suppose that we can come up here, and take possession of this land by the shedding of blood, would be setting at naught the law of the glorious gospel and also the word of our Great Redeemer: and to suppose that we can take possession of this country without making regular purchases of the same, according to the laws of our nation, would be reproaching this great republic, in which most of us were born, and under whose auspices we all have protection."† Nothing then can be clearer than that while the saints may have said that Missouri would eventually be the land of their inheritance, they were expecting to obtain it in a perfectly legitimate manner—by purchase.

I have been particular in examining the charges made against the saints by their enemies in Jackson County, in order that my readers may know that wherein the things charged were not in and of themselves innocent, and no cause for offense whatever, they were utterly without foundation in truth.

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* Doc. & Cov. Sec. 57: 3, 5.

†Evening and Morning Star, July, 1833.

CHAPTER VII.

THE STORM BREAKS.

IN answer to the call made for the citizens of Jackson County to assemble at the court house on the twentieth of July, 1833, to devise means to rid the county of the "Mormons," between four and five hundred gathered in from all parts of the county. Colonel Richard Simpson was elected chairman of the meeting, and James H. Flournoy and Colonel S. D. Lucas were chosen secretaries. A committee of seven was appointed by the chair to draft an address to the public, in relation to the object of the meeting; the following was the committee: Russel Hicks, Esq., Robert Johnson, Henry Childs, Esq., Colonel Jas. Hambright, Thomas Hudspeth, Joel F. Childs and Jas. M. Hunter.

The address this committee reported repeated the falsehoods concerning the saints interfering with slaves, inviting free people of color to settle in Jackson County; and of the saints being the very dregs of the society from which they had emigrated; again charged them with most abject poverty, idleness, and of coming to obtain inheritances in Jackson County, "without money and without price." It declared that the evils which threatened their community, by the "Mormons" settling among them, were such as no one could have foreseen, and therefore they were unprovided for by the laws; and the delays incident to legislation would put the mischief beyond all remedy. It expressed the fear that if the saints were not interfered with, the day would not be far distant when the civil government of the county would be in their hands; when the sheriff, the justices, and the county judges would be "Mormons" or persons wishing to

court their favor from motives of interest or ambition; and then the following:

> What would be the fate of our lives and property in the hands of jurors and witnesses who do not blush to declare, and would not, upon occasion, hesitate to swear, that they have wrought miracles, and have been the subjects of miraculous and supernatural cures, have conversed with God and his angels, and possess and exercise the gifts of divination, and of unknown tongues, and fired with the prospects of obtaining inheritances without money and without price—may be better imagined than described.*

However, in speaking of the gifts of the Spirit which the saints enjoyed—revelation, prophecy, speaking in tongues, healing the sick, etc., the committee proposed to have nothing to say, but piously close the clause which refers to these things with the words: "*Vengeance belongs to God alone!*" For the other things with which they charged the saints—each and all of them were utterly false except it might be in the matter of poverty. But even in this the truth was not stated. A few cases aside, the "poverty" in question was that poverty of the pioneer newly arrived in the wilderness which is to be the subsequent field of his enterprises and triumphs. Quite generally the saints went into Jackson County prepared to purchase lands and build homes; but pending the accomplishment of that, there was much inconvenience and some suffering for want of shelter and clothing; but "abject poverty," apart from this, there was none.

The conclusion of the mob in the whole matter was thus stated:

> That no Mormon shall in future move to or settle in this (Jackson) county; that those now here, who shall give a definite pledge of their intention, within a reasonable time, to remove out of the county,

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* Western Monitor, August 2, 1833.

shall be allowed to remain unmolested, until they have sufficient time to sell their property, and close their business without material sacrifice; that the editor of the *Star* be required forthwith to close his office, and discontinue the business of printing in this county; and as to all other stores and shops belonging to the sect, their owners must, in every case, strictly comply with the terms of the second article of this declaration, and upon failure, prompt and efficient measures will be taken to close the same; that the Mormon leaders here are required to use their influence in preventing any further immigration of their distant brethren to this county, and to counsel and advise their brethren here to comply with the above requisitions; that those who fail to comply with these requisitions be referred to those of their brethren who have the gifts of divination, and of unknown tongues, to inform them of the lot that awaits them.*

This address was unanimously adopted by the meeting, and a committee of twelve appointed to wait upon the "Mormon" leaders, and see that the foregoing requisitions were assented to by them. In case of a refusal on the part of the "Mormons" to comply with these demands, the committee, acting as the organ of Jackson County, were to inform them that it was the fixed determination of the mob to adopt such means as would enforce their removal.

The committee called upon Edward Partridge, A. S. Gilbert, John Corrill, Isaac Morley, John Whitmer, and W. W. Phelps, and demanded that they cease publishing the *Star* and close the printing office, and that, as elders of the "Mormon Church," they agree to move out of the county forthwith. Three months was asked for by these elders in which to consider the proposition, and to give them time to counsel with The Church authorities in Ohio; as closing a printing office and removing twelve hundred people from their homes was a work of no small moment. But this time was denied them. They asked for ten days; but that was

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*Western Monitor, August 2, 1833.

not granted; fifteen minutes only was allowed them in which to decide. At this the conference broke up, and the mob returned to the courthouse and reported to the meeting that they had called upon the "Mormon" leaders and that they refused to give a direct answer, but asked for time to consider the propositions and counsel with their brethren in Ohio. The meeting then resolved that the printing office be razed to the ground, and the type and press destroyed.

With demoniac yells the mob surrounded the printing office and house of W. W. Phelps. Mrs. Phelps, with a sick infant in her arms, and the rest of the children, were forced out of their home, the furniture was thrown into the street and garden, the press was broken, the type pied; the revelations, book-work and papers were nearly all destroyed or kept by the mob; and the printing office and house of W. W. Phelps were razed to the ground. Having reduced these buildings to a mass of ruins, the mob proceeded to demolish the mercantile establishment of Gilbert, Whitney & Co., and destroy the goods; but when Mr. Gilbert assured them that the goods would be packed by the twenty-third, they desisted from their work of destruction.

But their fiendish hate had not spent its force. With horrible yells and cursings loud, they sought for the leading elders. Men, women and children ran in all directions, not knowing what would befall them. The mob caught Bishop Edward Partridge and Charles Allen, and dragged them through the maddened crowd, which insulted and abused them along the road to the public square. Here two alternatives were presented them: either they must renounce their faith in the Book of Mormon, or leave the county. The Book of Mormon they would not deny, nor consent to leave the county. Bishop Partridge, being permitted to speak, said that the saints had to suffer persecution in all ages of the world, and that he was willing to suffer for the sake of Christ, as the saints in former ages had done; that he had done nothing which ought to offend anyone, and that if they abused

him, they would injure an innocent man. Here his voice was drowned by the tumult of the crowd, many of whom were shouting: "Call upon your God to deliver you—pretty Jesus you worship!" These expressions, intermingled as they were with the vile oaths of the mob, were enough to put hell itself to shame. The two brethren, Partridge and Allen, were stripped of their outer clothing, and daubed with tar, mixed with lime, or pearl-ash, or some other flesh-eating acid, and a quantity of feathers scattered over them. They bore this cruel indignity and abuse with so much resignation and meekness that the crowd grew still, and appeared astonished at what they witnessed. The brethren were permitted to retire in silence—in silence, except when it was broken by the voice of a sister, crying aloud:

While you who have done this wicked deed must suffer the vengeance of God, they, having endured persecution, *can rejoice*, for henceforth for them is laid up a crown eternal in the heavens!

By this time it was getting late and the mob suddenly dispersed. As night drew her sable mantle over the scene of ruin, those who had escaped to the woods and corn fields began to return, to learn what had befallen their friends. Wives anxiously inquired of the fate of their husbands, and children of the fate of their parents. There can be nothing more sad than this seeking to remove uncertainty in such cases. It is like seeking the dead and wounded on the battlefield, or the missing, the maimed or the dead after an earthquake, or some devouring tempest or flood—so much alike, at least in their results, are the eruptions of the elements and the fierce, uncontrolled passions of man. Before each the timid and the helpless fly to such shelter as they find at hand. Some seek safety in flight, others in hiding from the storm or from wrath. Then when temporary safety is seemingly assured, thoughts for the safety of others assert themselves. The desire for the safety of the loved ones—a wife, a husband, a child, a parent, a brother, a friend—be-

comes an agony. Love by degrees conquers fear, and at last prompts the facing of danger much greater than those from which at first they fled, and the loved ones are sought despite of all risks to personal safety. So it was with the saints who had been so unexpectedly assailed. On this occasion, however, those returning from flight or hiding had nothing to discover beyond the destruction of the printing press, the wrecking of the Phelps home, the looting of Gilbert's store, and the abuse of Partridge and Allen. Enough surely for one day of persecution, but not to be compared with scenes they yet would witness!

The outrages of this day were the more reprehensible because of the character of the leaders of the mob. In the main they were the county officers—the county judge, the constables, clerks of the court and justices of the peace; while Lilburn W. Boggs, the lieutenant-governor, the second officer in the state, was there quietly looking on and secretly aiding every measure of the mob—who, walking among the ruins of the printing office and house of W. W. Phelps, remarked to some of the saints, "You now know what our Jackson boys can do, and you must leave the country!"

CHAPTER VIII.

THREATS OF THE MOB—APPEAL OF THE SAINTS.

THE third day after the events related in the preceding chapter, the mob, to the number of some five hundred, again came dashing into Independence bearing a red flag, and armed with rifles, pistols, dirks, whips and clubs. They rode in every direction in search of the leading elders, making the day hideous with their inhuman yells and wicked oaths. They declared it to be their intention to whip those whom they captured with from fifty to five hundred lashes each, allow their negroes to destroy their crops, and demolish their dwellings. Said they:

"We will rid Jackson County of the 'Mormons,' peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must. If they will not go without, we will whip and kill the men; we will destroy their children, *and ravish their women!*"

"WE WILL RAVISH THEIR WOMEN!"

A threat most horrible. Worse than murder; for murder has in it yet some mercy as compared with ravishment, that worst exercise of brute force against helpless innocence. Murder when it has completed its work leaves its victim senseless and peaceful in death; "after life's fitful dream is over," he may sleep well. But what damning torments must that breast suffer which is robbed of its peace by brutal force! How deep the woe that bears the burden of an outraged modesty! How agonizing to be an object of pity! How much more cruel the living tortures of a life so humiliated than the calmness and the peace of death! When devils would with their direst terrors shake a people they say,

We will ravish your women!

The leading elders, seeing their own lives, and the property and lives of those over whom they presided in jeopardy, resolved to offer themselves as a ransom for The Church—willing to be scourged, or even put to death if that would satisfy their tormentors, and stop their inhuman cruelties practiced toward the flock of which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers. The men who thus offered their own lives for the lives of their friends were:

JOHN CORRILL,	A. S. GILBERT,
JOHN WHITMER,	EDWARD PARTRIDGE,
W. W. PHELPS,	ISAAC MORLEY.

Forever let their names be known throughout all Israel as men who have given the greatest evidence within the power of man to give, that they loved the brethren. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends;" and that faith which will inspire in man a love for his fellows; that will lead him to offer his life as a ransom for his brethren, is so nearly akin to that faith and love which glowed within the breast of the Divine Master, that its source cannot be mistaken. But the inhuman wretches who had combined to drive the saints from their homes in Jackson County, were insensible to the sublime manifestations of love they witnessed. It appealed not to their adamantine hearts. With brutal imprecations they told these men that not only they, but every man, woman and child would be whipped or scourged until they consented to leave the county, as they had decreed that the "Mormons" should leave the county, or they "or the 'Mormons' must *die*."

The presiding brethren, finding that there was no alternative but for them to leave speedily or witness innocent blood shed by fiends incarnate, concluded to leave Jackson County. A new committee was selected by the mob to confer with the brethren, and the following agreement was entered into:

The leading elders with their families were to move from the county by the first of January following; and to use their influence to induce all their brethren to leave as soon as possible, one half by the first of January, 1834, and the remainder by April, 1834. They were also to use all the means in their power to stop any more of their brethren moving into the county; and also to use their influence to prevent the saints then enroute for Missouri settling permanently in Jackson County, but for those then on the way they were to be permitted to make temporary arrangements for shelter until a new location was agreed upon by the society. John Corrill and A. S. Gilbert were to be allowed to remain as general agents to settle up the business of The Church, so long as necessity required. Gilbert, Whitney & Co. were to be permitted to sell out their merchandise then on hand, but no more was to be imported. The *Evening and Morning Star* was not again to be published, nor a press established by any member of The Church in the county. Edward Partridge and W. W. Phelps were to be allowed to pass to and from the county to wind up their business affairs, provided they moved their families from the county by the first of January following. On the part of the mob, the committee pledged themselves to use all their influence to prevent any violence being used against the saints, so long as the foregoing stipulations were complied with on the part of The Church.*

A day or two after this treaty was entered into, The Church in Zion dispatched Oliver Cowdery to Ohio to confer with the general Church authorities on the situation of the saints in Missouri. This conference resulted in the general authorities sending as special messengers Elders Orson Hyde and John Gould to Jackson County, with instructions to the saints not to

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*Evening and Morning Star, p. 229.

dispose of their lands or other property, nor remove from the county, except those who had signed the agreement to do so.

Meantime the saints attempted to settle in Van Buren, the county joining Jackson on the south (the name has since been changed to Cass), but the people of that county, after the saints commenced a settlement, drew up an agreement to drive them from there, and destroy the fruits of their labors; so they were obliged to return to their former homes.

While the saints were making efforts to carry out the first part of the stipulation entered into with the mob of Jackson County, the mob on their part failed to refrain from acts of violence. Daily the saints were insulted. Houses were broken into, and the inmate threatened with being mobbed if they stirred in their defense. But Truth began to make herself heard. As the fiendish acts of the mob became known, they called forth execrations from various quarters. A number of articles published in the *Western Monitor*, printed at Fayette, Howard County, Missouri, censured the conduct of the mob, and suggested that the saints seek redress of the State authorities for the wrongs they had suffered. Whereupon the leaders of the mob began to threaten life, and declared that if any "Mormon" attempted to seek redress by law or otherwise, for defamation of character, or loss of property, he should die.

These threats, however, did not deter the saints from appealing to the chief executive of the State for a redress of grievances. A petition setting forth their suffering, and denying the allegations of the mob, was presented by Orson Hyde and W. W. Phelps to Daniel Dunklin, who, at the time, was governor of the State. In addition to relating the story of their wrongs, and denying the charges made by the mob, upon which the old settlers of Jackson County depended to excuse or defend their acts of cruelty toward the saints, the petition set forth that whenever that fatal hour arrived that the poorest citizen's person, property, or rights and privileges shall be trampled

upon by lawless mobs with impunity, "that moment a dagger is plunged into the heart of the Constitution of the country, and the Union must tremble * * * We solicit," said they, "assistance to obtain our rights; holding ourselves amenable to the laws of our country, whenever we transgress them." They asked the governor by express proclamation or otherwise to raise a sufficient number of troops, who, with themselves, might be empowered to defend their rights; that they might sue for damages for the loss of property, for abuse, for defamation of character, and, if advisable, try for treason those who had trampled upon law and government, that the law of the land might not be defied, nor nullified, but peace restored to the country.

To this very reasonable request Governor Dunklin made a patriotic reply. He stated he would think himself unworthy the confidence with which he had been honored by his fellow-citizens, did he not promptly employ all the means which the Constitution and laws had placed at his disposal to avert the calamities with which the saints were threatened, and added:

> Ours is a government of laws, to them we all owe obedience, and their faithful administration is the best guarantee for the enjoyment of our rights. No citizen, nor number of citizens, have a right to take the redress of their grievances, whether real or imaginary, into their own hands. Such conduct strikes at the very existence of society, and subverts the very foundation on which it is based. I am not willing to persuade myself that any portion of the citizens of the State of Missouri are so lost to a sense of these truths as to require the exercise of *force*, in order to insure respect for them.

He advised the threatened saints, therefore, to make a trial of the efficacy of the laws; that wherein their lives had been threatened, they make affidavit to that effect before the circuit judge, or the justices of the peace in their respective districts, whose duty it then became to bind the threatening

parties to keep the peace. By this experiment it would be proven whether the laws could be executed or not; and in the event that they could not be peacefully executed, the governor pledged himself, on being officially notified of that fact, to take such steps as would insure a favorable execution of them.

As to the injuries the saints had sustained in the loss of property, the governor advised them to seek redress by civil process—expressing the opinion that the courts would grant them relief.*

I do not doubt the sincerity of Governor Dunklin in giving this counsel to the saints, and under ordinary circumstances to seek redress at the hands of the civil authorities would be the proper thing to do. But in this case the officers of the law had been the head and front of this high-handed and infamous proceeding. In proof of this statement I give the names and offices held by those who were most active in the lawless proceeding related:

S. D. LUCAS, *colonel, and judge of the county court;*
SAMUEL C. OWENS, *county clerk;*
RUSSEL HICKS, *deputy clerk;*
JOHN SMITH, *justice of the peace;*
SAMUEL WESTON, *justice of the peace;*
WILLIAM BROWN, *constable;*
THOMAS PITCHER, *deputy constable.*

Besides these there were Indian agents, postmasters, doctors, lawyers and merchants.

These were the men who had despoiled the saints—these the ones, in connection with the secret assistance of the lieutenant governor of the State, LILBURN W. BOGGS, who inflamed the minds of the ignorant frontier settlers against an innocent people, and encouraged the vicious to maltreat the virtuous.

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* Evening and Morning Star, p. 351.

These were the men who on the 23rd of July of the same year had said:

"*We will rid Jackson County of the 'Mormons' peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must. If they will not go without, we will whip and kill the men; we will destroy the lives of their children, and ravish their women!*" And these were the men—the officers of *justice*, to whom the "Mormons" were to appeal for a redress of grievances! To say the least, does it not smack of "going to law with the devil, when court is to convene in hell?" Surely it was only a forlorn hope the saints could entertain of being redressed for their wrongs by appealing to the very parties who inflicted those wrongs upon them; and yet it was about the only course open to the governor to suggest at that time. Being willing to magnify the law, the saints acted upon the governor's advice. For this purpose they engaged the services of four lawyers from Clay County, then attending court at Independence, viz.: Messrs. Wood, Reese, Doniphan and Atchison. These gentlemen engaged to plant all the suits the saints might wish to present before the courts, and agreed to attend to them jointly throughout for one thousand dollars. W. W. Phelps and Bishop Partridge gave their notes for that sum, endorsed by Gilbert & Whitney.

No sooner did the mob witness these movements than they began to prepare for further hostilities. The red right hand of persecution was again armed to plague the saints.

CHAPTER IX.

AGAIN THE STORM.

HAVING made all necessary preparations for obtaining by civil process redress for the wrongs inflicted upon them by the mob, Sunday, the twentieth day of October, 1833, the saints declared publicly that as a people they intended to defend their lands and homes. The next day the leaders of the mob began to prepare to inflict further violence upon them. Strict orders were circulated among the saints not to be the aggressors, but to warn the mob not to come upon them. Court was to convene on Monday, the 28th of October, and it was expected that some of the leaders of the mob would be required to file bonds to keep the peace.

While these preparations were progressing among the saints, the mob were not idle. They resorted to their old method of circulating false rumors about the "Mormons." The blasphemy of their doctrines; their intentions to take possession of Jackson County by force; the incompatibility between the old settlers and the "Mormons," were all urged, and the conclusion reached that a war of extermination must be waged against the saints in the name of self-preservation.

Saturday, the 26th, about fifty of the mob met in counsel, and "voted to a hand to move the 'Mormons;'" and as an earnest of their intentions, attacked a number of families who had but lately arrived from Ohio and Indiana, but without inflicting much injury. Monday, the 28th, the circuit court convened, but very few people were in attendance. There was no mob there, but threats of the most violent character were made.

The night of October 31st, however, may be regarded as the time when hostilities recommenced in earnest. That night the mob to the number of forty or fifty proceeded against a branch of The Church located on the stream called Big Blue, known as the Whitmer settlement. They shamefully whipped nearly to death several of the brethren, among whom was Hiram Page. With brutal threats they frightened helpless women and children and drove them into the wilderness in the middle of the night, and then unroofed and demolished ten or twelve houses.

This outrage was followed up the next night, November 1st, by an attack upon the saints living in Independence and vicinity. Their houses were brickbatted, doors broken down, and long poles thrust through their windows. A party of the brethren had gathered for protection about half a mile west of Independence, and to them word was sent that the mob were tearing down the store of Gilbert, Whitney & Co., and destroying their goods. Whereupon these brethren went in a body to the store. At their approach the main body of the mob fled. One of their number, bolder than his fellows, remained, however, and continued sending brickbats and stones through the shattered doors and windows, while the goods were scattered around him in the street. This man the brethren took prisoner, and brought him immediately before Samuel Weston, justice of the peace, entered a complaint, and asked that a warrant be issued that he, Richard McCarty, might be secured. But the justice refused to make out the warrant, or do anything in the matter, and McCarty was turned loose.

The same night an attack was projected upon another branch of The Church, known as the Colesville branch, located in Kaw Township, about twelve miles west of Independence. The mob sent two of their number, Robert Johnson and one Harris, as spies, armed with two guns and three pistols. They were discovered by some of the brethren, among whom was Parley P. Pratt. Without provocation Johnson struck Pratt

over the head with the breech of his gun, which staggered him for a moment, and made the blood flow in streams down his face. These two men were taken and detained as prisoners through the night. The spies not returning rather disconcerted the mob, and it is generally supposed prevented an attack that night upon the Colesville branch. The morning following, Johnson and Harris were given their arms, and permitted to return to their companions, without receiving injury from the hands of those whom they had so maliciously assaulted, and into whose power they had fallen.

On the night of November 2nd, a party of the mob went against the branch located on Big Blue, unroofed one house and destroyed some furniture. They also broke into the house of David Bennett, whom they found sick in bed. Being unable to resist them, they beat him most unmercifully, and swore they would blow out his brains. One of their number shot at him with a pistol, but the ball instead of entering his head, as evidently intended, cut a deep gash across the top of it, which, however, did not prove fatal.

While the mob were in the act of beating Bennett, a number of the brethren who had gathered in a body for mutual protection came upon the scene, and a firing of guns commenced. Both parties claim that the other began the attack, but which party began the firing does not matter here. If the brethren opened the fire, they were altogether justified in doing so under the circumstances. Women and children were running here and there screaming with terror, not knowing where to go for safety. Their piteous cries, mingled with the brutal oaths of the mob, and the firing of guns, made the night hideous. In the melee a young man acting with the mob was shot through the thigh, but by which party it is not known.

This day also the saints in Independence gathered in a body as much as possible, about half a mile west of the town, for the purpose of better defending themselves against their enemies.

The day following the events just detailed, Joshua Lewis, Hiram Page, and two others were despatched to Lexington, to see John F. Ryland, judge of the circuit court, and obtain a peace warrant. The saints had previously applied to Squire Silvens for such a warrant, but he refused to grant it. They read to him the governor's letter, which directed them to proceed in that manner, but he replied that he cared nothing for what the governor said. Either his fears of the mob were greater than his respect for the governor, or the law, or he was in hearty sympathy with the rioters. Judge Ryland issued a peace warrant on the 6th; but whether it ever reached the hands of the county sheriff or not I cannot learn. If placed in his hands, then he refused to serve it. But the most reasonable conclusion is, that in consequence of the exciting times and unsettled state of affairs in Jackson County, it never reached his hands.

CHAPTER X.

THE PASSIVELY GOOD.

THERE were a few of the citizens of Jackson County who did not take part in these shameful proceedings against The Church. They were friendly disposed towards the saints, but lacked the courage to speak out boldly in their defense, or take up arms to protect suffering innocence. This is often the case with the passively good; with "conservative" citizens. They have no sympathy with rioters, or with mob lawlessness. They are ready to say that such conduct is outrageous, and even a menace to free institutions, and incompatible with freedom; but further than this they do not go. Their conception of good citizenship does not lead them to be active in resisting aggressions upon the liberties of others; especially when those "others" are people with whom they have but little sympathy. They seem not to have learned that those who would preserve their own rights and freedom must insist upon the rights and liberty of every man being respected and assured. It is vain, and especially in a republic is it vain, for any man to suppose that the freedom of any citizen or class of citizens, however humble or even unpopular they may be, can be infringed without endangering the rights and freedom of all. Many otherwise, good citizens of the Republic—simple and fundamental to the preservation of rights and freedom as is this principle—seem so far to fail in appreciation of it, that they stand by while the rights of others are invaded, and sometimes swept away, without making so much as a protest against the injustice. They are content if only their own personal and immediate rights are not directly

assailed. The result is that an active minority—often, in fact, an insignificant part of the community, and contemptible of character—are permitted to perpetrate outrages upon worthy though it may be unpopular citizens, that bring disgrace upon the State, and endanger liberty itself. Such was the case in the present instance with those who were not in sympathy with the mob; and yet so far were they from standing up for the rights of those whom they confessed were unjustly assailed, that they advised the saints to leave the State immediately, as the wounding of the young man on the night of the 2nd had enraged the whole county against them; and it was a common expression among the mob that Monday (the 4th of November), would be a "bloody day."

CHAPTER XI.

A "BLOODY DAY."

EARLY on Monday the mob took the ferry-boat on Big Blue, west of Independence, which belonged to the saints, driving the owners away with threats of violence. From thence they went to a store, about one mile west of the ferry, kept by one Wilson. Word was brought to a branch of The Church located several miles still further west from the ferry, that the mob east of the Blue were destroying property, and the saints needed assistance. Upon hearing this, nineteen of the brethren volunteered to go to their aid; but on approaching Wilson's store they learned that the mob were there, and that the report of the destruction of property east of the Blue was false. The company started to return to their homes, but two small boys passing on their way to Wilson's store saw this company, and reported to the mob that the "Mormons" were on the road west of them. At this the mob, which numbered between forty and fifty, started in pursuit, and soon came in sight of the company of volunteers, which, at the enemy's approach, fled in all directions. The mob gave hot pursuit, hunting for the brethren through the corn fields, and even searching the houses of the saints for them; at the same time threatening the women and children with violence if they did not tell where the men were hiding. They fed their horses in Christian Whitmer's corn field, and took him and pointed their guns at him, threatening his life if he did not tell them where the brethren were.

Two or three of the company who were dispersed by the mob made their way to the Colesville branch of The Church,

which was but about three miles away. A company of thirty men was quickly formed, and although they were armed with but seventeen guns, and knew their enemies were more numerous than they, and better armed, they promptly marched to the assistance of their brethren. They found the mob hunting for their victims, and threatening the women and children. As the mob saw this new company approaching, some of them shouted *"Fire, God damn ye, fire!"* and then they themselves fired two or three shots at the approaching company. This fire was promptly returned by a volley from the brethren, at which the mob fled, leaving two of their number and some of their horses dead on the ground. The two killed were Hugh L. Brazeale and Thomas Linville. Brazeale had been known to say, "with ten fellows I will wade to my knees in blood, but what I will drive the 'Mormons' from Jackson County."

The first shots fired by the mob wounded Philo Dibble in the bowels, the balls remaining in him. As he bled much inwardly his bowels became swollen, and his life was despaired of. Newel Knight, however, administered to him, by laying on hands in the name of Jesus Christ, and a purifying fire penetrated his whole system. He discharged several quarts of blood and corruption, with which was one of the balls that inflicted his wounds. He was immediately healed, and remained an able-bodied man, and performed military duty for a number of years afterwards.*

A brother by the name of Andrew Barber was mortally wounded—his death occurred the next day.

This battle was fought about sundown, and during the night the mob dispatched runners in all directions with the false re-

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* Philo Dibble lived to take part in the defense of the city of Nauvoo, some thirteen years later; afterwards removed with The Church to the Rocky Mountains, settling finally in Springville, Utah County, where he died in full faith of the gospel at the advanced age of 90, on the sixth of June 1895.

port that the "Mormons" had "*riz;*" that they had been joined by the Indians, and had taken Independence; that the "'Mormons' had gone into Wilson's store and shot his son," with other rumors that were calculated to excite the people, and enrage them against the saints.

The same day, November 4th, a most extraordinary affair occurred at Independence. We have already told how a number of the brethren caught Richard McCarty on the night of November 1st, in the act of hurling stones and brickbats through the doors and windows of Gilbert, Whitney & Co.'s store, while the goods — calicoes, shawls, cambric handkerchiefs, etc.—were scattered around him in the street; and how the brethren took him before the justice of the peace, Samuel Weston, and asked for a warrant to be issued against him, and how the justice refused to issue the warrant. But on this fourth day of November, Richard McCarty obtained a warrant from this same justice of the peace for the arrest of A. S. Gilbert, Wm. E. McLellin, Isaac Morley, John Corrill, and three or four others, charging them with *assault and battery*, and *false imprisonment.* In relation to this matter Brother Corrill tersely remarks, "Although we could not obtain a warrant against him for breaking open the store, yet he had gotten one for us, for catching him at it."

The trial of these men was in progress in the courthouse at Independence, when the news of the battle west of the Blue was brought to town. But instead of being reported correctly, it was said that the "Mormons" had gone into Wilson's house and shot his son. This so enraged the crowd that were in attendance at the trial that a rush was made for the prisoners, to kill them. This, however, was prevented; and at the suggestion of Samuel C. Owens, clerk of the county court, those on trial were locked up in jail for their own safety. During the night the mob were busy collecting arms and ammunition, making every preparation for a general massacre of the saints the next day.

The brethren who were imprisoned were frequently told of

these warlike preparations during the night, and that, too, by men of note; and were further informed that nothing but their leaving the county would prevent bloodshed. Whereupon the brethren consented to leave the county, and furthermore agreed to go and consult with their brethren on the subject of all the members of The Church leaving. For this purpose Gilbert, Morley, and Corrill were accompanied by the sheriff and two others to the branch of The Church some half a mile from Independence; and there held an interview with their brethren upon the subject of their moving from the county, to which the members of that branch consented.

The sheriff and his prisoners then returned to the jail—it being about two o'clock in the morning. As they approached the jail they were halted by a company of armed men, six or seven in number. The sheriff answered them, giving his own name and the names of his prisoners, at the same time exclaiming, "Don't fire, don't fire, the prisoners are in my charge!" Morley and Corrill turned and fled, and the party who had halted them fired one or two shots after them. Gilbert stood his ground, and while the sheriff held him, several guns were presented at him. Two of the men, more desperate than the rest, attempted to shoot him, but their guns missed fire; seeing that they failed to shoot him, one of the party, Thomas Wilson, knocked him down. His life, however, was preserved, and his injuries were not very serious.

CHAPTER XII.

THE "HONOR" OF A MOB.

THE morning of the 5th of November witnessed the people from all parts of the county crowding well armed into Independence. But few knew of the agreement made by the saints in and about Independence to leave the county; and the presence of the armed crowds was made the occasion of calling out the militia. This last move was at the instigation of Lieutenant Governor Boggs—at least such was the report among the people that day. The command of this militia was given to Colonel Pitcher, but the men who had formerly been the mob made up the ranks of the militia; and the only difference between the mob and the militia was that the mob organized as a militia were prepared to adopt more effective measures in driving the saints from their homes than before they were so organized. The colonels in command—Pitcher and Lucas—were known as the bitter enemies of the saints, and their names were attached to the agreement, circulated in the July previous, to drive them from the county. From such a militia, officered by such men as Pitcher and Lucas, the saints could hope for no protection.

The branches of The Church west of Independence did not hear of the agreement of the Independence branch to leave the county, but reports reached them that a number of their brethren were imprisoned, and that the mob were determined to kill them. About a hundred of the brethren gathered from the various branches, and marched in a body to assist those in peril. They halted about a mile west of Independence, to ascertain the situation of affairs. Learning that the mob had not attacked

the branch at Independence, and that the militia was called out, they concluded to quietly disperse and go to their homes. But they had been seen on the road, and it was reported that the "Mormons" were on the march toward Independence, with the intention, no doubt, to do mischief.

Hearing this, the militia under Colonel Pitcher became enraged, and would only consent to grant the people peace on the condition of their agreeing to deliver up certain men, engaged in the battle the evening before, to be tried for murder and surrendering their arms. To this last proposition Lyman Wight, who, it appears, acted as the leader of the body of brethren that had marched to Independence, would not consent, unless Colonel Pitcher would also disarm the mob. To this the colonel cheerfully agreed; and pledged his honor, with that of Lieutenant Governor Boggs, Samuel C. Owens, and others, to carry out his promise. *

Upon this treaty being made the brethren surrendered their arms—in all, forty-nine guns and one pistol. They also gave up a number of the parties who were engaged the night before in the battle, to be tried for murder. These men were detained a day and a night, during which time they were insulted, threatened, and brickbatted; and after receiving a mockery of a trial, Colonel Pitcher let them go, after taking an old watch from one of them to satisfy costs!

The agreement made by Colonel Pitcher, to disarm the mob, was never executed; but as soon as the brethren had surrendered their arms, bands of armed men were turned loose upon them. Lyman Wight was chased by one of these gangs across an open prairie for five miles, but fortunately escaped. He lay three weeks in the woods, and was without food three days and nights. He was hunted by the mob through Jackson, Lafayette, and Clay counties, and also through the Indian Territory. Some of

* Times and Seasons, 1843, p. 263.

the parties who were hounding him were asked why it was they had so much against him, to which they replied: "He believes in Joe Smith and the Book of Mormon, G—d d——n him; and we believe Joe Smith to be a d—d rascal!"

The men who had made up the rank and file of the militia on the 5th of November, the next day were riding over the country in armed gangs threatening men, women and children with violence, searching for arms, and brutally tying up and whipping some of the men, and shooting at others. The leaders of these ruffians were some of the prominent men of the county; Colonel Pitcher and Lieutenant Governor Boggs being among the number. The priests in the county, it seems, were determined not to be outdone by the politicians, for the Reverend Isaac McCoy and other preachers of the gospel (!) were seen leading armed bands of marauders from place to place; and were the main inspirers of cowardly assaults on the defenseless.

All through this day and the day following (the 6th and 7th of November,) women and children were fleeing in every direction from the presence of the merciless mob. One company of one hundred and ninety—all women and children, except three decrepit old men—were driven thirty miles across a burnt prairie. The ground was thinly crusted with sleet, and the trail of these exiles was easily followed by the blood which flowed from their lacerated feet!* This company and others who joined them erected some log cabins for temporary shelter, and not knowing the limits of Jackson County, built them within the borders thereof. Subsequently, in the month of January, 1834, parties of the mob again drove these people, and burned their wretched cabins, leaving them to wander without shelter in the most severe winter months. Many of them were taken suddenly ill and died.

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* Lyman Wight's affidavit, Times and Seasons, 1843, p. 264.

CHAPTER XIII.

SCENES ON THE BANKS OF THE MISSOURI—EXILED.

OTHER parties during the two days mentioned flocked to the Missouri River, and crossed at the ferries into Clay County. One of the companies of distressed women and children were kindly lodged by a Mr. Bennett for the night in his house. We speak of this because acts of benevolence toward the saints were so rare that whenever they occur they should be chronicled.

In one of the companies that went to Clay County was a woman named Ann Higbee who had been sick for many months with chills and fever,—she was carried across the river, apparently a corpse. Another woman named Keziah Higbee, in the most delicate condition, lay on the banks of the river all night, while the rain descended in torrents, and under these circumstances was delivered of a male child; but the mother died a premature death through the exposure. All the pity the parties received from their relentless persecutors was this brutal expression, "G—d d—n you, do you believe in Joe Smith now?" The scene that was witnessed on the banks of the Missouri on the seventh of November is so graphically described in the Prophet Joseph's history that I cannot forbear inserting it here:

The shores began to be lined on both sides of the ferry with men, women and children, goods, wagons, boxes, chests, provisions, etc.; while the ferrymen were busily employed in crossing them over; and when night again closed upon the saints, the wilderness had much the appearance of a camp-meeting. Hundreds of people were seen in every direction; some in tents, and some in the open air, around their fires, while the rain descended in torrents. Husbands were inquiring for their wives, and women for their husbands; parents for

children, and children for parents. Some had the good fortune to escape with their family household goods, and some provisions; while others knew not of the fate of their friends, and had lost all their goods. The scene was indescribable, and would have melted the hearts of any people upon earth, except the blind oppressor and prejudiced and ignorant bigot. Next day the company increased, and they were chiefly engaged in felling small cottonwood trees and erecting them into temporary cabins, so that when night came on, they had the appearance of a village of wigwams, and the night being clear, the occupants began to enjoy some degree of comfort.*

On the night of the thirteenth of November, while large bodies of the saints were still encamped on the Missouri bottoms, exiled from their homes for the gospel's sake, one of the most wonderful meteoric showers occurred that was ever witnessed. The whole heavens and the earth were made brilliant by the streams of light which marked the course of the falling ærolites. The whole upperd eep was one vast display of heaven's fireworks. The long trains of light left in the heavens by the meteors would twist into the most fantastic shapes, like writhing serpents. The grandeur of the display was far beyond the power of words to describe. I mention it because of the effect it had upon the minds of the suffering saints. The scriptures teach that one of the signs of the glorious appearing of Jesus Christ shall be the falling of stars from the heaven, as a fig tree casteth her untimely figs, when she is shaken of a mighty wind; and the shaking of the powers of heaven.†

It is needless to say that this sign in the heavens encouraged the exiles; that it revived their hopes; that it calmed their fears; that it seemed to herald the coming of their Deliverer, the Son of God. Nor need I say that it awed the mob, and made a pause in their cruel proceedings for a season. That

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* Millennial Star, Vol. 14, p. 582.

† Mark 13: 25, 26; also Revelation 6: 13-17.

pause, however, was brief; for on the twenty-third of November the mob held a meeting and appointed a committee to warn away any of the saints who might possibly be found within the borders of the county. Accordingly what few families were scattered here and there through the county were threatened and abused until they were finally forced from their homes. On the twenty-fourth of December four aged families were assaulted at Independence. The mob tore down their chimneys, broke open their doors and threw large stones into their houses.

A brother by the name of Miller, sixty-five years of age, and the youngest of the men in the four families, narrowly escaped fatal injuries. A brother Jones, who was also subjected to like inhuman treatment, served as a life-guard to General Washington in the Revolution, and had fought for the establishment of the sacred principles of liberty guaranteed in the Constitution of his country, the free exercise of which was now denied him by a gang of heartless wretches, who had conspired against the liberties of worthy citizens.

Some time later in the winter, an old man of about seventy years of age was driven from his house, after which it was thrown down. His household goods, corn, etc., were piled together and set on fire; but, fortunately, after the mob left, his son extinguished the flames. About the same time Lyman Leonard had two chairs broken to splinters over his head and body, and was dragged out of doors, where he was beaten with clubs until he was supposed to be dead. The same day Josiah Sumner and Barnet Cole received the same kind of treatment.*

Early in the spring the mob burned the remainder of the houses belonging to the saints. According to the testimony of Lyman Wight, two hundred and three dwelling-houses and one grist mill were so destroyed†—destroyed in the hope, perhaps, of discouraging the return of the exiles.

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* Evening and Morning Star, p. 277.

† Lyman Wight's affidavit, Times and Seasons, 1843, p. 264.

CHAPTER XIV.

AFTERMATH OF THE EXPULSION.

THE saints, exiled from their homes in Jackson County, found a temporary resting place in Clay County; though some of them were scattered through Ray, Lafayette, and Van Buren Counties. Those, however, who settled in Van Buren were again driven away, as related in a former chapter. The people in Clay County, as a rule, were kind to the exiles thrown so unceremoniously upon their hospitality. They were permitted to occupy every vacant cabin, and build others for temporary shelter. Some of the sisters obtained positions as domestics in the households of well-to-do farmers, while others taught school. For their acts of kindness the people of Clay County were well repaid in labor performed by the brethren, who were by no means idle, nor of the class who would receive a gratuity when it was within their power to give its equivalent in honest toil.

But look at the situation of the saints in the best possible light, and after all, it was a gloomy prospect! In their scattered condition no regular discipline could be enforced. Many of them were beyond the reach of their spiritual teachers; and being surrounded by wickedness, their hopes blighted, and witnessing the apparent triumph of the wicked, is it any wonder if, in their despair, many of them committed sins, and were chargeable with follies unbecoming people of their profession? But in the main the saints were immovable as the everlasting hills in their righteousness, and in their integrity. They were willing to count all things as dross for the excellency of the knowledge of God. Their very sufferings only wafted them

nearer to him who permitted their enemies to chasten them for their good, their very chastisement being a witness that they were sons of God—that he loved them.*

The brethren were perplexed most of all as to what course to pursue. Their return to the lands from which they had been driven looked at least unlikely. They knew not whether it would be best to lease or buy lands in Clay County; whether to prepare for permanent or only temporary residence in that land. In the midst of this uncertainty, a conference was convened on the 1st of January, 1834, at the house of P. P. Pratt, at which it was—

Resolved, that Lyman Wight and Parley P. Pratt be sent as special messengers to represent the situation of the scattered brethren in Missouri, to the Presidency of The Church, in Kirtland, and ask their advice.

Accordingly these brethren started to perform this mission, leaving their families in a penniless condition, while they themselves faced the winds and snows of winter in the interests of their afflicted co-religionists.

Pending the saints receiving instructions from their youthful Prophet, we have many events to relate to our readers. In the latter part of December, 1833, a court of inquiry was held at Liberty, Clay County, to investigate the conduct of Colonel Pitcher, in dispossessing the "Mormons" of their arms, and driving them from their homes. The inquiry resulted in his arrest and trial before a court-martial; but the court did not convene until the 20th of February, 1834; and so remiss in the performance of his duty was General Thompson, who presided at the court-martial trial, that no report was made to the governor until the first of May; and even then it had to be solicited by the governor.

From the facts brought out in that trial, the governor de-

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* Hebrews 12: 6-9.

cided that Colonel Pitcher had no right to dispossess the "Mormons" of their arms; and sent an order to S. D. Lucas, colonel of the thirty-third regiment, to deliver the arms taken from the "Mormons" on the 5th of December, 1833, to W. W. Phelps, John Corrill, E. Partridge, A. S. Gilbert, or their order. Lucas, in the meantime, however, had resigned his position, left Jackson County and settled in Lexington. Learning of this, the governor issued a second order for the arms, directing it this time to Colonel Pitcher. This letter was inclosed in a letter from the governor to W. W. Phelps, and sent to Pitcher on the tenth of July; but the arms were never returned. Indeed, between the issuing of the first and second orders of the governor for their restoration to their owners, the arms were distributed among the mob; and they insolently boasted that the arms should not be returned, notwithstanding the order of the executive. The determination of the mob proved to be stronger than the authority of the governor—the commander-in-chief of the militia of the State.

In the month of December, 1833, the mob permitted the firm of Davies & Kelly to take the printing press owned by The Church over to Liberty, in Clay County, where the said firm began the publication of *The Missouri Enquirer;* and in payment for the press turned over to the lawyers employed by the saints three hundred dollars on the one thousand dollar note the brethren had given their attorneys. Not much to pay for a press that, with the book-works, had cost, eighteen months before, between three and four thousand dollars.

CHAPTER XV.

AN "ATTEMPTED VINDICATION" OF LAW.

IT would appear that as soon as the news of the expulsion of the saints reached the ears of the State officers, they were anxious to reinstate them in their possessions. R. W. Wells, the attorney-general of Missouri, wrote the lawyers employed by The Church to the effect that if the "Mormons" desired to be returned to their homes in Jackson County, an adequate force of the State militia would be sent forthwith to accomplish this object, the militia having been ordered to hold themselves in readiness for that purpose. He also promised that if the "Mormons" would organize themselves into a company of militia, they should be supplied with arms by the State. He also suggested that, "as only a certain quantity of public arms can be distributed in each county, those who first apply will be most likely to receive them." This letter was written after a conversation between the governor and the attorney-general; and by that conversation, the attorney-general believed that he was warranted in making these suggestions to the "Mormons," and one would be justified in regarding the foregoing as the sentiments of the governor, as well as the attorney-general.

John F. Ryland, the circuit judge for the district of which Jackson County was a part, wrote to Amos Reese, circuit attorney for the same district, and also counsel for The Church, saying that he had been requested by the governor to inform him "about the outrageous acts of unparalleled violence that had lately happened in Jackson County;" and had been requested by him to examine into these outrages, and to "take steps to punish the

guilty and screen the innocent." He, however, (that is, Judge Ryland) could not proceed without some person was willing to give the proper information before him. He asked the circuit attorney to find out from the "Mormons" if they were willing to take legal steps against the citizens of Jackson County; and if they desired to be reinstated in their possessions. If so, he was willing to adopt measures looking toward the accomplishment of this object, saying that the military force would repair to Jackson County, and execute any order he might make respecting the subject. "It is a disgrace to the State," said he, "for such acts to happen within its limits, and the disgrace will attach to our official characters, if we neglect to take proper means to ensure the punishment due such offenders."

The order for an immediate court of inquiry had been prepared by the governor, but he waited to hear from the saints, as to whether or not they desired to be reinstated in their homes. The leading elders of The Church, learning through their attorneys of the steps taken to hold an immediate court of inquiry, at once wrote the governor, asking him not to hold an immediate court of inquiry, as at that time many of those persons whom they would want as witnesses were scattered through several of the surrounding counties, and could not be notified in time to be in attendance. Besides this they urged that many of their principal witnesses would be women and children, and so long as the rage of the mob continued unabated, it would be unsafe to take these witnesses to Independence. "An immediate court of inquiry," wrote A. S. Gilbert, "called while our people are thus situated, would give our enemies a decided advantage in point of testimony." He asked his excellency therefore, in behalf of The Church, to postpone the court of inquiry until the saints were restored to their homes, and had an equal chance with their enemies in producing testimony before the court.

Amos Reese, the circuit attorney, and one of the counsel for The Church, concurred in these very reasonable requests;

and said further: "I think that at the next regular term of the court, an examination of the criminal matter cannot be gone into without a guard for the court and witnesses."

The communication which made these suggestions was followed up on the 6th of December by a petition to the governor, which set forth the outrages committed against the saints by the Jackson County mob, as already related in these pages; and asked him to restore them to their possessions in that county; and protect them when restored by the militia of the State, if legal, or by a detachment of the United States troops. The petition suggested that doubtless the latter arrangement could be effected by the governor conferring with the President of the United States on the subject. They also asked that their men be organized into companies of "Jackson Guards,"and furnished with arms by the State, that they might assist in maintaining their rights. "And then," said they, "when arrangements are made to protect us in our persons and property (which cannot be done without an armed force, nor would it be prudent to risk our lives there without guards till we receive strength from our friends to protect ourselves), we wish a court of inquiry instituted, to investigate the whole matter of the mob against the 'Mormons.'"

To this petition the governor replied on the 4th of February, 1834; and said the request to be restored to their homes and lands needed no evidence to support the right to have it granted. In relation to the brethren organizing into military companies, the governor said: "Should your men organize according to law—which they have a right to do, indeed it is their duty to do so, unless exempted by religious scruples—and apply for public arms, the executive could not distinguish between their right to have them, and the right of every other description of people similarly situated."

All these answers of the governor to the petition of the exiled saints, so far, were good, and manifested a spirit to ad-

minister even-handed justice. But when he comes to consider their request to be *protected* in their possessions, as well as *reinstated* in them, his reply was not so favorable. "As to the request," said he, "for keeping up a military force to protect your people, and prevent the commission of crimes and injuries, were I to comply it would transcend the power with which the executive of this State is clothed." Still, the laws of the State empower the "commander-in-chief, in case of actual or threatened invasion,insurrection,or war,or public danger,or *other emergency*, to call forth into actual service such portion of the militia as he may deem expedient."

In my judgment, it does seem that under the powers here conferred upon the executive by this provision of the fundamental law of the State—the constitution—the governor could have granted the request of the saints to be protected in their homes, until peace was restored. Surely the clause, "*or other emergency*," in the section of the law just quoted, was broad enough to justify him in protecting, by the State militia, twelve hundred citizens of the United States in their homes until mob violence had subsided—until respect for the civil law had been restored, and these citizens allowed to dwell in safety upon the lands they had purchased from the general government. Under this provision he could have "curbed those cruel devils of their will," without "doing even a little wrong, in order to do a great right"—without "wresting the law to his authority." But he chose to interpret the law otherwise—as follows:

> The words, "or other emergency," in our militia law, seem quite broad; but the emergency to come within the object of that provision, shall be of a public nature. Your case is certainly a very emergent one, and the consequences as important to *your society* as if the war had been waged against the whole State, yet the *public* has no other interest in it than that the laws be faithfully executed.

The sequel will show how *faithfully* the laws were executed,

and how the "public" stood by, indifferent spectators, while an unoffending people were robbed of their possessions, and the laws of the State set at defiance by insolent mobs. The governor closed his answer to the petition of the exiles by saying that as then advised it would be necessary to have a military guard for the court and State witnesses, while sitting in Jackson County; and he sent an order to the captain of the Liberty Blues to comply with the requisition of the circuit attorney, in protecting the court and executing its orders during the progress of the trials arising out of the Jackson County difficulties; and said the "Mormons" could if they felt so disposed, return under the protection of this guard to their homes, and be protected in them during the progress of the trials.

It required no great wisdom, however, to foresee that for the saints to return to their homes, and then be left there without protection—left to the mercy of inhuman wretches, in whose veins ran none of the milk of human kindness—would not be far removed from suicide, as the mob greatly outnumbered the saints. To return under these circumstances would only be laying the foundation for a greater tragedy than the one already enacted; and the brethren wisely concluded not to attempt to regain possession of their homes, until some measure was adopted to protect them when there—until "God or the President ruled out the mob."

At the February term of the circuit court, which convened at Independence, about twelve of the leading elders were subpœnaed as witnesses on the part of the State, against certain citizens of Jackson County for their acts of mob violence against the "Mormons." On the twenty-third of the month these witnesses crossed the Missouri into Jackson County, under the protection of the Liberty Blues, Captain Atchison commanding. The company numbered about fifty, and were all well armed with United States muskets, bayonets fixed—presenting an outward appearance "fair and warlike." The company and witnesse

commenced crossing the river about noon, but it was nearly night before the baggage wagon was taken across. While waiting for the arrival of the wagon, it was decided to camp in the woods, and not go to Independence until the next morning. Half the company and a number of the witnesses went about half a mile towards Independence and built fires for the night. While engaged in these duties the quartermaster and others, who had gone ahead to prepare quarters in town for the company, sent an express back, which was continued by Captain Atchison to Colonel Allen, for the two hundred drafted militia under his command: and also sent to Liberty for more ammunition. The night was passed around the camp fires, as the party was without tents, and the weather cold enough to snow a little.

Next morning the witnesses were marched to Independence under a strong guard and quartered in the block-house—formerly the Flourney Hotel. The attorney-general of the State, Mr. Wells, had been sent down by the governor to assist the circuit attorney, Mr. Reese, "to investigate as far as possible, the Jackson outrage." These gentlemen waited upon the witnesses in their quarters, and gave them to understand that all hope of criminal procedure against the mob was at an end. Only a few minutes afterward, Captain Atchison informed the witnesses that he had received an order from Judge Ryland that the services of his company were no longer needed in Jackson County. So the witnesses for the State were marched out of town to the tune of Yankee Doodle—quick time.

Thus ended the sickly attempt of the State authorities to "execute the law"—in which execution the 'public,' according to the governor, was interested, but no further interested in this outrage. But, "so far as a faithful execution of the laws is concerned," he presumed, "the whole community felt a deep interest; for that which is the case of the 'Mormons' today, may be the case of the Catholics tomorrow, and after them, any other sect that may become obnoxious to a majority of the people

of any section of the State."* After this effort by the State authorities to execute the law, doubtless all other sects or parties who were likely to come under the ban of popular sentiment felt secure in their liberties—satisfied with the valor of the officers of the State who had trembled before the bold front of a mob—a mob which had boasted that if the "Mormons" were reinstated in their homes by the authority of the governor, not three months should elapse before they would drive them again! And even while the circuit court was convened at Independence, and a company of militia was in attendance to execute its mandates, and the attorney-general of the State present to assist the circuit attorney prosecute those who had violated the law—yet, in the presence of all this authority, the old citizens of Jackson gathered, and assumed such a boisterous and mobocratic appearance that their bold front overawed the officers of the court; the attorneys of the State telling the State witnesses —who were also sufferers from the previous violence of the mob—that all hopes of criminal prosecutions against the mob were at an end; while Judge Ryland issued an order for the militia to withdraw, just when they were needed to protect his court in vindicating the law!

Thus ended the only effort that was ever made by the officers of Missouri to bring to justice these violators of the law. One class of citizens had conspired against the liberties of another class, and being the stronger had, without the authority of law, or shadow of justification, driven twelve hundred of them from their possessions, and there was not virtue enough in the executive of the State and his associates to punish the offenders. The determination of the mob to resist the law was stronger than the determination of the State officers to execute it and make it honorable. And yet the constitution of the State made it the

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*Governor Dunklin's communication, Millennial Star, Vol. 14, p. 702.

imperative duty of the executive to "take care that the laws are faithfully executed." And the laws of the State empowered the commander-in-chief of the militia (the governor) "in case of * * * insurrection, or war, or public danger, or other emergency, to call forth into actual service such portion of the militia as he might deem expedient." With this power placed in his hands by the laws of the State, Governor Dunklin permitted mobs to overawe the court of inquiry he himself had ordered, and allowed them to continue unchecked in their unhallowed deeds of devastation and violence. And while the mobocrats triumphed over the law, the governor's letters to the leading elders of The Church contained many pretty patriotic sentiments, but he lacked the courage to execute the law.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CAUSE OF EXPULSION—FUTURE REDEMPTION.

IT must not be supposed that the Prophet Joseph was an uninterested spectator of the stirring events that were being enacted. The circumstances of The Church were such that his presence was necessary in Kirtland, but all the sympathy of his nature went out to his brethren in affliction; and his letters were filled with words of encouragement and wise counsels: and, so far as his embarrassing financial circumstances would permit, he rendered them material aid. There were two things, however, that he could not understand; "and," said he, "they are these: Why God has suffered so great a calamity to come upon Zion, and what the great moving cause of this persecution is. And again, by what means he will return her back to her inheritance, with everlasting joy upon her head."

He was not left long in doubt as to these matters. The words we have quoted above are taken from a letter written by Joseph on the tenth of December, 1833; and six days later the Lord in a revelation to him said:

Verily I say unto you, concerning your brethren who have been afflicted, and persecuted and cast out from the land of their inheritance, I, the Lord, have suffered the affliction to come upon them, wherewith they have been afflicted, in consequence of their transgressions. * * * Behold, I say unto you, there were jarrings, and contentions, and envyings, and strifes, and lustful and covetous desires among them; therefore by these things they polluted their inheritances. They were slow to hearken unto the voice of the Lord

their God, therefore the Lord their God is slow to hearken unto their prayers, to answer them in the day of their trouble.*

This explained to the uttermost why the saints were driven away from Zion. Of the evils which were in their midst they had been made aware by the reproofs of their brethren; they had been warned time and again by the Prophet and the high council at Kirtland of impending judgments. But all these warnings had only aroused them to a partial repentance; and the Lord, true to his word at the time of giving the warning, was now pleading with the strong ones in Zion, and chastening her mighty ones, that they might overcome.†

Seeing, then, that the saints were punished for neglecting to observe the counsels of God, the question may arise, are the mob to be held responsible for their acts of violence against them? Most assuredly, for it is a case where "offenses must needs come, but woe unto them by whom they come."

In relation to the other matter about which Joseph was perplexed, namely, by what means the Lord would redeem Zion, this same revelation, and one given subsequently—on the twenty-fourth of February, 1834—explained. From these two revelations we learn that Zion is to be redeemed by power. "I will raise up unto my people," said the Lord, "a man who shall lead them like as Moses led the children of Israel, for ye are the children of Israel, and of the seed of Abraham, and ye must needs be led out of bondage, with power, and with a stretched out arm: and as your fathers were led at the first, *even so shall the redemption of Zion be.* Therefore, let not your hearts faint, for I say not unto you as I said unto your fathers, mine angel shall go up before you, but not my presence; but I say unto you, mine angels shall go before you, and also my presence, and in time ye shall possess the goodly land."‡ But this great blessing, they

* Doc. & Cov. Sec. 101: 1-7.

† Doc. & Cov. Sec. 90: 34-37.

‡ Doc. & Cov. Sec. 103.

were given to understand, was not to be granted *"until after much tribulation."* *

Joseph Smith was commanded to gather up the strength of the Lord's house, the young men, and the middle-aged; and they were to gather to Zion to possess the land that the Lord had appointed unto the saints, much of which they had purchased and consecrated unto him. The work of gathering was to go on. The churches of the east were to send up money in the hands of wise men to purchase inheritances; and inasmuch as their enemies came upon them to drive them from their homes, they were to defend themselves, and avenge themselves of their enemies. They were to make every effort to obtain five hundred men to go up and redeem Zion; but if they failed to get five hundred, then they were to get three hundred; and if they failed to get three hundred, they were to get one hundred; but they were not to go if unable to obtain one hundred. The Lord told the saints, even previous to this, that "there is even now already in store a sufficient, yea,even an abundance,to redeem Zion, and establish her waste places,no more to be thrown down, were the churches,who call themselves after my name, willing to hearken to my voice." †

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*Doc. & Cov. Sec. 103: 12, and Sec. 58: 2-4.

†Doc. & Cov. Sec. 101: 75.

CHAPTER XVII.

IMPORTUNING AT THE FEET OF THE JUDGE—THE GOVERNOR—THE PRESIDENT.

PENDING the gathering of the strength of the Lord's house to go up to redeem Zion, the saints who had been driven from their homes were instructed to importune at the feet of the judge; and if he heed them not, then to importune at the feet of the governor; and if the governor heeded them not, then to importune at the feet of the president; and if the president heeded them not, "then will the Lord rise and come forth out of his hiding place, and in his fury vex the nation, and in his hot displeasure, and his fierce anger, in his time, will cut off these wicked, unfaithful, and unjust stewards."

The brethren now began the work of petitioning in earnest. The authorities and brethren in Kirtland petitioned the governor of Missouri in behalf of their afflicted brethren of that State, inclosing in their petition the revelation the Lord had given respecting the redemption of Zion.* They also sent a similar petition, and the same revelation, to the President of the United States. "And now," wrote Joseph to the brethren in Missouri, "we will act the part of the poor widow† to perfection, if possible, and let our rulers read their destiny if they do not lend a helping hand."

The saints in Missouri were by no means idle. They continued to keep the subject of their wrongs constantly before the

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* Doc. & Cov. Sec. 101.

† Luke 18: 1-6.

authorities of the State. They also prepared a petition to the President of the nation, setting forth their wrongs at great length, enclosing in it the reply of the governor to their petition to him. And since the governor claimed that the laws of his State did not authorize him to keep a military force in Jackson County, to protect them in their homes after their restoration, they asked the President to restore them to their possessions, and protect them when so restored, by an armed force, until peace was insured. Their petition also referred to the section of the Constitution which provides that the United States shall protect each state against invasion; "and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence."* At the same time the exiles informed Governor Dunklin that they had petitioned the President for a force to protect them in their homes, and asked him to assist them by sending to the chief executive of the nation a few lines in support of their claims. Elder Phelps wrote Senator Thomas H. Benton, informing him of their having sent a petition to the President, and asked him for his co-operation in securing their rights. Governor Dunklin answered that as it was possible that the saints had asked the President to do something that he was not empowered to do, he could not consistently join with them in urging him to do it. "If you will send me a copy of your petition to the President, I will judge of his right to grant it; and if of opinion he possesses the power, I will write in favor of its exercise." But whether the saints complied with this request or not, I cannot learn.

On the second of May, 1834, they received a communication from Washington, which, as might have been anticipated, stated that the offenses of which they complained were violations against the laws of the State of Missouri, and not the laws of the United States, and the clause in the Constitution to

* Const. Art. iv, Sec. 4.

which they had alluded, extended only to proceedings under the laws of the United States. "Where an insurrection in any State exists, against the government thereof,"said the communication from Washington, "the President is required, on the application of such State, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), to call forth such a number of the militia, as he may judge sufficient to suppress such insurrection. But this state of things does not exist in Missouri, or if it does, the fact is not shown in the mode pointed out by law. The President cannot call out a military force to aid in the execution of the State laws, until the proper requisition is made upon him by the constituted authorities." And as the "constituted authorities" would not make that requisition, all hopes of assistance from the general government, of course, were at an end.

When the State legislature convened, the governor called the attention of the body legislative to the outrages committed by the citizens of Jackson County against the"Mormons,"saying: "As yet, none have been punished for these outrages, and I believe that, under our present laws, conviction for any violence committed against a 'Mormon' cannot be had in Jackson County. * * * It is for you to determine what amendment the laws may require, so as to guard against such acts of violence for the future." This notice of the question in the governor's message revived the sinking hopes of the exiles, but it was only again to have them disappointed. The portion of the governor's message which referred to the Jackson outrage was given to a special committee, and at the suggestion of Messrs. Thompson and Atchison, of the Missouri legislature, the saints petitioned that body for an enactment to reinstate them in their homes and protect them, when thus reinstated, but it availed nothing. The legislature took no action in the matter. The violators of the law went unwhipped of justice. Suffering innocence found no protector in the State.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ZION'S CAMP.

"WHEN the Lord commands, do it." This is what the Prophet Joseph declared to be his rule. Therefore, when the Lord, on the twenty-fourth of February, 1834, commanded him to gather together the strength of the Lord's house—the young and middle-aged men in The Church—for the purpose of going to Missouri, to redeem Zion, two days later he was seen leaving his home for the State of New York, to fulfill this commandment.

He was accompanied by Parley P. Pratt on this mission. Other leading Elders went in various directions on the same errand. They traveled among the branches of The Church in the east pleading the cause of Zion, asking the saints to assist in her redemption by contributing of their substance to relieve the distresses of their brethren who had been driven from their homes in Missouri, who now were exiles and largely dependent upon the kindness of strangers for means of living. They called upon the saints to send money to Missouri with which to purchase inheritances for themselves; they also asked the young and the middle-aged men to volunteer to go to Zion for the purpose of assisting their brethren to maintain their possessions in Jackson County, when the State authorities should reinstate them in their homes. We have none of the speeches of these elders in print, we cannot tell how well they told the story of Zion's wrongs; but surely the plain, unvarnished statement of her woes would be sufficient to move adamantine hearts to pity; while those who

held the sufferers as brethren in a common cause would weep over their affliction, and with resolution stronger than the love of life, pledge their fortunes, and themselves to bring about their restoration to their homes and secure to them the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It will become necessary, however, in another place, for us to tell how unsympathetic, and what a lack of faith there was among the eastern branches of The Church; and how these things justly brought upon the saints in the east the displeasure of God, and prevented, at that time, the redemption of Zion.

The village of New Portage, about fifty miles from Kirtland, Ohio, was made the place of rendezvous for the young and middle-aged brethren, who, in response to the call of the Lord and his Prophet, had volunteered to go to the assistance of their brethren in Missouri; and here, about the first of May, the volunteers began to assemble. On the sixth they were joined by their youthful prophet-leader, who, the next day, organized them as follows: F. G. Williams was appointed treasurer and paymaster of the camp. All the money was collected and given into his keeping. Zerubbabel Snow was appointed commissary general. There were also other general officers that were appointed, but what they were we have been unable to learn. The camp was divided into small companies, twelve men in each. These companies elected their own captains, who then assigned each man his duty in the respective companies, thus: two cooks; two firemen; two tent makers; two watermen; one runner, or messenger; two wagoners and horsemen; and one commissary.

In all, the company that collected at New Portage numbered one hundred and fifty, which was increased by the time the camp reached Missouri to about two hundred.

They purchased flour and baked their own bread, and cooked their own provisions, which, at times, were scarce. Their baggage wagons, about twenty in number, were so loaded with their provisions, arms, ammunition and clothing for their distressed

brethren in Missouri, that nearly the whole company had to walk. Every night before retiring to sleep, the blast of the evening trumpet called them to prayers in their respective tents; and the morning trumpet summoned them to implore the assistance of Divine Providence in the day's march. Thus they made the journey, pitching their tents by the way-side, alike in the settled country and in the wilderness; stopping occasionally for a few days, to refresh their overworked teams; and always remaining in camp on the Sabbath day to hold divine service, and partake of the sacrament. On the occasion of their holding public worship, the people in the vicinity of their encampment would often attend and wonder much at the doctrines they heard, being puzzled to know what sect of men they were.

Such a company of men traveling in this manner through the country did not fail to excite the curiosity of the people; and every effort was made to learn the names of the leaders, the business, object, and destination of the expedition; but in this they failed, as it was Joseph's instructions to the members of the company not to make these things known. There were several boys in the expedition, and at times these were questioned by strangers, but with very unsatisfactory results. Among the number of boys so questioned was Geo. A. Smith, afterwards one of the counselors to President Brigham Young, in the Presidency of The Church. The questions and answers were about as follows:

"My boy, where are you from?"

"From the east."

"Where are you going?"

"To the west."

"What for?"

"To see where we can get land cheapest and best."

"Who leads the camp?"

"Sometimes one, sometimes another."

"What name?"

"Captain Wallace, Major Bruce, Orson Hyde, James Allred, etc." *

The people not unfrequently, however, suspected they were "Mormons," and many times the little band was threatened with destruction, and spies continually harrassed them by trying to get into their camp. They were foiled in these efforts though, by the vigilance of the guards, who nightly patrolled their encampment. At various points through Indiana and Illinois, they were told their passage would be resisted, but these threats nothing daunted them. The opposition was overawed more than once by the numbers in the camp being multiplied in the eyes of their enemies. The brethren of Zion's Camp knew the object of the expedition to be a noble one. They were conscious of God's approval, and of the presence in their midst of his angels; and strengthened by this knowledge, they fearlessly marched on to accomplish the work of redeeming Zion.

Joseph says: "We know that the angels were our companions, for we saw them." A circumstance in the experience of Parley P. Pratt furnishes further testimony of the presence of angels with this expedition. Elder Pratt was chiefly engaged as a recruiting officer, and on one occasion, when he had traveled all night to overtake a small company he was conducting to the main camp, he stopped at noon on a broad level plain to let his horse feed. No habitation was near. Stillness and repose reigned around him. "I sank down," he says, "overpowered with a deep sleep, and might have lain in a state of oblivion till the shades of night had gathered about me, so completely was I exhausted for the want of sleep and rest; but I had only slept a few moments till the horse had grazed sufficiently, when a voice, more loud and shrill than I had ever before heard, fell upon my ear, and thrilled through every part of my system; it said:

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* Celebration Pioneers' Day, p. 18.

'*Parley, it is time to be up and on your journey.*' In the twinkling of an eye I was perfectly aroused, I sprang to my feet so suddenly that I could not at first recollect where I was, or what was before me to perform. I afterwards related the circumstance to Brother Joseph Smith, and he bore testimony that it was the angel of the Lord who went before the camp, who found me overpowered with sleep, and thus awoke me."*

The line of march led the camp through Indiana and the central part of Illinois. The journey was undertaken, too, at a time of year—May and June—when nature appears in her most lovely attire—when the forests were in full leaf, and filled with the resonance of birds, the hum of bees and insects; when the great prairies, which quite bewilder one with their vastness, are clothed in their variegated garments of grass and wild flowers; at a time of year when in the upper deep there is a deeper blue, when the rising sun seems to shed a brighter light upon the earth beneath, and when his parting rays paint the evening skies in splendors unsurpassed.†

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* Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt, p. 123.

† PEN-PICTURE OF THE CAMP.—In fancy I see them after a hard day's march making their encampment. The sun has just sunk behind the western horizon as Joseph and the standard bearer are choosing the place for their night's encampment They have paused on the summit of one of the gentle swells of prairie so common in their line of travel. A short distance to the south is a small wooded stream. To the north and east, as far as the eye can see, is nothing but the broad, rolling prairie; looking west, the horizon is bounded by a view of the heavy forests which marked the meandering course of the Illinois.

"Brother Joseph, would it not be better to make our camp further to the south, down on the banks of the stream where wood and water will be more convenient?" said he who bore the standard. "I think not," replies the Prophet. "You know we received word that the people intend to prevent us crossing the Illinois River, which we will reach by ten o'clock tomorrow; so that we are in the vicinity of our enemies. If we camp in the woods, they could surround us, and we

not be aware of it. But by making this eminence our camp ground they can't approach without being observed by our guards; and the brethren will be willing to carry both wood and water this short distance in order to enjoy the security of this position."

And now the main company has come in full view over a hill to the east, and as they see the ensign planted they know the camp ground has been chosen. Anxious to obtain food and rest, they urge their jaded teams to make better speed, and soon the twenty wagons are arranged in two curving lines, to make an oval enclosure with openings at each end. Now is enacted a busy scene. Men are hurrying to and fro in all directions; but there is no confusion. Each knows what is required of him, and cheerfully performs his allotted part. The teamsters have unhitched and stripped the harness from their sweating horses that now quietly crop the rich grass; the firemen and watermen have brought both fuel and water, and already the sombre twilight is made cheerful by the light of the camp fire, around which the cooks are busy preparing the evening meal. The tent makers are stretching the tents within the space enclosed by the wagons. Orders are given in a cheerful, half-jesting manner. All is peace—all is union. Now you see the men quickly gathering around their respective fires, as their several cooks announce supper ready. As they quietly seat themselves around their food, heads are bared, and thanks returned to Him, who had commanded them in everything to give thanks. Pleasant conversation prevails in nearly every group. The trials of the day are turned into merriment—anecdotes and jests provoke peals of laughter, and the toils of the day are forgotten. Supper is over. Around a fire near the center of the encampment have gathered a number of brethren, and their prophet-leader is relating to them some of the visions of his early youth, interspersing his narrative with maxims of incalculable value to the hearers. As he warms under the glow of the Spirit of God, he tells them of the future glory of Zion—of the temple to be overshadowed by a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night—of her being a place of refuge—a city of peace in which the saints of God shall safely dwell, and how the wicked shall say, "let us not go up to battle against Zion, for her inhabitants are terrible." But listen! In another part of the camp a number of the brethren are singing; and as the melody floats out on the calm stillness of the night, you recognize one of the familiar songs of Zion:—

Glorious things of thee are spoken,
Zion, city of our God!

He, whose word can not be broken,
Chose thee for his own abode.

On the Rock of ages founded,
What can shake thy sure repose!
With salvation's walls surrounded,
Thou may'st smile on all thy foes.

The song was scarcely concluded when the sharp, thrilling notes of the bugle summon to prayer. All promptly retire to their tents and are engaged in solemn devotion. Few leave the tents after prayers. The guards have been notified to take their places, and their comrades stretch out their tired limbs upon their rude pallets. As the bustle in the camp ceases, and naught is heard but the whispered conversation of the guards, or their footsteps as they move back and forth upon their beats, you hear in the distance the plaintive notes of the whip-poor-will. And now the pale moon slowly rises and bathes in her soft light the sleeping camp.—*Roberts.*

CHAPTER XIX.

ZELPH.

AFTER crossing the Illinois River Zion's Camp passed many of those mysterious earth mounds so common in that section. Mysterious mounds! No, not mysterious to them, for they had with them the record of the peoples who erected them—the Nephites and Lamanites, or, more likely still, the people of Jared.

While encamped on the western bank of the Illinois, Joseph and several others ascended one of these high mounds from which they could overlook the tops of the trees, and see the prairies beyond. On the top of the mound were three stone altars, erected one above the other, "according to the ancient order," said Joseph. Human bones were scattered about on the surface of the ground; and after removing about a foot of the soil at the crown of the mound, they found the skeleton of a man nearly complete. Between his ribs was an Indian arrow-head which, doubtless, had produced his death. The visions of Joseph's mind the day following were opened, and he learned that this man whose skeleton they had found was named Zelph. He was a white Lamanite; the curse of the black skin had been taken from him because of his righteousness. He was a noted character, a warrior and chieftain under the great prophet Omandagus, who was known from the hill Cumorah to the Rocky Mountains. He was killed in the last great struggle of the Lamanites and Nephites by the arrow-head found between his ribs.*

*President Brigham Young took possession of the arrow-head.

CHAPTER XX.

DISSENSIONS IN THE CAMP.

ON the seventh of June Zion's Camp reached the Allred settlement, on Salt River. This Allred settlement consisted, for the most part, of Latter-day Saints, and here Joseph resolved to refresh his men and teams by resting a few days. The day following their arrival, they were rejoined by Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight who had parted from the main company in Ohio for the purpose of going into Michigan, to raise from among the several branches of that State, volunteers to assist in redeeming Zion. The addition of these volunteers swelled the number in the camp to two hundred and five men, and twenty-five baggage wagons, with two or three horses to each.

During this stay of several days at Salt River, a reorganization of the camp took place. Lyman Wight, who had some knowledge of military evolutions and tactics, and was, withal, a bold, fearless man, was elected general of the camp. Joseph chose a company of twenty men to be his life guard, of whom his brother Hyrum was made captain. The rest of the men were organized into companies as at New Portage. The general of the camp drilled these companies in military manœuvres; inspected their fire-locks, and gave them target practice by platoons—in short, prepared them for effective service should the emergency arise for them to use force to retain their possessions in Zion.

I regret to say that the spirit of union and harmony depicted in my pen sketch of the camp, in the foot-note of chapter eighteen, was not always characteristic of it. There were times

when a spirit of selfishness and an utter lack of brotherly love with some was manifested. Particularly was this true of one Sylvester Smith, who exhibited a selfish and at other times a quarrelsome spirit. One evening when provisions in camp were scarce, Elder P. P. Pratt called upon Sylvester Smith for something to eat; and although Smith had food, he refused to divide with Brother Pratt, and sent him to someone else. The end of it was Brother Pratt had to retire hungry. Joseph being told of this, severely reproved the offender; and whether that reproof continued to gall the feelings of Sylvester Smith or not, I cannot say. But at any rate, as soon as the camp arrived at what is known as the twenty-two mile Wockendaw Prairie, well on to two hundred miles west from the Mississippi, this same man and Lyman Wight made an effort to divide the camp. The company had first taken up quarters in the woods on the bank of the river; but being threatened by their enemies, Joseph decided that it would be better to move out into the open prairie. With this arrangement some were dissatisfied, as it took them away from firewood. Lyman Wight and Sylvester Smith turned aside with their companies and went into camp before leaving the timber; and as the other companies came along, would hail the captains and ask them if they were following General or Wight some other man.

At this some companies hesitated a moment, and then drove out to the plain where the ensign had been planted to mark the place Joseph had chosen for the encampment. Those who had turned aside, and made an effort to divide the camp, came up also, and were called upon to give an account of their conduct. They acknowledged their error, and were forgiven.

Another difficulty arose among the brethren, about a dog which had snapped at Sylvester Smith and others. Considerable anger and ill feeling existed in camp about it. At last Joseph in the presence of a number of the brethren said: "I will

descend to that spirit which is in the camp, to show you the spirit you are of; for I want to drive it from the camp. *The man that kills that dog, I will whip him.*" Sylvester Smith came up just in time to hear the last part of Joseph's remarks, and said: "If that dog bites me I shall kill him."

"If you do I will whip you," replied Joseph.

"If you do, I shall defend myself the best way that I can.'

To which Joseph rejoined that he would whip him in the name of the Lord. "Now," said he, "I have descended to that spirit to show you the spirit which is among you. Brethren, are you not ashamed of it? I am." Then he reproved them sharply for their murmuring and follies. As they continued in their rebellious moods and manifested but little of the spirit of repentance, he predicted that a plague would overtake the camp, and they would die like sheep with the rot.* Of the fulfillment of this prediction, I shall speak hereafter.

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* Of this prophecy Heber C. Kimball, in his journal under date of June 3rd says: "This day June 3rd, while we were refreshing ourselves and our teams, about the middle of the day, Brother Joseph got up in a wagon and said that he would deliver a prophecy. After giving the brethren much good advice, exhorting them to faithfulness and humility, he said the Lord had told him that there would be a scourge come upon the camp, in consequence of the factions and unruly spirits that appeared among them and they should die like sheep with the rot; still if they would repent and humble themselves before the Lord, the scourge in a great measure might be turned away; but as the Lord lives, this camp will suffer for giving way to their unruly temper."—Times and Seasons Vol. vi. p. 788.

CHAPTER XXI.

VIEWS CONCERNING ZION—MOB VS STORM.

AS soon as the camp was reorganized at Salt River, Parley P. Pratt and Orson Hyde were sent as delegates to wait upon Governor Dunklin, at Jefferson City, and request him to call out a sufficient military force to reinstate the saints in the possession of their homes. In the interview the governor frankly admitted the justice of the demand, but expressed fears that if he should so proceed, it would excite civil war, and deluge the whole country with blood. He advised these delegates to counsel their people, for the sake of peace, to sell the lands from which they had been driven. To this the delegates refused to consent, saying:

> We will hold no terms with land pirates and murderers. If we are not permitted to live on the lands we have purchased of the United States, and be protected in our rights and persons, they will at least make a good burying ground in which to lay our bones; and we shall hold on to our possessions in Jackson County, for this purpose at least.

The governor could not and did not blame them; but he trembled for the country, and dared not carry out what he admitted to be the plain, imperative duties of his office.

Elders Pratt and Hyde rejoined the camp not far from the line of Ray County. As soon as they arrived, the Prophet Joseph, his brother Hyrum, Lyman Wight, and some others repaired to a grove, and heard their report.

"After hearing our report," says Parley P. Pratt, "the President (Joseph Smith) called on the God of our fathers to witness the justice of our cause, and the sincerity of our vows, which we engaged to fulfill whether in this life or in the life to come. For, as God lives, truth, justice, and innocence shall triumph; and iniquity shall not reign."

As the brethren approached Richmond, threats were made that they should not pass through the town, and rumor had it that a force of men was in waiting to intercept them. Daylight of the nineteenth of June saw them, in spite of the threats, quietly passing through the streets of the sleeping town. When they broke camp in the morning, they designed reaching Clay County that day; but they met with so many reverses in the day's march, such as wagons breaking down, wheels running off, etc., that they failed to accomplish it. Early in the evening they went into camp between two forks of Fishing River.

A plan had been laid for the complete destruction of "Joe Smith's army," as Zion's Camp was called by the Missourians; and now the time for its execution had arrived. A mob of two hundred men had been raised in Jackson County, which was to cross the Missouri into Clay County, about the mouth of Fishing River, where a man named Williams kept a ferry. This mob was to be joined at the fords of Fishing River by a party of sixty from Richmond; and still by another mob, seventy in number, from Clay County. Indeed, it looked as if Zion's Camp was to be annihilated forthwith.

While the brethren were making preparations for the night, five men armed with guns rode into camp, and insolently told the brethren they would "catch hell before morning." "And their oaths," says Joseph, "partook of all the malice of demons."

The Jackson mob assembled opposite the mouth of Fishing River, and one scow-load—forty in number—was sent over. By this time the sun was but little more than an hour high, and the camp observed a small cloud coming up from the west. "It

wasn't any larger than your hat when I first saw it," said one* who was present, and described the occurrence to me; "but in about twenty minutes the whole heavens were inky blackness, which now and then seemed split by the vivid streams of lightning." All the artillery of heaven seemed to be in action. The wind blew and the rain and hail fell in torrents. The hailstones —unusually large ones—cut down the corn crop and other vegetation. Large limbs were wrenched from sturdy oaks and twisted into withes by the fierce wind.

The tents in the camp were blown down, and the most of the brethren took refuge in an old church house near their camp ground. Big Fishing River, that was not more than six inches deep before the storm arose, was about forty feet deep the next morning; and the mob swore that Little Fishing River rose thirty feet in that many minutes.

This storm prevented the mob from collecting as arranged. The scow that had ferried over part of the Jackson mob, in returning for more, was met by the storm and only after much difficulty about dark reached the Jackson side. Those that had been shipped across were exposed to the pitiless pelting of the storm all night, which cooled their desire to "kill Joe Smith and his army."

"Instead of continuing a cannonading which they commenced, * * * they crawled under wagons, into hollow trees, and filled one old shanty."† The next morning they were as anxious to reach the Jackson side of the Missouri as they had been the night before to get at "Joe Smith's" camp. The other parts of the mob who were to give the brethren "hell before morning" met with a fate equally unpleasant. Their

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* This was the late Judge Joseph Holbrook of Davis County, who personally related the circumstance to me.

† Joseph's history under date of 19th of June, 1834.

horses were frightened, broke away from their masters, and wandered over the prairies in some instances several days. Their plans for the destruction of Zion's Camp were frustrated, and the brethren rejoiced.

CHAPTER XXII.

NEGOTIATIONS.

THE day following this providential storm the camp moved out into the prairie some five miles, where there was a better chance to defend themselves. Here, the next day, Colonel Sconce and two other leading men from Ray County called upon the camp to learn what the intentions of the brethren were. Said the colonel: "I see there is an Almighty power that protects this people, for I started from Richmond with a company of armed men having a full determination to destroy you, but was kept back by the storm, and was not able to reach you." Having said so much, he was seized with such excitement that he trembled from head to foot like an aspen-leaf, and had to take a seat in order to compose himself.

Joseph, in a lengthy speech, related the trials and persecutions of the saints, particularly the sufferings of those in Jackson County. He related the story of the travels of Zion's Camp, how they had come one thousand miles to assist their afflicted brethren by bringing them clothing, etc., and to aid them in returning to their homes and maintaining them, and denied the infamous reports circulated to arouse the anger of the people against the exiled saints. This speech was so simple, so pathetic, and yet so forcible that the strangers were melted by its spirit, so that they wept at the story of the persecutions of God's people. At the close of the speech they arose, and gave their hands to the youthful speaker; promising to use all their influence to allay the excitement and correct the false impressions that had

gone out respecting the object of the expedition—a promise they faithfully kept.

It is said of the Prophet Joseph that if he could but once get the attention even of his most bitter enemies his native eloquence, inspired by the truth and the pathos of his people's sufferings, usually overwhelmed them; and in no instance was his triumph more marked than in the one just related.

The day after the visit of Colonel Sconce, Cornelius Gillium, the sheriff of Clay County, came into camp and desired a consultation. The company was marched into a grove adjacent and formed a large circle with Gillium in the center. "I have heard that Joseph Smith is in the camp, and if so, I should like to see him," commenced Gillium.

"I am the man," replied Joseph, as he rose to his feet. This was the first time Joseph was made known to strangers since leaving Kirtland, as he had gone by a fictitious name through the whole journey.

Gillium then proceeded to describe the character and disposition of the Missourians, and the course that ought to be pursued to secure their favor and protection; and concluded by requesting to know what the intentions of the company were. This brought out the statements we now give, which were published in the *Missouri Enquirer* of the first of July, 1834.

GILLIUM'S COMMUNICATION.

Being a citizen of Clay County, and knowing there is considerable excitement amongst the people thereof, and also knowing that different reports are arriving almost hourly; and being requested of the Hon. J. F. Ryland to meet the "Mormons" under arms, and obtain from the leaders thereof the correctness of the various reports in circulation, the true intent and meaning of their present movements, and their views generally regarding the difficulties existing between them and Jackson County,—I did in company with other gentlemen, call upon the said leaders of the "Mormons," at their camp in Clay

County; and now give to the people of Clay County their written statement, containing the substance of what passed between us.

(Signed) CORNELIUS GILLIUM.

PROPOSITION, ETC., OF THE MORMONS.

Being called upon by the above named gentleman, at our camp in Clay County, to ascertain from the leaders of our men, our intentions, views, and designs, in approaching this county in the manner we have, we therefore the more cheerfully comply with their request, because we are called upon by gentlemen of good feelings, and who are disposed for peace and an amicable adjustment of the difficulties existing between us and the people of Jackson County. The reports of our intentions are various, and have gone abroad in a light calculated to arouse the feelings of almost every man. For instance, one report is, that we intend to demolish the printing office in Liberty; another report is, that we intend crossing the Missouri River on Sunday next, and falling upon women and children, and slaying them; another is, that our men were employed to perform this expedition, being taken from manufacturing establishments in the east, that had closed business; also that we carried a flag, bearing "peace" on one side, and "war or blood" on the other, and various others too numerous to mention, all of which a plain declaration of our intentions, from under our own hands, will show are not correct.

In the first place it is not our intention to commit hostilities against any man, or set of men; it is not our intention to injure any man's person or property, except in defending ourselves. Our flag has been exhibited to the above gentlemen, who will be able to describe it. Our men were not taken from any manufacturing establishment. It is our intention to go back upon our lands in Jackson County by order of the executive of the State, if possible. We have brought our arms with us for the purpose of self-defense, as it is well known to almost every man of the State, that we have every reason to put ourselves in an attitude of defense, considering the abuse we have suffered in Jackson County. We are anxions for a settlement of the difficulties existing between us, upon honorable and constitutional principles.

We are willing for twelve disinterested men, six to be chosen by

each party, and these shall say what the possessions of these men are worth who cannot live with us in the county; and they shall have their money in one year; and none of the "Mormons" shall enter that county to reside until the money is paid. The damages that we have sustained in consequence of being driven away, shall also be left to the above twelve men, or they may all live in the county, if they choose, and we will never molest them if they let us alone, and permit us to enjoy our rights. We want to live in peace with all men; and equal rights is all we ask. We wish to become permanent citizens of this State, and wish to bear our proportion in support of the government, and to be protected by its laws. If the above propositions are complied with, we are willing to give security on our part, and we shall want the same of the people of Jackson County, for the performance of this agreement. We do not wish to settle down in a body, except where we can purchase the land with money; for to take possession by conquest or the shedding of blood, is entirely foreign to our feelings. The shedding of blood we shall not be guilty of, until all just and honorable means among men prove insufficient to restore peace.

(Signed) JOSEPH SMITH, JUN.,
F. G. WILLIAMS,
LYMAN WIGHT,
RODGER ORTON,
ORSON HYDE,
JOHN S. CARTER.

To John Lincoln, John Sconce, George R. Morehead, Jas. H. Long, Jas. Collins.

After the departure of Gillium a revelation was given.* The Lord in this revelation declared that Zion might have been redeemed by that time, had it not been for the transgressions of his saints. They had not been obedient to the requirements made of them. They had withheld their means, and in their hearts had said: "Where is their God? Behold he will deliver them in time of trouble, otherwise we will not go up unto Zion, and we will keep our monies."

* Doc. & Cov. Sec. 105.

Besides these evidences of a lack of faith, they were wanting in that unity required by the law of the celestial kingdom, and it is only through the observance of that law that Zion can be redeemed. The Lord, therefore, commanded the elders to wait a season for the redemption of Zion, until the saints should obtain more experience, learn obedience, and until means could be raised to purchase all the lands in Jackson County that could be purchased, and also in the surrounding counties; and until the Lord's army had become very great, and sanctified before him. And when this was done the Lord promised to hold his people guiltless in taking possession of that which was their own; and they should possess it forever. He had permitted the elders composing the camp to come thus far, for a trial of their faith; and now he had prepared a great endowment for them in the house which he had commanded to be built in Kirtland. Those who could stay in Missouri were to do so, but those who had left their families in the east, were at liberty to return.

The saints who had been driven from their lands in Jackson were instructed to carefully gather together in one region as much as could be, without exciting the fears of the people. They were to be very faithful and humble; boasting neither of faith nor judgments. By following this counsel, the Lord promised to give them favor in the eyes of the people, that they might rest in peace while they were saying to the people: "Execute judgment and justice for us according to the law, and redress us of our wrongs."

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE THREATENED JUDGMENT—IF—!

THE day following this revelation the camp left Fishing River and approached Liberty, Clay County; but when within five or six miles of that place they were met by General Atchison and others who requested them not to go to Liberty, as the people were very greatly enraged at them. As this request was made by men of influence, and those who desired peace, and who felt an interest in the execution of justice, Joseph consented not to go to Liberty; and turning aside, camped on Rush Creek, near the residence of Sydney Gilbert, and in a Brother Burghart's field.

The day before, three of the brethren had suffered some with the cholera; but it was not until the camp came to Rush Creek that the disease broke out among them in its fury. The night of the twenty-fourth of June will long be remembered by the members of Zion's Camp. All night long they heard the moans and piteous cries of the sufferers, and loud lamentations of those who lost their loved ones by the ravages of this dreadful disease.

When it first made its appearance Elder John S. Carter attempted to rebuke it, but he became its first victim. Joseph also undertook to stay its ravages by the laying on of hands. He administered to his brother Hyrum. "The moment I attempted to rebuke the disease, that moment I was attacked," he writes; "and had I not desisted, I must have saved the life of my brother by the sacrifice of my own, for when I rebuked the disease, it left him and seized upon me. I quickly learned by painful experience that when the great Jehovah decrees destruction upon any

people, and makes known his determination, man must not attempt to stay his hand."

The brethren unitedly covenanted and prayed, hoping that they might have power with the heavens to stay the ravages of the plague; but to no purpose; for while they were engaged in prayer Elder Wilcox died. The deaths occurred so rapidly that coffins could not be prepared, so the dead were rolled up in blankets and put hurriedly into their graves; and while part of the brethren were engaged in digging the graves, others had to stand guard, musket in hand. After the plague had continued for two or three days, an effectual remedy was found for it by dipping those afflicted in cold water, or pouring it upon them. In all about seventy suffered from the cholera, and out of that number thirteen died.

The camp was dispersed early on the morning of the 25th, and Joseph sent by express to Messrs. Thornton, Doniphan, and Atchison, the following note:

Gentlemen:—Our company of men advanced yesterday from their encampment beyond Fishing River to Rush Creek, where their tents are again pitched. But feeling disposed to adopt every specific measure that can be done without jeopardizing our lives, to quiet the prejudices and fears of some part of the citizens of this county, we have concluded that our company shall be immediately dispersed and continue so till every effort for an adjustment of differences between us and the people of Jackson has been made on our part, that would in anywise be required of us by disinterested men of republican principles.

I am respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

Thus Zion's Camp was disbanded. Had Governor Dunklin possessed the courage to enforce the law of the State; had he called out the militia of Missouri to reinstate the exiles in their homes, as at one time he expressed a willingness to do, the history of the camp might have been different. But Governor

Dunklin lacked that courage, and without that assistance the camp itself was powerless.

Perhaps another view is also admissible. Had the members of Zion's Camp been more faithful—less contentious—more united; and had the saints in the eastern branches had more faith—faith to send up to Zion more men and more money with which to strengthen the hands of the saints on the land of Zion—the history of Zion's Camp might have been different. But thus it is: what men and great movements might attain to is often defeated, sometimes by the actions of enemies, sometimes by the lack of devotion and faith and energy on the part of those into whose hands great enterprises are committed. While God's general purposes will never ultimately be defeated by man, still upon each side of the general purposes of God a margin somewhat wide seems to have been left in which those both for and against those purposes may write what history they please—one that will meet with the approval of God, or one that will meet only with condemnation—herein is the agency of man. But in the exercise of that agency God's purposes will not be thwarted, for man's agency will not extend so far as that—if it did it would interfere with God's agency and decrees.

Joseph Smith and his brethren, on hearing that the governor of Missouri was afraid to execute the laws by returning the exiled saints to their homes, again covenanted that they would never cease their exertions until Zion was redeemed, and truth, justice and law should triumph over falsehood, injustice, and mobocracy,—a covenant which they called upon the God of their fathers to witness, and which they engaged to fulfill either in this life or the life to come.

But standing above all human resolutions, as the heavens stand above the earth, is Jehovah's own decree that he will execute justice and judgment, and that he will not give to wickedness a lasting victory. Zion will be redeemed. God has decreed it. "Behold, I say unto you, the redemption of Zion must needs

come by power; therefore, I will raise up unto my people a man, who shall lead them like as Moses led the children of Israel, for ye are the children of Israel, and of the seed of Abraham, and ye must needs be led out of bondage with power, and with a stretched out arm: and as your fathers were led at the first, even so shall the redemption of Zion be."*

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*Doc. & Cov. Sec. 103: 15-18.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ATTEMPT AT ARBITRATION.

WHETHER it was the fear of popular censure or the approach of Zion's Camp that awed the Jackson County mob into suggesting a peaceable adjustment of their difficulties with the saints, we cannot say. Perhaps both considerations had their weight. At any rate the month of May, 1834, found them suggesting to Governor Dunklin, through some influential gentlemen of Clay County, the propriety of dividing Jackson County so that the old settlers and the saints could occupy separate territory, and confine themselves within their respective limits, with the exception of the public right of ingress and egress upon the highway.

This plan of settling the Jackson County trouble was suggested by Colonel J. Thornton, and concurred in by Messrs. Reese, Atchison and Doniphan. Their communication brought out a reply from the governor in which he expressed his pleasure at these gentlemen making an effort to bring about a compromise of the difficulties. He told them that had he not been afraid of embarrassing himself as an officer of the State he should have exerted himself to have brought about a compromise even before then; but he was fearful of traveling out of the strict line of his duty as the chief executive of the State, should he do so. Said he:

> My first advice would be to the "Mormons" to sell out their lands in Jackson County, and to settle somewhere else, where they could live in peace, provided they could get a fair price for their lands, and reasonable damages for injuries received. If this failed, I would try

the citizens, and advise them to meet and rescind their illegal resolves of last summer, and agree to conform to the laws in every particular, in respect to the "Mormons."

Should success attend neither of these plans, he would then try the plan of dividing the county as suggested by Colonel Thornton. "If all these failed," said the governor, "then the simple question of legal right would have to settle it. It is this last that I am afraid I shall have to conform my action to in the end." From the whole tenor of this communication, we learn that even the governor understood that the "simple question of *legal right*" would reinstate the saints on the lands from which they had been driven. Here is an extract from the letter which confirms this statement:

A more clear and indisputable right does not exist, than that the "Mormon" people who were expelled from their homes in Jackson County, should return and live on their lands; and if they cannot be persuaded as a matter of policy to give up that right, or to qualify it, my course as the chief executive officer of the State is a plain one. * * * The Constitution of the United States declares: "that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." Then we cannot interdict any people who have a political franchise in the United States, from emigrating to this State, nor from choosing what part of the State they will settle in, provided they do not trespass on the property or rights of others. * * * And again, our Constitution says, "that all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own conscience." *I am fully persuaded that the eccentricity of the religious opinions and practices of the "Mormons," is at the bottom of the outrages committed against them.* They have the right constitutionally guaranteed to them, and it is indefeasible, to believe and worship JOE SMITH as a man, an angel or even as the only true and living God, and to call their habitation Zion, the Holy Land, or even Heaven itself. Indeed there is nothing so absurd or ridiculous that they have not a right to adopt as their

religion so that in its exercise they do not interfere with the rights of others.

Surely this is a liberal statement of the rights of the Latter-day Saints, and, indeed, of any other people; for the rights, privileges, and immunities of the saints under the government of the United States are no more than those belonging to other people—certainly they are no less. Still the governor was loath to perform what he admits to be his plain duty in restoring the "Mormons" to their homes. Indeed, he at length refused to do it; fearing that in executing the law, by returning the saints to their homes, he would involve the State in a civil war. He came the easier to this conclusion, doubtless, because the sufferers were an unpopular religious community. But if the execution of law must be abandoned because the violators thereof threaten to resist its execution, or because a reckless mob led by desperate men threaten that if the law is enforced they will plunge the country into civil war—what a burlesque on government it would be to refrain from the execution of law on that account!

On the tenth of June, 1834, the district judge, John F. Ryland, wrote a letter to Elder A. S. Gilbert, asking him to use his influence in gathering his brethren at Liberty, in Clay County, on the sixteenth of the month; saying that he expected to meet a delegation of citizens from Jackson County there, and he was desirous of giving his views upon the present situation of the parties concerned in the Jackson troubles, with the hope of bringing about a peaceable adjustment of them. This letter was read in a public meeting of the saints, and a respectful answer given, promising that as many of the exiles and their friends as conveniently could attend the meeting on the sixteenth would be present. Knowing there had been some talk about the propriety of the saints selling out their lands in Jackson County, and fearing the judge would advise them to do so, the brethren took occasion to say in this communication to him that no such

proposition could possibly be acceded to by them, and concluded by saying: "Home is home, and we want possession of our homes from which we have been wickedly expelled—and those rights which belong to us as native free born citizens of the United States."

About one thousand people were in attendance at the meeting at the courthouse in Liberty on the sixteenth of June; and among them were many of the brethren and a deputation of citizens from Jackson County, who made the following proposition for the settlement of the Jackson difficulties:

The people of Jackson County will buy all the land the "Mormons" own in the County of Jackson, and also all the improvements which the "Mormons" had on any of the public lands as they existed before the first disturbance between the people of Jackson and the "Mormons," and for such improvements as they have made since. The valuation of the land and improvements shall be ascertained by three disinterested arbitrators, to be chosen and agreed upon by both parties; should the parties disagree in the choice of arbitrators, then —— is to choose them.

Twelve Mormons shall be permitted to go with the arbitrators to show them their lands and improvements while they are being valued; and any other "Mormons" may accompany the arbitrators whom they may desire in order to give them information; and the people of Jackson guarantee their entire safety while doing so.

When the arbitrators report the value of the land and improvements, the people of Jackson will pay to the "Mormons" the valuation, *with one hundred per cent added thereon*, within thirty days thereafter; the Mormons are to agree not to make any effort ever after to settle, either collectively or individually, within the limits of Jackson County; and are to enter into bonds to insure the conveyance of their lands in Jackson County, according to these terms, when the payment shall be made, and the committee will enter into a like bond, with such security as

shall be sufficient, for the payment of the money according to this proposition. While the arbitrators are investigating and deciding upon the matters referred to them, the "Mormons" are not to attempt to enter into Jackson County, or to settle there, except such as are by these propositions permitted to go there.

Or——

The people of Jackson will sell all their lands and improvements on public lands in Jackson County to the "Mormons," the valuation to be obtained in the same manner, the same per cent to be added, and thirty days allowed for payment as in our proposition to buy: the "Mormons" to give good security for the payment of the money, and this delegation will give security that the land will be conveyed to the "Mormons." All parties to remain as they are till the payment is made, at which time the people of Jackson will give possession.*

After these propositions were submitted to the meeting, a number of speeches were made in which much bitterness was manifested against the saints. The Rev. M. Riley, a Baptist minister, said: "The 'Mormons' have lived long enough in Clay County; and they must either clear out, or be cleared out."

To which the chairman of the meeting, Mr. Turnham, replied: "Let us be republicans, let us honor our country, and not disgrace it like Jackson County. For God's sake don't disfranchise or drive away the 'Mormons.' They are better citizens than many of the old inhabitants."

General Doniphan:—"That's a fact, and as the 'Mormons' have armed themselves, if they don't fight they are cowards. I love to hear that they have brethren coming to their assistance. Greater love can no man show, than he who lays down his life for his brother."

Cries of "adjourn," and "no, no, go on!" were now heard,

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* Abridged from Millennial Star, Volume 15, p. 81.

mingled with curses loud and deep, and the ominous gleaming of knives, and cocking of pistols. To add to the excitement a man by the door yelled out—"A man stabbed!" At this, those in the court room rushed out to learn what had happened. It turned out that a blacksmith by the name of Calbert had stabbed a man by the name of Wales, who had boasted of having whipped many of the "Mormons"—one of whom had nearly lost his life through the injuries received. The meeting broke up without further bloodshed.

In the midst of this excitement a few of the brethren retired and addressed a communication to the Jackson County delegation in attendance at the meeting, to the effect that their proposition for a settlement of the Jackson difficulties would be presented to the saints, and an answer to it would be handed to Judge Turnham by the twentieth, sooner if possible. The brethren assured the Jackson delegation that peace was what they desired, and promised to use all their influence to establish it, and disclaimed any design to commence hostilities against the inhabitants of Jackson County; and further pledged themselves to use their influence to prevent the large company of their men (Zion's Camp) then en route for Missouri, going into Jackson County until the citizens of Jackson should receive an authoritative answer to their proposition to "buy or sell."

The Jackson delegation, in a very bad humor, started for Independence. One of the leaders, James Campbell, as he adjusted his pistols in his holsters, exclaimed: "The eagles and buzzards shall eat my flesh, if I don't fix Joe Smith and his army [meaning Zion's Camp,] so that their skins won't hold shucks before two days are passed."

The Jackson delegation went to Ducker's ferry and started to cross the Missouri, but when about the middle of the river, their boat suddenly went down as if made of lead. There was no storm—the river was calm, and no natural explanation could be given for the sinking of the boat. Joseph declared that the

angel of the Lord sank it.* Indeed the circumstances are such as to go very far toward strengthening the statement. It is supposed that about twelve men were in the boat, and of this number seven† were drowned. Of the number drowned the names of three are all that have been learned—Ike Job, —— Everett and James Campbell. The body of Campbell was found by a Mr. Purtle, about three weeks after the occurrence, on a pile of drift-wood, some four or five miles below where the boat sank. But little more than the skeleton of the man remained. His flesh had been eaten by the eagles and buzzards. His fate points a fearful warning to those who raise their hands against God's anointed. It gives us reason to believe that the day is not distant when the command of Jehovah—"Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm"—must be obeyed.

The fate of Owens was more ludicrous—a comedy rather than a tragedy. He floated down the stream until he landed on an island, where he remained all night. The next morning he stripped off his clothes and swam ashore and laid down by the side of a log, close to the road. A lady passing on horse-back, learning of his condition, dropped him her shawl to cover his nakedness, until he could secure clothing.

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* Millennial Star, Volume 15, p. 83.

† Joseph states that seven were drowned, (see History of Joseph Smith, Millennial Star, Volume 15, p. 83); but the History of Clay County, published in St. Louis by the National Historical Society, says that only five were drowned.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE PROS AND CONS OF ARBITRATION PROPOSITION.

HAVING related the principal events connected with the meeting held at Liberty, we must consider the propositions made by the Jackson people to the saints, for the peaceful adjustment of their difficulties. To have the lands owned by the saints and the improvements thereon valued by disinterested arbitrators, and the amount paid with *one hundred per cent added* within thirty days, looks like a very fair proposition; but still the saints could not accept such terms; as the condition upon which the proposition was made required the surrender of some of their rights as citizens of the United States and freemen.

The Constitution of the United States says expressly: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."* The saints were citizens of the United States, possessing all the rights and franchises thereof, and they had a right—an indefeasible one, too —to settle in whatever State they saw proper to choose for their abode; and they had a right to settle in whatever part of the State pleased them best; and, as Governor Dunklin admitted, they had a right to call their habitation "ZION, the Holy Land, or Heaven itself," so long as in doing so, they interfered not with the property and rights of others. To accept the proposition of the Jackson people, therefore, and bind themselves never again to make any effort to settle collectively or individually

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* Const. Art. IV, Section 2.

within the limits of Jackson County, would be a surrender of their dearest rights of citizenship; and would be permitting mobocrats and murderers to dictate them in the exercise of their liberties; binding not only themselves, but their children as well, to the dictum of these wretches. To accept such a settlement of their troubles, would have been a covenant with death, an agreement with hell! To their honor be it said, they spurned the proposition with the contempt it deserved.

But the surrender of some of their rights as citizens of the United States was not the only difficulty involved in the settlement of the Jackson troubles by the saints selling their possessions. God had revealed it to them that Jackson County was the place where is to be built the Zion of their God. For them to sell their lands then, and agree never after to make a settlement there, collectively or individually, would be a denial of their faith and bring upon them the displeasure of their God. For them to sell their lands was entirely out of the question.

But the mob offered not only to buy, but to sell upon the same conditions that they proposed to buy. Why did not the saints accept this offer? Simply because they could not, and the citizens of Jackson knew very well they could not. The old settlers of Jackson owned many times more the amount of land than was possessed by the saints, say thirty acres to one. The saints were not wealthy to begin with; and now, after they had been driven from their homes, robbed of their goods, their cattle driven away, their houses, stables, and stacks of grain burned, they are asked to buy nearly the whole of Jackson County, for which they must pay double price, because they were to add *one hundred per cent* to the appraised value—in *thirty days!* I don't believe the people of Jackson County were sincere in making the proposition. They knew the saints could not sell their lands without surrendering many of their rights as free men and citizens of the United States; and without being untrue to their God, by virtually denying their faith in the revelations

he had given regarding the building up of Zion in Jackson County. This the old settlers knew the Mormons would not do. They had tried to whip and frighten too many of them into a denial of their religious convictions, to think for one moment that money would be any inducement for them to deny that faith. On the other hand, they determined to put the price of their own land beyond the possibility of the saints purchasing it.

The whole scheme was concocted with a view of covering up their outrages against the people of God, under an appearance of fairness. "In the corrupted currents of this world, where Offense's gilded hand may shove by justice," where hypocrisy is often mistaken for piety, and cunning for fairness, the subterfuge may have served its purpose; but when the wretches who would have murdered the saints and plundered them of their goods shall stand before the bar of God where there is "no shuffling," but where the actions of men "lie in their true light," they will find their refuge of deceit will not shield them from the justice of Him who has declared, "vengeance is mine, I will repay!"

The saints refused to accept the terms of settlement made by the people of Jackson, but they themselves proposed terms of adjustment, as follows:

Twelve disinterested men were to be chosen, six by the exiles, six by the people of Jackson County. These twelve men were to say what the possessions of those men were worth that would not consent to live with the "Mormon" people, and they should receive the money for the same in one year from the time the treaty was made, none of the saints to enter Jackson County to reside until the money was paid.

This same company of twelve men was to be empowered to say what the damage was which the "Mormons" sustained in being driven from their homes and in the destruction of their property, the said amount allowed for damages to be deducted

from the amount paid for the lands of those who would not consent to live with the saints.

The only reply received to this proposition was in a letter from S. C. Owens to Mr. Amos Reese, which plainly said the Jackson people would listen to nothing like the proposition made by the "Mormons;" and here the hopes of settling the Jackson County trouble by arbitration ended.

CHAPTER XXVI.

AN INTERIM—BLIGHTED HOPES.

THE work accomplished by the Prophet Joseph was considerable during his stay in Missouri. On the first of July, with a few of the brethren, he crossed the Missouri into Jackson County, "once more," he remarked, "to set my foot on this 'goodly land.'" What contending emotions would be awakened by such a visit! There, just to the west of the courthouse in Independence, three years before, he had assembled with his brethren, and dedicated a site for the temple of the Lord. Now and then they would come to the ruined homes of the brethren; now in vision he might, for a moment, see the future glory of Zion; then he would weep to think of the saints stripped of all their earthly goods, and in the midst of strangers whose bond of friendship was not strong.

On the third of July a High Council was organized by the Prophet, in Clay County, of which David Whitmer was made president and W. W. Phelps and John Whitmer, counselors. This council proceeded to discuss a variety of subjects pertaining to the situation of The Church and its members. They made a direct appeal to the people of the United States, and to mankind everywhere, stating their wrongs and imploring their assistance in securing and maintaining their rights. They declared their devotion to the laws of their country, and their faith in God, and the final establishment of Zion in Jackson County, and expressed a desire to be at peace with all mankind.*

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* History of Joseph Smith, Millennial Star, Vol. 15, p. 121.

This High Council investigated some matters arising between the members in The Church, and busied itself in setting in order The Church in Missouri generally. On the twelfth of July the council appointed Edward Partridge, Orson Pratt, Isaac Morley and Zebedee Coltrin to visit the afflicted and scattered brethren in Missouri. They were not to hold public meetings, as that would arouse too much popular prejudice; but they were to work quietly, setting the saints in order and teaching them the way of holiness, as the Lord by his Spirit might direct. Subsequently a few elders were sent out to hold public meetings, "to teach the disciples how to escape the indignation of their enemies, and keep in favor with those who were friendly disposed." On the seventh of August the council sent out about twenty elders to preach the gospel to the world; and thus in these trying circumstances, these faithful men continued to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

In the meantime, Joseph and a few of his brethren who had accompanied him had arrived in Kirtland, having left the brethren in Missouri on the ninth of July. On his return to Kirtland, the Prophet was charged with aspiring to be "tyrant, pope, king, usurper of men, false prophet, prophesying lies in the name of the Lord, taking consecrated moneys," etc., etc., "a catalogue," said Joseph, "as black as the author of it." But High Council meetings were called, investigations were inaugurated; the accusers were brought face to face with the accused; the character of God's Prophet was vindicated, his accusers were made to hang their heads in shame, and in the most public manner made known their errors so that shortly the Prophet was, as he himself stated it, "swimming in good, clear water with his head out."

No sooner had these difficulties been settled than the Prophet again turned his attention to Zion. On the eleventh of August, 1834, he wrote the brethren in Missouri concerning what had befallen him in Kirtland, and also requested that another pe-

tition be written such as the High Council would approve, asking the governor of Missouri to call on the President of the United States to furnish a guard to protect the saints in their homes in Jackson County (when they should be restored) from the insults and violence of the mob. Copies of this petition were to be placed in the hands of the elders going on missions through the United States, and every effort was to be made to get signers; "that peradventure," wrote Joseph, "we may learn whether we have friends or not in these United States."

Lyman Wight was instructed to enter complaints to Governor Dunklin as often as he should receive insults or injuries; and should mobs take life or burn houses, and the people of Clay County refuse to protect the saints, he was to collect the little army of brethren scattered through Clay County, be sent over into Jackson County—it will be remembered that the governor had expressed his willingness to escort the saints back to their lands by aid of the State militia, though holding that he had no authority of law to keep a military force under arms for their protection—and do the best he could in maintaining the ground. If the excitement continued to abate, then the saints were to gather quietly together in the regions surrounding, and be in "readiness to move into Jackson County *in two years from the eleventh of September next* [1836], *which is the appointed time for the redemption of Zion.* IF—verily I say unto you—IF The Church, with one united effort, perform their duties—if they do this, the work shall be complete."* If, on the other hand, The Church failed to gather up the young men and means to redeem Zion by the appointed time, "behold," said the Prophet, "there remaineth a scourge for The Church, even that they shall be driven from city to city, and but few shall remain to receive an inheritance."†

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* History of Joseph, Millennial Star, Vol. 15, p. 140.

† Ibid.

During the two years following, the Prophet was busily engaged in setting in order the various quorums of the priesthood.

In the winter of 1834-5 the quorum of Twelve Apostles and the first quorum of Seventies were organized, being chosen principally from among those brethren who had gone up to Missouri in Zion's Camp.

But amid the busy scenes at Kirtland—while organizing these quorums and instructing them in the duties of their respective callings; attending the school for the elders; studying Hebrew under Professor Sexias; translating some rolls of Egyptian papyrus containing the precious Book of Abraham, which he purchased from M. H. Chandler; attending to general duties and correspondence—amid all these busy scenes, Joseph still had time to think of Zion and her redemption. On the occasion of a large body of the priesthood being present at a meeting in Kirtland, on the second of May, 1835, he moved that they never give up the struggle for the redemption of Zion, so long as life should last.

September following, the High Council met at the house of the Prophet to take into consideration the redemption of Zion. It was the decision of the council that the saints who had been expelled from Zion, petition the governor of the State to reinstate them the following spring, and they would either live or die on their lands, and Joseph prayed that they might be successful in getting eight hundred or a thousand emigrants to go up to settle in Zion. Still later, viz: thirteenth of March, 1836, the First Presidency resolved to remove on or before the fifteenth of May next to Zion; that their influence might be more effectual in encouraging the saints to gather there. But events of a strange character were to occur that would prevent the carrying out of these resolutions. The saints did not comply with the conditions upon which Zion was to be redeemed. They did not with a united effort do their duty. They did not give of their means liberally, nor did their young men volunteer readily to go

up to Zion. Hence, they were not entitled to the fulfillment of God's promise to redeem Zion; but instead of this blessing, there was suspended over them the promised scourge of being driven from city to city, because they failed to keep the commandments; a scourge that has been executed to the uttermost—but I will not anticipate the story.

The petitions the elders circulated throughout the States in their travels, asking the people to petition the governor of Missouri to reinstate the saints in their homes, met with a response that was considerable. I cannot learn how many names were attached to this petition, but when it was mailed on the ninth of December, 1835, the package was large, the postage amounting to five dollars. But all these efforts failed to move the State officials of Missouri to make any effectual effort towards restoring the exiles to their own and protecting them in the quiet possession of their property and lives.

CHAPTER XXVII.

PEACEFUL EXODUS FROM CLAY COUNTY.

MEANTIME the presence of the saints in Clay County began to be a cause of uneasiness among the non-"Mormons" of the community. The leading citizens of the county assembled at the courthouse in Liberty on the twenty-ninth of June, 1836, to consider the difficulties threatening the people of Clay County in consequence of the presence of the "Mormons." After the usual organization at such meetings, the committee on resolutions reported a document that briefly stated the circumstances under which the "Mormons" flocked into Clay County; without money; without property; without food for their wives and children; and, like Noah's dove, without a resting place for their feet; and how the people of Clay County in face of the thousand reports accusing them of every crime known to the laws of the country, had treated them with toleration, and often with peculiar kindness. The document referred to the statements of the leading brethren who had said they did not regard Clay County as their permanent home, but merely as a temporary asylum which they would promptly leave whenever a respectable portion of the citizens of the county should request it; and now the best interest of the county demanded the fulfillment of that pledge.

The reasons why the saints had become objectionable as permanent citizens to many of the people of Clay County were stated to be:

1. Their religious tenets were so different from the present churches of the age, that this always had and always would excite deep

prejudice against them in any populous country where they might locate.

2. They were eastern men whose manners, habits, customs, and even dialect were essentially different from the Missourians.

3. They were *non*-slave holders, and opposed to slavery, which excited deep and abiding prejudices in a community which tolerated and protected slavery.

4. Common report had it that they kept up a constant communication with the Indian tribes on the frontier; and declared from the pulpit that the Indians were a part of God's chosen people, destined by heaven to inherit with them the land of Missouri.

"We do not vouch for the correctness of these statements," said the committee in their report, "but whether they are true or false, their effect has been the same in exciting our community."

The causes named are represented as having raised a prejudice against the saints, and a feeling of hostility, that the first spark might, and the committee deeply feared would, ignite into all the horrors and desolations of a civil war, and it was

Resolved: That it is the fixed and settled conviction of this meeting, that unless the people commonly called Mormons, will agree to stop immediately the immigration of their people to this country, and take measures to remove themselves from it, a civil war is inevitable.

We do not contend that we have the least right under the constitution and laws of the country to expel them by force. But we would indeed be blind, if we did not foresee that the first blow that is struck at this moment of deep excitement, must and will speedily involve every individual in a war, bearing ruin, woe, and desolation in its course. It matters but little how, where, or by whom the war may begin, when the work of destruction commences, we must all be borne onward by the storm, or crushed beneath its fury.

The saints were told that if they had one spark of gratitude they would not willingly plunge a people into civil war who had held out to them the friendly hand of assistance in the dark

hour of their distress. A committee of ten were appointed to present these views to the leading elders among the "Mormons" with the understanding that if the saints would consent to move as requested, the gentlemen who had called the meeting, and now asked them to leave Clay County, would use all their influence to allay the excitement among the citizens of the county.

The reply of the Saints to the request to remove from Clay County was adopted at a general mass meeting. In their reply they expressed their appreciation of the kindness shown them by the people of Clay County. They denied having any disposition to meddle with slavery. They also denied holding communication with the Indians, and said they held themselves as ready to defend their country against their barbarous ravages as any other people. After making these denials they resolved that

For the sake of friendship, and to be in a covenant of peace with the citizens of Clay County, and they to be in a covenant of peace with us, notwithstanding the necessary loss of property, and expense we incur in moving, we comply with the requisitions of their resolutions in leaving the county of Clay, as explained by the preamble accompanying the same; and that we will use our exertions to have The Church do the same.

It appears that the committee who had presented the resolutions of the Clay County citizens, had tendered their services to assist the saints in selecting a new location, and the latter resolved to accept that assistance. The reply from the saints was perfectly satisfactory to the people of Clay County, and the latter made some arrangements to assist the former in complying with their request; that is, two persons from each township were appointed to raise money by subscription to aid the "Mormons" who might need assistance to leave the county, and also arrange for some suitable person to assist them in selecting a new location for settlement; and recommended the "Mormons" to the good treatment of the citizens in surrounding counties; and asked them to assist the exiles in selecting some abiding

place, where they would be, in a measure, the only occupants of the land; and where none would be anxious to molest them.

On the twenty-fifth of July, 1834, the brethren received a letter from Governor Dunklin that was the funeral knell to their hopes of executive interference in their behalf. He informed them their cases were individual cases, and as such, were subjects for judicial interference, and not for the special cognizance of the executive, and to this the governor added:—

> And there are cases, some times, of individual outrage which may be so popular as to render the actions of the courts of justice nugatory, in endeavoring to afford a remedy. * * * * * A public sentiment may become paramount law, and when one man, or society of men become so obnoxious to that sentiment, as to determine the people to be rid of him or them, it is useless to run counter to it. * * * Your neighbors accuse your people of holding illicit communication with the Indians, and of being opposed to slavery. You deny. Whether the charge or the denial is true I cannot tell. The *fact* exists, and your neighbors seem to believe it true; and whether true or false, the consequences will be the same, unless you can, by your conduct and arguments, convince them of your innocence. If you cannot do this, all *I* can *say* to you is, that in *this republic* the *vox populi* is the *vox Dei.*

What a mockery then is such government! Under it none may hope to enjoy liberty but those who are willing to swim in the stream of popular sentiment—a stream oftener filthy than clean! oftener wrong than right!—influenced by passion rather than reason! How precarious is the hold of the inhabitants of such a government upon their liberties—depending upon the changing whims of the populace—the populace, which "to-day will weep a Cæsar slain; to-morrow vote a monument to Brutus!" Under such a government what is to become of reformers? Perhaps the fate of reformers of other ages, who have fallen victims to the hatred of popular sentiment will answer the question. What is to become of the weaker parties if

all are to be crushed or banished that popular sentiment condemns? For what are governments established ifnotto protect *all*, the weak as well as the strong, the despised as well as the favored in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?

What do constitutions amount to if they are not recognized as conservators of liberty, by acting as restraints upon these rash acts of injustice, so frequently prompted by the frenzy of popular sentiment—a sentiment often manufactured by a misrepresentation of the principles and motives of those against whom the injustice is levelled? In popular governments constitutions are adopted for the express purpose of restraining the majority in the exercise of its power, and to guarantee the enjoyment of rights and liberties to the minority—to those out of favor with the popular sentiment of the hour. The tyranny of a majority is known and feared, and hence it is restrained by constitutional provisions, which thus become the bulwarks of freedom, by especially guarding the weak against the strong.

It may be held that in popular governments the constitutions and laws enacted in accordance therewith are but the expressions of popular sentiment. Grant it. But the popular sentiment as expressed in constitutions and laws, is very different from that expressed by an excited populace, not unfrequently controlled by demagogues. Popular sentiment is often created by intemperate speeches, and sustained by misrepresentation. But the popular sentiment as expressed by laws and constitutions is adopted in legislative halls where *right reason* has a chance to assist in forming the sentiment; and where a decent respect for the long established maxims of justice and liberty will be taken into consideration, and will influence the legislature in forming the rules for the action of the people. When popular sentiment is expressed in constitutions and laws, and they are enforced, the citizens are, in a measure at least, secure from oppression and sudden destruction; but what guarantee have

the people against injustice being done, if an inconsiderate, frenzied, popular sentiment is to be enforced—a sentiment that falsehood creates and that passion directs? None whatever. And when the citizens of the American Republic regard the prejudiced and excited voice of the populace as the voice of God—as Governor Dunklin of Missouri did—let them bid an everlasting farewell to freedom!

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FAR WEST.

AT the time the saints were requested to leave their homes in Clay County, the whole northern part of Missouri was very sparsely settled; and but few counties were organized. As it was desirable on the part of the saints to obtain a location where they would be the principal settlers and occupants of the lands, where they would be free from injustice and violence of mobs, where they might quietly gather together and be taught to observe the principles of truth in the Gospel of Christ, that they might be prepared in all things for the redemption of Zion—upper Missouri, with its boundless prairies, wooded streams, and sparse population, seemed admirably adapted for their home until Zion could be redeemed.

W. W. Phelps and others had traveled through it, and had described it to the saints some two years before. It was recommended to the attention of the brethren by their influential friends in Clay County, and so the month of October, 1836, found a number of them settling on Shoal Creek. They soon petitioned for an enactment organizing a new county, which was granted. The new county was organized on the 26th of December, 1836, and was named Caldwell, with the county seat at Far West.

The town plat of Far West as first laid off embraced a square mile, but afterwards additions were made as the population increased. In the center of the town a large public square was laid off, approached by four main roads running east and west, north and south, each a hundred feet wide. Eventually the blocks were so laid off that each block contained four acres, divided

into four lots. Far West was located in the western part of Caldwell County, about eight miles west of the present county seat—Kingston. The town site is the highest swell in that high rolling prairie country, and is visible from a long distance.

Standing on what used to be the public square of Far West, on the occasion of my visit there in 1884, I obtained an excellent view of all the surrounding country. Vast fields of waving corn and meadow land were stretched out on all sides, as far as the eye could see. Several towns and villages, with their white church spires gleaming in the sun-light, were in plain view, though from five to ten miles distant. Away to the east is Kingston, the present county seat of Caldwell; further to the northeast is Breckenridge, Hamilton and Kidder; to the west is Plattsburg, and south is the quaint village of Polo. All these places are within easy vision from the site of Far West, and increase the grandeur of the scene.

The site chosen for Far West is the finest location for a city in the county, but notwithstanding all the advantages of the location, Far West has been abandoned. In the fall of 1838 it was a thriving town of some three thousand inhabitants, but today nothing remains except the house of the Prophet Joseph, now owned by D. F. Kerr,* and one portion of the Whitmer Hotel, now used as a stable. This is all that remains of the buildings, at Far West, erected by the hands of the saints. A few farm houses have been built in the vicinity since their expulsion from Missouri, and a quarter of a mile from the public square stands a neat white Methodist church.

Nothing but an excavation one hundred and ten feet by eighty, enclosed in an old field, with a large rough, unhewn stone in each corner, now marks the spot that was once the pretentious public square of Far West. This excavation was made on the 3rd of July, 1837, and was intended for the basement of the

* At least it was owned by him in 1884.

temple the saints expected to erect there. There are several very interesting circumstances connected with this old excavation and the rough corner stones, that will be related as the circumstances of which I am writing, shall bring them due.

Standing on this consecrated ground and viewing the few relics that are left to remind us that the saints once lived here, one naturally falls into a sad reverie. It is true we are not surrounded by the fallen columns of ruined temples; or the ruins of splendid palaces, or massive walls, such as one would meet with at Babylon, Jerusalem, Rome or Athens. It is not the ruins of an antique or celebrated civilization that inspires one's sadness over Far West. But there one sits in the midst of the ruined prospects and blighted hopes of the saints of God, instead of in the midst of broken columns, ponderous arches, and crumbling walls.

The chief interest about Far West, of course, is the fact that it was the theatre where was enacted those stirring scenes which add another black page to the history of Missouri.

"If that strange people," says Crosby Jackson in his history of Caldwell County, "who built Nauvoo and Salt Lake, who uncomplainingly toiled across the American desert, and made the wilderness of Utah to bloom like a garden, had been permitted to remain and perfect the work which they had begun here, how different would have been the history of Far West! Instead of being a farm with scarcely sufficient ruins to mark the spot where once it stood, there would have been a rich, populous city, along the streets of which would be pouring the wealth of the world; and instead of an old dilapidated farmhouse, there would have been magnificent temples to which the devout saints from the further corners of the world would have made their yearly pilgrimage. But the bigotry and intolerance of the saints towards the gentiles, and especially toward dissenters from the new revelations of Joe Smith, rendered such a consummation impossible!"

It now becomes my duty to relate those circumstances which prevented the saints from building up Far West, and which at last drove them as exiles from the State of Missouri; and we shall, in the course of our narrative, see whether it was the "bigotry and intolerance of the saints towards the gentiles and dissenters," that brought about the fate of Far West, or whether it was the brutal savagery of pretended "Christians" incited to deeds of cruelty by jealous sectarian ministers, and unscrupulous demagogues fearful of the growing political power of the "Mormons."

The first settlement in the vicinity of Far West was made in October, 1836; by July following, about one hundred buildings had been erected, eight of which were stores. This same month the school section of land was sold at auction, and although entirely a prairie it sold, on a year's credit, for seven dollars and ninety cents per acre, making the settlers' school fund about five thousand dollars. Some non-members of The Church expressed a desire to establish saloons in the growing town, and endeavored to induce some of the brethren to sell intoxicants on commission for them, but the High Council resolved not to sustain any persons as members of The Church, who would become retailers of spirituous liquors, and the liquor business was dropped.

In September, 1837, The Church at Kirtland appointed Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon to seek out new places for the gathering of the saints and lay off other stakes of Zion, than those of Far West and Kirtland. On this mission Joseph and Sidney arrived at Far West in the latter part of October. A council of the Priesthood was called at which it was decided that there was sufcient room in the vicinity of Far West for the gathering of the saints from abroad; and hence it was decided that it was not necessary for the present to select other places.

At a general conference convened in October, 1837, the several quorums of the Priesthood were set in order. Men and measures were thoroughly discussed. Difficulties were adjusted

and covenants of brotherly love renewed. Twenty-three Elders were started out to preach the gospel. It was voted to enlarge the town plat of Far West so that it would contain four sections —two miles square. The conference also voted not to support any stores or shops selling spirituous liquors, tea, coffee or tobacco.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE FALL OF DAVID WHITMER AND OLIVER COWDERY.

THUS Far West was founded; and the impediments to her growth as a strictly moral and temperance city removed. And yet, causes were at work that were undermining the spiritual strength of many of the saints, and killing the influence of a number of the elders in high positions. A wave of speculation, especially in lands, swept over the entire country, and the brethren partook largely of this spirit, which proved ruinous to their spiritual life. Among those who were affected by this spirit of wild speculation to their injury were John Whitmer and W. W. Phelps. Shortly afterwards Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer, two of the three witnesses to the truth of the Book of Mormon, were excommunicated. The charges sustained before the High Council against Oliver Cowdery were:

1. Persecuting the brethren by urging on vexatious law suits against them, and thus distressing the innocent.

2. Seeking to destroy the character of Joseph Smith, Jr., by falsely insinuating that he was guilty of adultery.

3. Treating The Church with contempt by not attending meetings.

4. Leaving his calling, to which God had appointed him by revelation, for the sake of filthy lucre, and turning to the practice of law.

5. Disgracing The Church by being connected in the "bogus" business, as common report says.*

* Upper Missouri was infested with sharps engaged in counterfeiting the currency of the United States, and common rumor connected Oliver Cowdery with them.

6. Dishonestly retaining notes after they had been paid; and finally forsaking the cause of God and returning to the beggarly elements of the world, and neglecting his high and holy calling, according to his profession.

The charges sustained against David Whitmer were:

1. Not observing the word of wisdom.
2. Unchristian-like conduct in neglecting to attend meetings, and in uniting with and possessing the same spirit as the dissenters.
3. Writing letters to the dissenters in Kirtland, unfavorable to the cause and to the character of Joseph Smith, Jr.
4. Neglecting the duties of his calling, and separating himself from The Church.
5. Signing himself president of the Church of Christ in an insulting letter to the High Council, after he had been cut off from the presidency.*

As before stated, these two men, Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer, were two of the three special witnesses to the Book of Mormon. It was, therefore, a bold move to excommunicate them. Although it may be thought outside the theme I am following in these pages to make such a digression, still I cannot refrain from indulging in the following reflections: Suppose for a moment that the theory of the world relative to the origin of the Book of Mormon be true: that is, that it was the

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* In reorganizing the quorums of the Priesthood at Far West, in November, 1836, to which we have alluded, David Whitmer was made president of The Church in Missouri, and W. W. Phelps and John Whitmer, counselors; but the whole Church under the leadership of Thomas B. Marsh, Lyman Wight, David Patten, and others, on February 5, 1838, met as a committee of the whole, and preferred serious charges of wickedness against the three presidents, and refused to sustain them in their office. The vote which deposed them was unanimous, but the presidents refused to acknowledge the authority of The Church and continued to sign documents as presidents of The Church. It is this to which the fifth charge against David Whitmer refers.

production of Solomon Spaulding or Sidney Rigdon; that Joseph Smith was put forward as a figure-head; and the three witnesses were induced to become parties to the fraud that was to be perpetrated on mankind—if this supposition were true, would Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon, under such circumstances, have dared to withdraw their fellowship from these men? If the Book of Mormon were a huge scheme to deceive mankind, and Cowdery and Whitmer were parties with Smith and Rigdon to the deception, the latter would hardly venture to cast away the former, for fear they might deny their testimony, expose the fraud, and cause the whole Mormon Church fabric to collapse. If the Book of Mormon had been a fraudulent production, Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon would never have dared to break with these two important witnesses, whatever their wickedness might be. But the bold, independent course pursued in excommunicating them, when their conduct warranted the action, supplies good evidence that Joseph Smith knew that the existence of The Church did not depend on the testimony of Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer. The Book of Mormon being true, it would stand independent of these witnesses, and Joseph knew it. But the most gratifying part of it is, these witnesses to the Book of Mormon, though separated from The Church—excommunicated for unrighteousness—never denied their testimony or changed it in the least. But the fact of their having uniformly adhered to their testimony while disconnected with The Church, doubtless adds strength to that testimony, as they stand in the light of disinterested witnesses.

Oliver Cowdery, after his excommunication, became a wanderer for a number of years, unsettled and restless, though following the profession of the law. It was impossible for a man who had once tasted the glories of the Celestial Kingdom of God, as Oliver Cowdery had, to be satisfied with the dry husks of the beggarly elements of the world; and hence after some ten years of wandering outside The Church of Christ he at last found his

way back to the fold of God, to the house of his father, and begged to be admitted as a humble member of The Church. This was in the early part of November, 1848, before a High Council over which Elder Orson Hyde presided. On that occasion Oliver Cowdery said: "Brethren, for a number of years I have been separated from you. I now desire to come back. I wish to come humbly and be one in your midst. I seek no station, I only wish to be identified with you. I am out of The Church. I am not a member of The Church, but I wish to become a member of it. I wish to come in at the door. I know the door. I have not come here to ask precedence. I come humbly and throw myself upon the decisions of this body, knowing as I do, that its decisions are right and should be obeyed."

Soon after this he was re-baptized. He was on his way to join the main body of The Church when he stopped at Kanesville, Iowa, where the above occurred. Before continuing his journey west he resolved to visit his wife's friends, the Whitmers, then living at Richmond, Missouri; and while there he was taken with an illness from which he died, on the 3rd of March, 1850, in his forty-fifth year. According to the testimony of Phineas Young, who was present at his death, "his last moments were spent in bearing testimony of the truth of the gospel revealed through Joseph Smith, and the power of the holy Priesthood which he had received through his administration."

David Whitmer never denied his testimony to the truth of the Book of Mormon, through all the years of his separation from The Church, but repeatedly reaffirmed it, especially in the closing years of his life. Three days previous to his death, which occurred on the 25th of January, 1888, he called his family and a number of his friends to his bedside, and turning to his physician, said:

"Dr. Buchanan, I want you to say whether or not I am in my right mind, before I give my dying testimony."

The doctor answered: "Yes, you are in your right mind, for I have just had a conversation with you."

He then addressed himself to all around his bedside in these words: "Now, you must all be faithful in Christ. I want to say to you all, the Bible and the record of the Nephites (Book of Mormon) is true, so that you can say that you heard me bear my testimony on my death-bed. All be faithful in Christ, and your reward will be according to your works. God bless you all. My trust is in Christ forever, worlds without end. Amen."*

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* Richmond Democrat, February 2, 1888.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE APOSTASY AT KIRTLAND.

THE spirit of apostasy referred to in the last chapter was by no means confined to Missouri. It extended more or less throughout The Church, but more especially at Kirtland. During the winter of 1836 and the early summer of 1837, a wild spirit of speculation swept over the United States, and the members of The Church had been carried away with it.

Money had been plentiful, easy to borrow, and a spirit of reckless extravagance and speculation had taken hold of the people. When the reaction from this only seeming state of prosperity set in, financial ruin stared the people in the face. As a result of these conditions and the spirit engendered by them, "evil surmisings, fault-finding, disunion, dissension and apostasy followed in quick succession" among the saints in Kirtland. "It seemed," says the Prophet Joseph, in speaking of the conditions existing in the early summer of 1837—"It seemed as though all the powers of earth and hell were combining their influence in an especial manner to overthrow The Church and make a final end."

Many of the leading brethren became especially bitter against the Prophet of God, as though he were the sole cause of the evils he was striving against, and which were brought about by the brethren not giving heed to his counsels. "No quorum in The Church," remarks Joseph, "was entirely exempt from the influence of those false spirits who were striving against me for the mastery; even some of the Twelve were so far lost to their

high and responsible calling, as to begin taking sides, secretly, with the enemy."*

Early in 1837 the Kirtland Safety Society Bank was organized. It was one of the many banks which sprung up all over the United States about that time, and which under the current banking laws issued bank currency; and with hundreds of other similar institutions throughout the land, went down in the financial maelstrom which swept over the country in the latter part of 1837.

Among those disaffected at Kirtland there were some who held the Prophet responsible for the failure of the Safety Society Bank. Some charged that they had been given to understand that the bank was instituted by the will of God, and that "it would never fail, let men do what they would."† The Prophet disclaimed having made any such statement, or having authorized any one else to make it. On the contrary, he declared in open conference, held at Kirtland on the 3rd of September, 1837, that he had always said "that unless the institution was conducted on righteous principles, it would not stand."‡

But notwithstanding his disclaimers, apostates in Kirtland held him responsible for its failure; and by early January, 1838, the spirit of these men became so bitter that the Prophet Joseph and Sidney Rigdon had to seek safety in flight in the direction of Far West. They fled by night from the city on horseback, but subsequently were joined by their families in wagons and thus made the tedious journey with teams.

The weather was cold, and sometimes they were obliged to secrete themselves in their wagons to escape their enemies,

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* History Joseph Smith, Millennial Star, Vol. 16, p. 11.

† A statement of this character was made by Elder Boynton, one of the Twelve Apostles, at a conference held at Kirtland, September 3, 1837.

‡ History Joseph Smith, Millennial Star, Vol. 16, p. 56.

who followed them for about two hundred miles from Kirtland. The mobbers frequently crossed their track. Twice they were in the same house with the brethren; and once they stopped at the same house over night, with only a partition wall between them, through which the Prophet and his companion could hear their oaths, threats and imprecations. They even went into the room of the brethren, looked upon them, but concluded they were not the men they were pursuing.

Part of the time the Prophet and Sidney traveled together, but for greater security they sometimes traveled alone. At Terre Haute, Indiana, they separated and did not meet again until they arrived at Far West. Joseph reached the latter place on the 14th of March, and Sidney Rigdon on the 4th of April following.

The saints at Far West received the Prophet and Elder Rigdon with every demonstration of joy. Indeed, when they heard that Joseph was en route for Missouri, a delegation of brethren with teams and money went to meet him a hundred and twenty miles from Far West, and greatly assisted him in completing a journey with dispatch and safety which had been fraught with so many dangers.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ADAM-ONDI-AHMAN.

JOSEPH was forever active. His appearance in the midst of the saints was always the signal for increased activity in all phases of the work. A day or two after his arrival at Far West, while walking over the prairie, in company with several of the brethren, in one of those sudden out-bursts of inspiration so frequent and natural with and to him, he gave the following as the

POLITICAL MOTTO OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS.

The Constitution of our country formed by the Fathers of Liberty: peace and good order in society; love to God, and good will to man. All good and wholesome laws; virtue and truth above all things, and Aristarchy* live for ever; but woe to tyrants, mobs, aristocracy, anarchy and toryism, and all those who invent or seek out unrighteous and vexatious law suits, under the pretext and color of law or office, either religious or political. Exalt the standard of Democracy! Down with that of priestcraft, and let all the people say, Amen! That the blood of the fathers may not cry from the ground against us. Sacred is the memory of that blood which bought for us our Liberty.

That is a motto that will challenge the admiration of all patriots, and is worthy of living in the archives of the great Republic.

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*Aristarchy—a body of good men at the head of government.

Conferences, the convening of High Councils, preparing elders to go on missions, making arrangements for settling the ever-increasing numbers of the saints on the new lands of Far West, were the common labors of the day.

In May, 1838, Joseph and other leading brethren started on an exploring expedition to the north, for the purpose of finding new districts where more stakes of Zion might be laid off, and the gathering saints find homes. They traveled north until they reached Grand River, a stream sufficient for steamboat navigation in the rainy seasons, but so fluctuating that it is not practically a navigable stream. Time has cut the channel very deep, and left the wood-lined banks in places quite precipitous.

After reaching Grand River, Joseph and his party followed up the beautiful stream which lead them a north-westerly course. Having traveled some thirty miles from Far West, they camped on the north side of Grand River, at Tower Hill, a name which the Prophet Joseph gave it, because of finding an old ruined Nephite tower or altar on the hill. Half a mile north of Tower Hill, Joseph and party selected and laid claim to a site for a city in township sixty, ranges twenty-seven and eight, sections twenty-five, thirty-six, thirty-one, and thirty. Some of the saints had been located at the place for several months and called it Spring Hill; but by the mouth of the Lord it was named ADAM-ONDI-AHMAN;* because, said he, it is the place where Adam shall come to visit his people, or the Ancient of Days shall sit, as spoken of by Daniel† the prophet.

Adam-ondi-Ahman, then, or Diahman, as it was familiarly known to the Missouri saints, is located on the north bank of Grand River. It is situated, in fact, in a great bend of the Grand. The river comes sweeping down from the north-west,

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* Doc. & Cov. Sec. 116.

† Daniel 8: 9-14.

and here makes a bold curve and runs in a meandering course to the north-east for some two or three miles, when it as suddenly makes another curve and flows again to the south-east. We have already spoken of Grand River as a stream that has worn a deep channel for itself, and left its banks precipitous; but here at Diahman that is only true of the south bank. The stream, as it rushed from the north-west, struck this height of prairie land containing beds of lime-stone, and not being able to cut its way through, it veered off to the north-east, and left that height of land standing like a palisade that rises very abruptly from the stream to a height of from fifty to seventy-five feet; but the summit of these bluffs is the common level of the high, rolling prairie, extending off in the direction of Far West. The bluffs on the north bank recede some distance from the stream, so that the river bottom at this point widens out to a small valley. The bluffs on the north bank of the river are by no means as steep as those on the south, and are covered with a heavier growth of timber. A ridge or spur runs out from the main line of the bluffs into the river bottom some two or three hundred yards, approaching the stream at the point where the curve is made. The termination of the bluff is quite abrupt, and overlooks a considerable portion of the river bottom. On the brow of the bluff stood the old stone altar which the brethren found there. When it was first discovered, according to those who visited it frequently, it was about sixteen feet long, by nine or ten feet wide, having its greatest extent north and south. The height of the altar as the brethren found it, was some two and a half feet at each end but gradually rising higher to the center, which was between four and five feet high—the whole surface being crowning.

Such was the altar at Diahman when the brethren found it. Now, however, it is thrown down and nothing but a mound of crumbling stones mixed with soil, and a few boulders, mark the spot which is doubtless rich in historic events. It was here that

the patriarchs, associated with Adam and in his company, assembled at this altar to worship their God. Here their evening prayers ascended to heaven in the smoke of the burning sacrifice, and here angels instructed them in heavenly truths—but more of this anon.

North of the ridge on which the ruins of the altar are found, and running parallel with it, is another ridge, separated from the first by a depression or miniature valley, varying in width from fifty to a hundred yards. This small valley, with the larger one through which flows Grand River, is the valley of Adam-ondi-Ahman. Three years previous to the death of Adam, he gathered the patriarchs Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch and Methuselah, together with all their righteous posterity, into this valley we have described; and there gave them his last blessing. And even as he blessed them, the heavens were opened, and the Lord appeared, and in the presence of their God, the children of Adam arose and blessed him, and called him Michael, the Prince, the Archangel. The Lord also blessed Adam, saying: "I have set thee to be the head—a multitude of nations shall come of thee, and thou art a Prince over them for ever." So great was the influence of this double blessing upon Adam, that though he was bowed down with age, under the outpouring of the Holy Ghost he predicted what should befall his posterity, to their latest generations. Thus we find the valley of Diahman a hallowed spot, made so because of these sacred associations.

But all the interest concerning Diahman is not associated with the past, it is connected with the future as well. For it is in this same valley that the "Ancient of Days," Adam, will come and meet with his posterity, when thousand thousands shall minister to him, and ten thousand times ten thousand shall stand before him; here is where the books will be opened and the judgment shall sit. Here, too, the Son of Man will appear to this vast multitude, in the clouds of heaven, and coming to

the Ancient of Days, shall give to him dominion and glory, and issue a decree that all people, nations and languages shall serve and obey him; and his dominion shall be everlasting, and his kingdom one that shall never be destroyed.*

Such were the scenes of the past enacted in the "Valley of Diahman:" such are the splendid scenes to be enacted there in the future! No wonder if Satan has contended with the saints for the possession of this holy ground! Does not the fact of its being chosen as the place where the Kingdom of God shall be established in power no more to be destroyed, explain in part why there was such an effort on the part of the powers of darkness to drive the saints away from it? And, again, do not the very efforts made by Satan to drive away the saints, sustain the words of the prophets that declare this to be holy ground?

On the evening of May 21st, 1838, a few days after the arrival of Joseph's exploring party at Diahman, a council of the whole party was called, and it was decided not to go farther north, but counsel the people to settle at Diahman, and secure the land between there and Far West. So rapidly did the saints gather to this place, that about one month from the time it was selected, a stake of Zion was organized there. John Smith, uncle of the Prophet, was chosen president; Reynolds Cahoon and Lyman Wight were selected to be his counselors. A High Council was also organized, and Vinson Knight was chosen acting Bishop *pro tempore*.

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* Daniel 7th chapter; see also Doc. & Cov. Sec. 107.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1838.

THE Fourth of July, 1838, is a memorable day in the history of Far West. The saints had long been vexed by their enemies. They had seen their homes destroyed, their helpless women and children driven into the wilderness by cruel mobs, when the exiles could be traced by the blood left in their tracks. They had been robbed of their possessions and maltreated in their persons until they were driven almost to desperation. They took advantage therefore of Independence Day to declare their intentions no more to quietly submit to the outrages perpetrated against them. Joseph Smith was president of the day; and his brother Hyrum, vice-president; Sidney Rigdon, orator; and Reynolds Cahoon, chief marshal. They marched in procession through the town and at last formed a circle around a large excavation —one hundred feet long by eighty wide—in the public square; and there, with appropriate ceremonies, they laid the corner stones of the House of the Lord at Far West. This was followed by speeches, music, prayers, reading the Declaration of Independence, etc. Sidney Rigdon, orator of the day, stirred with indignation in contemplating the sufferings the saints had endured, allowed his eloquence to carry him beyond the limits of calm wisdom, and many of the words spoken by him on that occasion, though corrected by the Prophet Joseph, were later made use of by the enemies of The Church, to the injury of the saints.

As an example of Elder Rigdon's unwise and intemperate language on the occasion referred to, I quote the following paragraph from his speech:

Our cheeks have been given to the smiters—our heads to those who have plucked off the hair. We have not only when smitten on one cheek turned the other, but we have done it again and again, until we are wearied of being smitten, and tired of being trampled upon. We have proved the world with kindness, we have suffered their abuse, without cause, with patience and have endured without resentment until this day, and still their persecutions and violence do not cease. But from this day and this hour we will suffer it no more. We take God and all the holy angels to witness, this day, that we warn all men, in the name of Jesus Christ to come on us no more for ever, for from this hour we will bear it no more, our rights shall not be trampled upon with impunity; the man, or the set of men who attempt it, do it at the expense of their lives. And that mob that comes on us to disturb us, it shall be between us and them a war of extermination; for we will follow them until the last drop of their blood is spilled, or else they will have to exterminate us, for we will carry the seat of war to their own houses and their own families, and one party or the other shall be utterly destroyed. Remember it then, all men. We will never be the aggressors, we will infringe on the rights of no people, but shall stand for our own until death. We claim our own rights and are willing that all others shall enjoy theirs. No man shall be at liberty to come into our streets, to threaten us with mobs, for if he does he shall atone for it before he leaves the place, neither shall he be at liberty to vilify and slander any of us, for suffer it we will not, in this place. We therefore take all men to record this day, that we proclaim our liberty this day, as did our fathers, and we pledge this day to one another our fortunes, our lives, and our sacred honors, to be delivered from the persecutions, which we have had to endure for the last nine years or nearly that time. Neither will we indulge any man, or set of men, in instituting vexatious law suits against us, to cheat us out of our rights; if they attempt it we say woe unto them. We this day, then, proclaim ourselves free with a purpose and determination that never can be broken, no, never! No, never!! No, never!!!—COLLECTION OF FACTS.—*Rigdon in Missouri, by J. M. Grant, p.* 11.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

KIRTLAND CAMP.

IT may not be inappropriate here to break the direct line of my narrative, for the purpose of noticing events that are but indirectly connected with the Missouri persecutions; and yet are peculiarly characteristic of "Mormon" movements. The seventies that were in Kirtland in the spring of 1838, met in the House of the Lord there, and discussed the best method of removing the quorum to Missouri. It was manifest both by vision and by prophecy, that they should go up in a camp, pitching their tents by the way; and the liberty of going with the camp was to be extended to those that were not seventies, on the condition that they would comply with the rules of the camp. A commission of seven, all seventies, was appointed to lead the camp; and there were also appointed a chief engineer, a historian, and a general treasurer. The camp was divided in companies of ten, with a captain over each company. The rules governing "Kirtland Camp," as it is called in Church history, were few, and smack of a primitive simplicity:

1. The engineer shall receive advice from the counselors (the commission of seven) concerning his duties.

2. At four o'clock a. m., the horn shall blow for rising, and at twenty minutes past four for prayers, at which time each captain of ten shall see that the inmates of his tent are ready for worship.

3. The head of each division shall keep a roll of all his able-bodied men to stand guard, in turn, as called for by the engineer; one-half in the former, the other half in the latter part of the night.

4. Each company of the camp is entitled to an equal portion of the milk whether it owns the cows or not.

5. Appointed a herdsman for the camp, who was to call for the assistance necessary to care of the stock.

6. Provided the camp should not travel more than fifteen miles a day, unless absolutely necessary.

A company of two hundred and forty-nine males, and two hundred and sixty-six females, a total of five hundred and fifteen souls, with twenty-seven tents, ninety-seven horses, twenty-two oxen, sixty-nine cows, camped about a quarter of a mile south of the Lord's House in Kirtland, on the fifth of July, 1838; and the next day started for Missouri. The journey was long and tedious; many difficulties were encountered and numerous obstacles overcome. A spirit of murmuring was frequently manifested, much sickness was in the camp, and because of their disobedience, evil spirits plagued them by getting possession of their bodies. At times they would camp by the way-side to rest their jaded teams, when the brethren would generally get a small contract of work to do; such as harvesting a field of grain, building fences or making road. In this way they spent the summer in journeying to Missouri, where they arrived late in autumn.

A company of saints organized in a similar manner, in Canada, under the leadership of John E. Page, in their journey to Missouri met with the camp from Kirtland, on Sunday the 12th of August, and John E. Page preached to the Kirtland Camp. As they passed through the country they received varied treatment at the hands of the people. At times they were allowed to pass on in peace, and then threatened with violence; and at times actually assaulted. Their toils and sufferings, their faithfulness and rebellions, their rejoicings and sorrows, their preaching the word in the wilderness, their hunger, fatigue, sickness, deaths, and the final arrival of the travel-worn remnants of the camp in Far West and Diahman would, if related in detail, make a long interesting chapter, but we have not space to say more here.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

GALLATIN.

THE sparsely settled counties of upper Missouri, as well as the newly organized county of Caldwell, seemed to promise an asylum where the exiles from Jackson and Clay Counties, and the gathering saints from the East, could find peace and rest. But the illusion was soon to be dispelled, the hope blighted. They were to receive another testimony that the Church of Christ was still militant, and not triumphant; and that the true disciple of Christ must endure patiently the fortunes of that warfare.

Renewed hostilities with the Missourians began in this way: On the 6th of August, 1838, an election was held at Gallatin, in Daviess County; and the old settlers under the leadership of H. P. Peniston, made a determined effort to prevent the "Mormons" from voting. Some of the bullies among the Missourians persistently insulted the brethren, which was endured patiently for a time; but when at last a drunken rough—one Dick Welding—attempted to strike a brother by the name of Samuel Brown, Perry Durphy caught his arm, and this was made an excuse by the Missourians to begin a general assault.

The Missourians, although outnumbering the brethren, found themselves overmatched and beat a hasty retreat to get arms. Among those who fought hardest for his rights as an American citizen, and in the defense of his brethren, was John L. Butler; and as soon as they left, Butler called the brethren together and said: "We are American citizens; our fathers fought for their liberty, and we will maintain the same princi-

ples." Here he was interrupted by the county officials who told the brethren that the whole disturbance was a premeditated thing, to prevent them from voting, and requested them to withdraw, as they feared it might end in bloodshed.

By this time the Missourians began to collect, armed to the teeth and greatly reinforced; and as the brethren were unarmed, they retired to their homes, collected their families and concealed them in the hazel thickets. The rain fell in torrents through the night; the women and children were lying on the ground, while the men guarded them.

Judge Morin,of Daviess County, some two weeks before the time of election, had told Levi Stewart and others that there was a movement on foot then to prevent the "Mormons" from voting; and advised them if they went to the election at Gallatin to go armed, prepared to assert their rights. The brethren, however, had not heeded the friendly warning, and went to the polls unarmed, with the result above stated.

The report of the trouble at Gallatin which reached Far West was very much exaggerated. It stated that three of the brethren had been killed, and were refused burial, and that the people of Daviess County were arming to drive the saints from their homes in Diahman. Upon the reception of the report, the Prophet Joseph, his brother Hyrum, and other leading men started for the settlement of the saints, their company increasing on the route, by brethren living between Far West and Diahman joining them. The company arrived at the house of Lyman Wight, and there learned the truth in relation to the Gallatin trouble.

The whole country was in an uproar, in which ministers of the gospel and county officials joined; and by their connection with it made the disturbance formidable.

The whole company that had come with Joseph from Far West rode over to a spring on the prairie, a short distance from Wight's house, and a committee called upon Judge Adam Black,

the justice of the peace for that district, and judge-elect for the county, to learn if he justified the course of the proceedings at Gallatin, on the part of the old settlers; to which he replied he did not. As he was a justice of the peace, they desired to know if he would administer the law justly and not join the mob. The question was put to him because rumor had it that he was connected with the mob element. He replied that he would administer the law fairly, and consented to give a statement in writing to that effect, and also denied having any connection with the mob. As this occurrence at Black's residence was made the excuse for commencing those hostilities which terminated so disastrously to the saints, I give Black's agreement in full—orthography and capitalization as in the original:

I, Adam Black, a justice of the Peace of Davies county do here by Sertify to the people, coled Mormin, that he is bound to suport the Constitution of this State, and of the United States, and he is not attached to any mob, nor will he attach himselff to any such people, and so long as they will not molest me, I will not molest them. This the 8th day of August, 1838.

ADAM BLACK J. P.

While the judge-elect was making out this, to him, weighty document, Mrs. Black was chastising the brethren with the valor of her tongue, in a manner that, doubtless, would have made the ancient Xantippe green with envy. After securing this agreement of peace from Judge Black, the company returned to Wight's, where they met some citizens from Millport, and arranged to hold a conference the next day at noon with the principal men of Daviess County. Among those who attended that meeting, the day following, were Joseph Morin, State senator-elect; John Williams, State representative-elect; the clerk of the circuit court and others. Those men, and the principal elders of The Church, entered into a solemn agreement to preserve each other's rights, and stand in each other's defense. If

men in the respective parties should do wrong, they were not to be upheld or screened from justice by their friends; but must be delivered up to be dealt with according to law and justice.

But like some hardened sinner, who "even in penance will plan sins anew," so with the Missourians; while some of their leading men were entering into covenants of peace, others of them were planning the destruction of the saints. The very day following the agreement of peace referred to, Wm. P. Peniston, who had incited the mob disturbance at the Gallatin election, went before the circuit judge, Austin A. King, and made out a complaint against Joseph Smith, Lyman Wight and others, accusing them of having surrounded the house of Adam Black,and under threats of immediate death, compelled him to sign a most disgraceful paper; also that the same men and their followers had threatened to take his life on sight, and the same threat extended to others. He claimed that the body of men following Joseph Smith numbered some five hundred, that they were armed, and that their actions were of a highly insurrectionary character, and that their object was to intimidate and drive from the county all the old citizens, and possess themselves of their lands, or to force such as would not leave to accept their measures and submit to their dictation. In the latter part of the month, Adam Black, himself, swore out a complaint to the same effect; adding that the "Mormons" would not submit to the law.

As soon as it was heard that Joseph Smith and a body of followers had gone armed into Daviess County to inquire about their friends, a committee of Ray County citizens came up to Far West to inquire into the reasons of such a movement. A meeting was called and a committee appointed to give the committee from Ray all the information required.

Joseph's movements were watched very closely. On the occasion of his returning from a visit to a company of saints camped on the forks of Grand River, between thirty and forty

miles from Far West, he and the small company of brethren with him were chased some distance by a body of armed men, but they escaped.

It was reported that Joseph would not submit to civil process, that he defied the law. A charge had been trumped up in Daviess County against him, for going there in arms to inquire about the Gallatin election troubles, and on the morning of the 13th of August the sheriff of Daviess County and Judge Morin called upon Joseph and informed him that they had a writ for his arrest. Joseph expressed his willingness to be tried, but as the people of Daviess County were very much—though unjustly—exasperated at him, he wished to be tried in his own county, and the laws gave him that right. Upon this insistance the sheriff refused to serve the warrant, and he said he would see Judg King about it. Joseph agreed to remain at home until his return; which he did. On his return the sheriff informed the Prophet that he was out of his jurisdiction.

The excitement which had been aroused, however, could not be abated. On the contrary, it spread into surrounding counties and its intensity increased.

CHAPTER XXXV.

BOGGS IN ACTION—DEFENSE CONSTRUED INTO OFFENSE.

THIS excitement in Daviess and surrounding counties, and the Indian difficulties which were threatening about the same time, induced Governor Boggs* to send an order to Gen. David R. Atchison, third division of Missouri militia, ordering him to raise within the limits of his district, four hundred mounted men, armed and equipped as infantry or riflemen, to be held in readiness to quell disturbances arising either from the excitement concerning the "Mormon" troubles, or Indian outbreaks. This order was dated August 30, 1838.

In order to show his willingness to honor the law, Joseph, under the counsel of General Atchison, under whom and General Doniphan, Joseph and Sidney Rigdon were studying law, volunteered to be tried for going armed into Daviess County before the circuit judge, Austin A. King. The judge was notified of Joseph's action, and the place selected for trial was the house of a Brother Littlefield, about fifteen miles north of Far West, where the little village of Winston is now located. But as the plaintiff, Wm. P. Peniston, failed to put in an appearance, the trial was postponed until the next day, to take place at the house of a Mr. Raglin, one of the chief mobocrats. The result of the trial was that Joseph and Lyman Wight were bound over in a five hundred dollar bond to appear at the next session of

* This was Lilburn W. Boggs who, during the troubles in Jackson County, was lieutenant-governor of the State, and who not only quietly looked on and saw the saints driven from their homes by mob violence, but secretly aided and encouraged the mob in its atrocities.

the district court; though Judge King afterwards said nothing worthy of bonds had been proven against them.

The leaders of the mob had sent out representatives into the surrounding counties, asking the people to join them in driving the "Mormons" from the State. They were usually successful in getting assistance, but when the people of Chariton County were appealed to they determined to proceed carefully, and very wisely sent two delegates to Caldwell and Daviess counties, to make inquiries as to the cause of the excitement. These men were at Joseph's trial before Judge King, and at its close accompanied him and his party to Far West, where the information they received convinced them that there was no occasion for the people of Chariton County to join with the surrounding counties in an effort to drive the saints from their homes. Chariton County is due east of Caldwell, with Carroll and Livingston intervening.

The whole country was in a state of intense excitement, and so many wild rumors were afloat, that it was difficult to determine just what the situation was. The brethren, however, were very active in moving from point to point, wherever there was a threatened attack upon their people. Hearing that a wagon load of arms and ammunition was *en route* from Richmond to the mob infesting the vicinity of Diahman, Captain Wm. Allred took a company of ten mounted men and started to intercept the transport. They found the wagon broken down, and the boxes of guns concealed near the roadside in the tall grass; but no one was in sight. Shortly after this party had discovered the arms, they saw moving over the prairie, from the direction of the mob's camp, two horsemen and behind them a third man driving a team. These parties came up to the broken down wagon and were arrested by Captain Allred, by virtue of a writ he held for them issued by the civil authorities of Caldwell County. The prisoners and the guns were taken to Far West, and after an examination before Albert Petty, justice of

the peace, they were held to bail for their appearance at the next term of the circuit court. The names of these parties were, J. B. Comer, held as principal, and Wm. L. McHoney and Allen Miller as being in the employ of Comer, engaged in furnishing a mob with arms for an illegal purpose.

Judge King was informed of the arrest of these men, and his advice was asked as to what disposal should be made of the prisoners. He replied that the prisoners must be turned loose and treated kindly. He had no advice to give about the guns, and was at a loss to know how to account for them being in the possession of Comer, as they belonged to government, and had been in the custody of Captain Pollard, living in the vicinity of Richmond. I have already related how the prisoners were held to bail. The guns were distributed among the brethren to be used in self-defense. A few days afterwards the prisoners were delivered up to Gen. A. W. Doniphan; and forty-two stands of the firearms were also collected and delivered to him

The mob took a number of the brethren prisoners, and sent word to Far West and other settlements that they were torturing them in the most inhuman manner, by this means, doubtless, seeking to provoke the saints to some act of cruelty upon their enemies that might fall into their power, and thus give the mob an excuse for assaulting and driving the "Mormon" community from the State.

All parts of the State were flooded with the falsehoods about "Mormon" atrocities and cruelties—cruelties which never occurred. A bitter prejudice, however, was manufactured against the saints, and people generally believed the "Mormons" were capable of all the crimes known to hardened, sinful wretches; and that they were unfit to live.

In the meantime, the militia Governor Boggs had ordered to be held in readiness, was mustered into service. Under the direction of Gen. Doniphan six companies of fifty men each were collected and armed from the militia of Clay County, and at once marched

into the vicinity of Diahman. Here Doniphan found the citizens of Daviess and surrounding counties to the number of two or three hundred under arms, and commanded by Dr. Austin, from Carroll County. They claimed to have collected solely for the purpose of defending the people of Daviess County against the "Mormons." Doniphan read to them the order of his superior officer, General Atchison, to disperse, but this they refused to do.

"I had an interview," said Doniphan, "with Dr. Austin, and his professions were all pacific. But they (Austin's men) still continued under arms, marching and counter marching." The general also visited the encampment of the brethren under the command of Colonel Lyman Wight. Doniphan's report says: "We held a conference with him, and he professed entire willingness to disband, and surrender up to me every one of the 'Mormons' accused of crime; and required in return that the hostile forces collected by the other citizens of the county, should also disband." As they refused to obey the order to disband, the safety of the brethren and their families required that they should continue under arms; and General Doniphan took up a position between the two opposing forces, hoping that if the parties were kept apart, in a few days they would disband without coercion.

In the course of two or three days General Atchison arrived with a body of militia from Ray County. He at once ordered the citizens from the surrounding counties to repair to their respective homes, a movement they began to make with many signs of reluctance. Only about one hundred of them obeyed the order. Atchison reported to Governor Boggs, that he had received assurance from the "Mormons" that all those accused of a violation of the laws would be in for trial the very day on which his report was dated—the 17th of September, 1838. "And," says the report, "when that is done, the troops under my command will be no longer required in this county, if the

citizens of other counties will retire to their respective homes."

A day or two after this report, Atchison succeeded in disbanding the mob forces; and the brethren against whom charges were trumped up appeared before a court of inquiry and entered into bonds to appear at the next session of the circuit court. This much having been accomplished, Atchison thought it no longer needful to keep his whole force of militia in the field, hence he dismissed all his forces except two companies, which were left in the vicinity, under the command of Brigadier-General H. G. Parks. In reporting these latter movements to the governor, Atchison says in conclusion:

> The "Mormons" of Daviess County, as I stated in a former report, were encamped in a town called Adam-ondi-Ahman, and they are headed by Lyman Wight, a bold, brave, skillful, and I may add, a desperate man; they appear to be acting on the defensive, and I must further add, gave up the offenders with a good deal of promptness. The arms taken by the "Mormons" and the prisoners were also given up upon demand with cheerfulness.

The forces, then, which had been called out by order of General Atchison were disbanded, except the two companies that were left under the command of General Parks. Parks and these men remained in the vicinity of Diahman, watching both "Mormons" and Gentiles, assisting in serving civil process, and reporting occasionally to his superior officers. As these reports come from a source that is other than a "Mormon" one, he is a witness to the uprightness of the acts of the "Mormon" people at that time of considerable importance; and this must be our excuse for inserting several extracts from his official reports. In a report which Parks made to Governor Boggs, on the 25th of September, occurs the following:

> Whatever may have been the disposition of the people called "Mormons" before our arrival here, since we have made our appearance, they have shown no disposition to resist the law or of hostile

intentions. There has been so much prejudice and exaggeration concerned in this matter, that I found things entirely different from what I was prepared to expect. When we arrived here, we found a large body of men from the counties adjoining, armed and in the field, for the purpose, as I learned, of assisting the people of this county against the "Mormons," without being called out by the proper authorities.

In the meantime, a committee of old citizens had agreed to meet with a committee appointed by the saints in Daviess County, for the purpose of making arrangements for either buying the property of the saints, or of selling theirs to the brethren. Speaking of this committee in a postscript to the above report, Parks says: "I received information that if the committee do not agree, the determination of the Daviess County men is to drive the 'Mormons' with powder and lead."

Two days later than the date of Parks' report, General Atchison wrote to the governor, saying:

The force under General Parks is deemed sufficient to execute the laws and keep the peace in Daviess County. Things are not so bad in that county as represented by rumor, and in fact from affidavits. I have no doubt your Excellency has been deceived by the exaggerated statements of designing or half crazy men. I have found there is no cause of alarm on account of the "Mormons;" they are not to be feared; they are very much alarmed.

These statements, accompanied by the former statements of Atchison and Doniphan, which said the "Mormons" were only acting on the defensive, and had surrendered the arms they had taken from the mob, together with the prisoners, with promptness and cheerfulness, prove that the saints in collecting and arming were merely acting in self-defense, and not with any desire to outrage the laws or injure the Missourians.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

DE WITT.

DR. AUSTIN, of Carroll County, who had commanded the mob forces about Diahman, being compelled to disband his forces, at least part of them, he esteemed his force insufficient to drive out the brethren from Diahman; so he conceived the idea of striking a blow in another quarter. In the south-east part of Carroll County, about fifty miles south-east of Far West, and near the point where Grand River empties into the Missouri, is the little settlement called De Witt. Here in the autumn of 1838, a number of the saints were located, quite a number of whom had come from Ohio during the summer of 1838, and were still camped in their wagons and tents. It was to this smaller and weaker settlement that the gallant (!) Dr. Austin lead the remainder of his mob forces, after about one hundred of his original number had returned to their homes in obedience to the orders of General Atchison.

At various times through the summer the mob had threatened the saints in and around De Witt, but it was not until the 20th of September that any serious demonstration of mob violence occurred. On that day about a hundred, perhaps a hundred and fifty men, rode into the settlement and threatened the people with death if they did not agree at once to leave the State, but after some deliberation, they gave them until the 1st of October in which to make their departure. The action of the mob was promptly reported to the governor, and he was asked by the saints to take such steps as would put a stop to all lawless proceedings. The petition making this prayer was signed by

over fifty of the brethren living at De Witt, but the governor gave no heed to their prayers for the suppression of lawlessness.

The saints at De Witt of course paid no attention to the demand of the mob made on the 20th of September, that they leave the State by the first of October. So, on the 2nd of that month, early in the morning, about fifty men rode into De Witt and began firing upon the peaceful inhabitants of the place. Henry Root made out an affidavit to the foregoing effect, and at once went to General Parks with it, who was still in the vicinity of Diahman with his two companies of militia. Leaving Colonel Thompson in command at Diahman, General Parks at once ordered two companies of militia under the command of Captains Bogart and Houston to arm and equip, as the law directed, with six days' provisions and fifty rounds of powder and ball. With these companies he marched for De Witt. Just before leaving he sent a messenger to a Colonel Jones, of Carroll County, to call out three companies of the militia and join him at Carrollton, the county seat of Carroll County. This order, however, was ignored.

In his report to General Atchison, General Parks says that when he arrived at De Witt he found the place surrounded by Dr. Austin's men, to the number of some three hundred, provided with a piece of artillery ready to attack the "Mormons" gathered in De Witt. But he expressed the opinion that the "Mormons" could beat Austin even if he had five hundred troops. In the meantime his own forces were mutinous, and refused to act against the mob; hence he had sent word to General Doniphan to raise companies from Platte, Clay, and Clinton counties, as he had no faith that troops ordered from Livingston and other counties would come.

During the time that trouble was threatened at Diahman, which for the time was happily suppressed by General Atchison, Governor Boggs, in addition to the militia ordered out under

Atchison, Doniphan and Parks, had directed General S. D. Lucas, of the fourth division of the Missouri militia, to march with four hundred men to join General Atchison at Diahman. Orders similar in their nature were issued to Major-Generals Lewis Bolton, John B. Clark and Thomas D. Grant. But the success of General Atchison in scattering the mob forces about Diahman led to the disbanding of the militia under the generals just named.

This apparently was not relished at all by S. D. Lucas, who, it will be remembered, took an active part in connection with Governor Boggs against the saints in the Jackson County troubles. Hearing of the difficulty arising at De Witt, he thought it another opportunity to strike a blow at the defenseless people he before had assisted in murdering and driving from their homes. He passed down the Missouri River, near where De Witt was located, about the time the actual hostilities began there, and reported the situation to Governor Boggs, and in concluding his letter he says:

> If a fight has actually taken place, of which I have no doubt, it will create excitement in the whole of upper Missouri, and those base and degraded beings (the "Mormons") will be exterminated from the face of the earth. * * * It is an unpleasant state of affairs. The remedy I do not pretend to suggest to your Excellency. My troops were only dismissed subject to further orders, and can be called into the field at an hour's warning.

While Lucas pretended in the above not to suggest a remedy to the governor, he really does so, and plainly offers to carry out the plan. General Lucas says: "Those base and degraded beings (the saints) will be exterminated from the face of the earth," and then follows that statement up by saying that his troops, amounting to four hundred, had only been dismissed subject to further orders, and could be called out at an hour's warning! This act on the part of Lucas was in reality a sug-

gestion to Governor Boggs to exterminate the saints, and an offer on his part to do the job, if he only had orders to call out the men he had but a few days before disbanded. The circumstance is the more significant since his covert suggestion was subsequently acted upon by Governor Boggs.

The people of Chariton County were again asked to assist against the "Mormons," this time to drive them from De Witt; and again the people of that county held a public meeting on the question, and sent a committee of two to inquire into the situation and report. As their report is a complete vindication of the action of the saints in this instance, I make an extract from it:

We arrived at the place of difficulties on the fourth of October, and found a large portion of the citizens of Carroll and adjoining counties assembled near De Witt well armed. We inquired into the nature of the difficulties. They said there was a large portion of the people called "Mormons," embodied in De Witt, from different parts of the world. They are unwilling for them to remain there, which is the cause of their waging war against them. To use the gentleman's language, they are waging a war of extermination, or to remove them from the said county. We also went into De Witt, to see the situation of the "Mormons." We found them in the act of defense begging for peace, and wishing for the civil authorities to repair there and as early as possible settle the difficulties between the parties. Hostilities have commenced, and will continue until they are stopped by the civil authorities.

As soon as word was brought to Joseph that the saints were shut up by mob forces in De Witt, he at once started for the scene of the trouble to allay, if possible, the excitement among the people. He had some difficulty in getting there, as the mob had all the roads strongly guarded, and allowed neither ingress nor egress to the place they were actually besieging. But by going unfrequented roads and through the woods, he arrived at the besieged town, and found the saints surrounded by a host of

their enemies, with their provisions nearly exhausted, and no prospects of obtaining more.

The first thing Joseph did on his arrival was to talk with several gentlemen of respectability and of good standing in the neighborhood, and who were not connected with The Church, but who had witnessed the proceedings of the mob against the saints, and now offered to make affidavits respecting the treatment the saints had received at the hands of the mob forces, and their present perilous situation; and further offered to send a messenger with these papers, and lay the case before the governor. Their proposition was gladly accepted. The affidavits were made out, and a Mr. Caldwell dispatched at once with them to the governor. Instead of sending the people of De Witt any hope of relief, however, the governor said to Mr. Caldwell:

The quarrel is between the "Mormons" and the mob, and they can fight it out.

This was the death blow to all hopes that had been entertained of receiving relief from the governor when the case should be fairly presented to him. Following close upon this answer that was returned from the chief executive, General Parks sent word to the besieged saints, that his troops under Captain Bogart had mutinied, and in order to prevent them joining the mob he was under the necessity of drawing them away. This act of course turned the people of De Witt over to the tender mercy of the mob led by Dr. Austin, Major Ashley, a member of the State legislature, and Sashiel Woods, a Presbyterian minister.

The saints were hopelessly shut up in De Witt. If their stock wandered outside of the immediate settlement it was shot down by the mob; and if the people went to the outskirts in search of food, they too became the targets of their merciless enemies. Provisions were exhausted, and some of the brethren died of exhaustion and starvation, while all were worn out with constantly watching the movements of their enemies. In this

extremity the saints were advised by some of the prominent non-"Mormon" citizens in the vicinity of De Witt to leave that county, and they would be paid for all their losses, Henry Root and David Thomas having secured a promise of the mob that if the "Mormons" would leave De Witt, they should not be molested while doing so. The saints were compelled to accept these terms, and a committee was appointed to appraise the property of the "Mormons." The names of two of this committee are all that have been preserved—Judge Erickson and Major Florey. The only property that was appraised, however, was the real estate; the personal property the saints had lost, and the stock that had been shot down by the mob and upon which they had fed, was not taken into account at all.

The saints gathered up what teams and wagons they had left, and placing the sick, the aged and infirm, together with what personal property they could take with them, they left their fields and their homes in the hands of their enemies; and wended their slow way over the prairie in the direction of Far West. Ever and anon as they looked back with mournful glance in the direction of De Witt, they could see the smoke ascending heavenward from some of their burning homes. That was a dreary march to Far West. They were continually harassed by gangs of the mob who followed them, and others that they met in going to the appointed rendezvous in the vicinity of De Witt. Several brethren died on the way, and had to be buried without coffins, under the most sorrowful circumstances. One sister, who had not recovered from child-birth, through the exposure consequent upon being compelled to leave a comfortable home, died and was buried in a grave bordering the banks of a beautiful stream. The company arrived among their awe-stricken brethren and sisters at Far West on the 12th of October.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

MILLPORT.

NO sooner had the saints departed from De Witt than the Presbyterian preacher, Woods, called the mob that had infested that settlement together, and in a speech of frenzied hate he suggested that they proceed at once to Daviess County and assist their friends in driving the "Mormons" from their homes in that county, as they had already done in Carroll County. He assured them the civil authorities would not interfere to defend the "Mormons," and they could get possession of their property just as well as not. He reminded them that the land sales would soon come off, and if they could but get rid of the "Mormons" they could secure all the lands they would want. To appreciate the force of this part of the preacher's appeal to the mob, the reader must remember that the whole country was wild on land speculations, and that some of the saints were badly tinctured with it, as explained in a previous chapter. The speech had the desired effect, and forthwith the entire body with their cannon started for Daviess County.

While these events were transpiring in Carroll County, Cornelius Gilliam, who, it will be remembered, called upon Zion's Camp at Fishing River several years before, had been engaged in raising a mob in Platte and Clinton counties to accomplish the same object that Parson Woods and his mob had in view. General Doniphan learned of these movements, both on the part of Gilliam and Woods, and sent word to Joseph Smith that a body of eight hundred men were moving upon the settlement of his people in Daviess County. He gave orders for a company of

militia to be raised at Far West and marched at once into Daviess County, to defend those who were threatened, until he could raise the militia in Clay and adjoining counties to put down the insurrection. Accordingly a company of one hundred militiamen were gotten in readiness to march into Daviess County. The command was given to Colonel Hinckle and he started for Diahman.

After General Parks had left the vicinity of De Witt with his mutinous militia, he returned to Diahman, where he had left Colonel Thompson in command, and resumed control of affairs in that section.

The mob about Diahman, hearing of the fate of De Witt, and learning of the approach of that mob and the efforts of Gilliam in the same direction, became bolder, and at once began to threaten the saints and burn some of their houses and stacks of hay and grain. These depredations were committed chiefly at a place called Millport, a short distance from Diahman. The house of Don Carlos Smith was burned down, after being plundered, and his wife with two helpless babes were driven out into the night. She made her way to Diahman, carrying her children and having to wade Grand River where the stream was waist deep.

The next day General Parks passed the ruins of this house, belonging to Don Carlos Smith, who was then on a mission in Tennessee, and it seemed to arouse within him a just indignation. He at once went to the house of Lyman Wight and gave him orders to call out his companies of militiamen—Wight holding a colonel's commission in the fifty-ninth regiment of the Missouri militia, commanded by General Parks—and gave him full authority to put down mobs wherever he should find them assembled. He said he wished it distinctly understood that Colonel Wight had full authority from him to suppress all mob violence. The militia that Colonel Wight called out was divided into two companies; one company, consisting of about sixty men, was placed

under the command of Captain David Patten, and the other of about the same number was commanded by Wight in person.

Captain Patten was ordered to go to Gallatin and disperse the mobs that were reported to be in that vicinity, while Wight and his company started for Millport.

When Patten's company came in sight of Gallatin, he found a body of the mob, about one hundred strong, who were amusing themselves by mocking and in various ways tantalizing a number of the saints whom they had captured. Seeing the approach of Patten's men, and knowing the determination of the leader, the mob broke and ran in the greatest confusion, leaving their prisoners behind them.

On his march to Millport, Colonel Wight found the whole country deserted by the mob which had infested it, and their houses in flames or in smoldering ruins. The mob having learned that General Parks had ordered out Wight's companies of militia, was seized with sudden fear and swore vengeance, not only upon the "Mormons," but upon Generals Parks and Doniphan as well. To accomplish this purpose, they had loaded up their most valuable personal effects and setting fire to their log huts, they sent runners throughout the State with the lying report that the "Mormons" had "riz" and were burning the houses, destroying property, and murdering the old settlers.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CROOKED RIVER.

THAT was a cunning piece of diabolism which prompted the mob of Daviess County to set fire to their own huts, destroy their own property and then charge the crime to the sainst. It was an act worthy of an incipient Herod. But it was not without a precedent in Missouri. Two years before that, something very similar occurred in Mercer County, just north-east of Daviess. In June of the year 1836, the Iowa Indians, then living in St. Joseph, made a friendly hunting excursion through the northern part of the state, and their line of travel led them through what was known as the Heatherly settlement, in Mercer County. The Heatherlys, who were ruffians of the lowest type, took advantage of the excitement produced by the incursion of the Indians, and circulated a report that they were robbing and killing the whites, and during the excitement these wretches murdered a man by the name of Dunbar, and another man against whom they had a grudge, and then fled to the settlements along the Missouri River, representing that they were fleeing for their lives. This produced great excitement in the settlements in the surrounding counties; the people not knowing at what hour the Indians might be upon them. The militia was called out for their protection; but it was soon ascertained that the alarm was a false one. The Heatherlys were arrested, tried for murder, and some of them sent to the penitentiary.

This circumstance occurring only two years before, and in a county adjacent to Daviess County, doubtless suggested the course pursued by the mob in burning their own houses—chiefly

built of logs—and fleeing to all parts of the State with the report that the "Mormons" had done it, and were murdering and plundering the old settlers. These false rumors spread by the mob, were strengthened in the public ear by such men as Adam Black, Judge King of Richmond, and other prominent men who were continually writing inflammatory communications to the governor. The citizens of Ray County called a public meeting and appealed to the governor to protect the people of upper Missouri from the "Mormons," whom they termed a "fearful body of thieves and robbers." It seemed as if the very prince of lies and all his hosts had suddenly broken loose, and sought to overwhelm the saints with a flood of falsehood. It was at this particular crisis that Thomas B. Marsh, the president of the Twelve Apostles, and Orson Hyde, one of the members of the same quorum, fled to Richmond and there testified to the most wicked falsehoods, calculated to bring destruction upon their former brethren. Thomas B. Marsh made an affidavit before Henry Jacobs, a justice of the peace, at Richmond, of which the following is an extract:

> They have among them (the "Mormons") a company consisting of all that are considered true "Mormons," called Danites, who have taken an oath to support the heads of The Church in all things, whether right or wrong. I have heard the Prophet say that he would yet tread down his enemies, and walk over their dead bodies; that, if he was not let alone, he would be a second Mohammed to this generation, and that he would make it one gore of blood from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean.

To this Marsh swore, and Hyde corroborated by affidavit, saying that he knew part of it to be true, and he believed the other.*

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* It may be as well to say here that some time after this, when the clouds of hatred that at this time threatened the saints with destruc-

Since in this statement made by Thomas B. Marsh and Orson Hyde the "Danites" are spoken of, and as much has been said of this organization, and many false statements made over and over again, accusing The Church of having such an association as described by Marsh and Hyde, I here give in brief an account of that organization so far as The Church knows anything in relation to it.

A Doctor Sampson Avard joined The Church a short time previous to the apostasy of Marsh and Hyde. He was one of those restless, ambitious men who desire to become great, and lord it over their fellow men. Possessing neither the intelligence nor the integrity to rise to positions of honor and trust in The Church by open, fair means, he resolved to become

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tion had drifted aside, and these men had time to reflect upon the terrible wickedness of their action, Orson Hyde, in tears, came back to the people he sought to destroy, and humbly begged to be restored to his position. And having manifested a spirit of repentance, he was received back into his place, went on a mission to Jerusalem, and for many years labored faithfully for the advancement of The Church. Thomas B. Marsh, after leading a vagabond life for years, with the brand of Judas upon his brow, and the gnawing of the worm that never dies at his heart, when the saints had weathered the storms of persecution not only in Missouri but also in Illinois as well, and their lives had fallen in the pleasant valleys of the Rocky Mountains, he too, a mere wreck of his former self, weak and driveling and childish; broken down in health and spirits, came humbly bending to the people upon whom he had sought to bring ruin, and begged—humbly begged, the privilege of ending his days in their midst. He arose in a congregation where thousands were congregated, referred to his wrecked condition, and told them it was the effect of apostasy, and warned all against walking in the path which he had trod to his infinite sorrow. His life furnishes a sad page in the history of the Latter-day Saints. He fell as Judas fell, and as Judas failed to stay the work of God in his day, so Marsh failed to break down God's work in these last days: he succeeded only in bringing upon himself the ruin and shame he tried to bring upon The Church.

a leader by craft and villainy. He employed the art of flattery in his conversations with the brethren, appointed frequent meetings at his own house which was guarded by one or more of his trusted associates, who would give him a sign if any one approached whom he had not trusted. With an air of mystery he would intimate that he had been appointed by the heads of The Church to accomplish some important work of a secret character, and at last put those whom he had won by his flattery, under an oath of eternal secrecy, not to reveal anything that he should communicate to them.

By these means he continued to enlarge his band, which he named *The Danites*, claiming of course that it was a very ancient order or society. He gave to them certain secret signs by which members of the band could recognize each other either day or night. He gave them to understand that he had authority from the heads of The Church for what he was about to do. He then proceeded to organize his men into companies of tens and fifties, placing a captain over each. Up to this time Avard had never intimated that anything unlawful or contrary to the spirit of the gospel was to be carried out. But now that he had the companies organized and all under an oath of secrecy, he thought he could with safety let the mask fall. After instructing the men as to what their duties were under their several captains, he took the captains into a secluded place and there told them they would soon be permitted to go among the Gentiles and take their property as spoil, and by robbing and plundering the Gentiles, they were to waste them away and with the property thus confiscated build up the Kingdom of God. If any of the band were recognized by their enemies, "who could harm them?" he asked: "for," said he, "we will stand by each other, and defend one another in all things. If our enemies swear against us, we can swear also." At this point some of the brethren expressed surprise, in fact, astonishment. But Avard continued by saying:

As the Lord liveth I would swear to a lie to clear any of you; and if this would not do, I would put them or him under the sand as Moses did the Egyptian. * * * And if any of us transgress, we will deal with him amongst ourselves. And if any one of this Danite society reveals any of these things, I will put him where the dogs cannot bite him.

This lecture of the doctor's revealed for the first time the true intent of his designs, and the brethren he had duped suddenly had their eyes opened, and they at once revolted and manfully rejected his teachings. Avard saw that he had played and lost, so he said they had better let the matter drop where it was. As soon as Avard's villainy was brought to the knowledge of the president of The Church he was promptly excommunicated, and was afterwards found making an effort to become friends with the mob, and conspiring against The Church.

This is the history of the Danite band, "which," says the Prophet Joseph, "died almost before it had an existence."

And now I return to the main line of my narrative. Captain Bogart, who, it will be remembered, held a command in the militia under General Parks, both in the operations about Diahman and before De Witt, and who on one occasion manifested a determination to mutiny and join the mob, was one of the bitterest enemies the saints had, and the most active of the mob. On the twenty-fourth of October, 1838, he, with about forty of his followers, called at the house of a Brother Thoret Parsons who lived on the east branch of Log Creek southeast of Far West. He warned Parsons to leave by ten o'clock the next day and remarked that he expected to give Far West "hell" before noon the next day; provided he was successful in joining his forces with those of Niel Gilliam who would camp that night six miles west of Far West, and that he himself should camp that night on Crooked River. A messenger was dispatched at once with this information to Far West, and Parsons followed the mob to watch their movements.

The day on which this occurred Joseph Holbrook* and a Brother Judith were watching the movements of a small detachment of Bogart's men, and saw eight of them enter the house of a Brother Pinkham, where they took three prisoners and four horses, together with some arms and food; and warned the old gentleman Pinkham to leave the State at once or they "would have his d—d old scalp." This detachment then started to join Bogart's main company, and Holbrook and Judith started for Far West. They arrived there near midnight and reported what they had seen in the vicinity of the mob's encampment. The blast of the trumpet and the roll of the drum soon brought together a large crowd of men to the public square. Men slept very lightly in those days, as they had to be constantly on hand to repel the attacks of their enemies. The men had been assembled by order of Judge Higbee, and he requested Lieutenant-Colonel Hinkle to raise a company to disperse the mob, and rescue the prisoners. Volunteers were called for, and in a few minutes seventy-five men had answered the call and were placed under the command of David W. Patten, who it will be remembered held a captain's commission in the state militia. He was also a member of the quorum of the Twelve.

The company marched out some distance from Far West, where it halted, and the body was divided into three divisions, the commands of which were given to David W. Patten, James Durphy, and Charles C. Rich, the whole being under the direction of David W. Patten. The march to the scene of action is thus described by one of the company:

> The night was dark, the distant plains far and near were illuminated with blazing fires, immense columns of smoke were seen rising in awful majesty, as if the world was on fire. This scene of grandeur can only be comprehended by those acquainted with scenes of prairie burning, as the fire sweeps over millions of acres of dry grass in the

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* This was Judge Holbrook, late of Bountiful, Davis County, Utah.

fall season, and leaves a smooth, black surface divested of all vegetation. The thousand meteors blazing in the distance like the camp fires of some war hosts, threw a fitful gleam of light upon the distant sky, which many might have taken for the Aurora Borealis. This scene, added to the silence of midnight, the rumbling sounds of the trampling steeds over the hard surface of the plain, the clank of the swords in their scabbards, the occasional gleam of bright armor in the flickering firelight, the gloom of surrounding darkness, and the unknown destiny of the expedition, or even the people who sent it forth; all combined to impress the mind with deep and solemn thoughts, and to throw a romantic vision over the imagination, which is not often experienced except in the poet's dreams, or in the wild imagery of sleeping fancy.*

The mob were encamped in a bend of Crooked River near the line of Caldwell and Ray counties, and I should judge all of fifteen miles directly south of Far West. The stream here lies imbedded in a deep ravine, in fact this may be said of all the streams in this part of Missouri. There has been but little disturbance of the earth's crust in this locality, and the streams, having run in their present course for ages, perhaps ever since our Father Adam and the patriarchs dwelt in the land, have worn their channels deep. At any rate, at the place where the mob was camped, and which old settlers pointed out to me as "Bogart's Battle Field," the stream lies in the bottom of a deep ravine, the sides of which are quite steep and covered with a heavy growth of underbrush and timber. A dugway road has been cut on the north side of the ravine leading down to a point where the stream is fordable. It is just above this ford where Bogart and his men were encamped in a little bottom immediately on the bank of the river.

When the brethren from Far West were within two or three miles of this encampment they dismounted, and, leaving

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* Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt, ch. 21.

their horses in the care of a part of their company, the rest proceeded on foot to the brow of the hill under which the mob was encamped. It must be remembered that Captain Patten did not know the exact locality of the mob, but supposed they had camped somewhere about the ford of the river. Near the brow of the hill the companies separated, Patten's division going to the right, Rich's to the left, and Durphy's between them. They were proceeding along silently when suddenly the stillness was broken by some one exclaiming, "Who comes there?" followed instantly by the sharp report of a rifle, and a young man of the name of Patrick O'Banion reeled from the ranks and fell, mortally wounded. Captain Patten ordered a charge down the hillside upon the mob below, which was promptly obeyed. The mob left their encampment and formed in a line under the bank of the river. Patten's men formed in a line facing them, and the mob opened fire, which was promptly answered by the brethren and then followed a moment's silence, which was broken by C. C. Rich calling the watchwords:

"*God and Liberty.*"

Patten ordered a second charge upon the enemy and then the fight was hand to hand. The fight, however, was but of short duration; the mob soon began leaping into the stream and making for the other side.

The late Judge Holbrook of Davis County, Utah, was struck at by a fierce Missourian with a sword, but by throwing up his left arm he saved his head, and before the mobber could recover himself the judge had cut him down. Two of the hindmost men of the mob were pursued by Captains Patten and Rich. The one followed by Patten suddenly wheeled round and shot him in the bowels, and he fell mortally wounded. Gideon Carter's face was so literally shot to pieces that he was almost beyond recognition. Several others were wounded in this engagement, about nine, I think, but they recovered. The mob had the advantage of position in the engagement, as they formed under the bank of the

river, which answered all the purposes of a breastwork. It will be remembered too that it was not yet daylight—the dawn was only just breaking in the east when the fight began. The mob in their flight left their horses and all their camp utensils. These the victors took charge of, and making litters on which to carry their wounded and dying, they started on the return to Far West. Several miles from Far West the mournful train was met by a number of the brethren, among whom was the Prophet Joseph and his brother Hyrum and the wife of Captain Patten. Tender hands had carried him on a litter from the battle field, but he suffered excruciating pains and asked to be laid down by the wayside that he might die. He was taken to the house of a Brother Winchester about three miles from Far West, where he died that night.

I need not dwell upon the heartrending sorrow of the wife at the loss of a noble husband, or the grief of the whole people who mourned the departure of a great and good man, and one of the leading spirits in these last days. He died full of faith, having done as he often said he would do, if need were—lay down his life for his friends. Just before he breathed his last he said to his grief-stricken wife, "Whatever you do else, O, do not deny the faith!"

Young O'Banion died shortly afterwards, and they were buried together with military honors. The body of Gideon Carter was afterwards brought up from the battle ground, and interred at Far West. The loss of the mob has never been correctly ascertained, but at the time they scattered before the impetuous charge of Patten's men, each one supposed he was the only survivor left to tell the tale of the mob's destruction.

This battle on Crooked River, though perfectly justifiable on the part of the saints, was made the excuse for raising armies against them for their destruction. The following inflammatory and untruthful message was sent to the governor as a report of what we have already related:

SIR:—We were informed last night by an express from Ray County, that Captain Bogart and all his company, amounting to between fifty and sixty men, were massacred at Buncombe, twelve miles north of Richmond, except three. This statement you may rely on as being true, and last night they expected Richmond to be laid in ashes this morning. We could distinctly hear cannon, and we knew the "Mormons" had one in their possession. Richmond is about twenty-five miles west of this place, on a straight line. We know not the hour or minute we shall be laid in ashes—our county is ruined —for God's sake give us assistance as soon as possible.

Yours, etc.,

SASHIEL WOODS,
JOSEPH DICKSON.

Woods will be remembered as the Presbyterian preacher who, after the saints were compelled to leave De Witt, called the mob which had infested that place and urged them to hasten to the assistance of their friends in Daviess County, to drive the "Mormons" away from their settlement at Diahman, that they might gain possession of their lands. These men say they distinctly heard cannon and they knew the "Mormons" had one. Yet these men were thirty-seven miles from where the engagement on Crooked River occurred, and no cannon was used—and the one in possession of the saints was only a six-pounder. "These mobbers," said Joseph, "must have had very acute ears; * * * so much for the lies of a priest of this world."

One of Bogart's men fled to Richmond and reported that ten of his comrades had been killed and the rest taken prisoners after many of them had been wounded; and he said it was the intention of the "Mormon banditti" that night to sack and burn Richmond. Upon the reception of this lying report C. R. Morehead was dispatched from Richmond to Lexington, a town located on the south bank of the Missouri on the high bluffs overlooking the river, and only about eight miles south of Richmond. He begged the people of that town to come to the as-

sistance of Richmond, and they responded by sending one hundred well armed, and according to E. M. Ryland, "daring men, the most effective our county can boast of." An express was sent from Lexington to Messrs. Amos Rees and Wiley C. Williams of Jackson County, then en route for the city of Jefferson, ordering them to hurry on to the city of Jefferson, imparting correct (?) information to the public as they went along; and to send one of their party into Cooper, Howard and Boone counties in order that volunteers might be getting ready to flock to the scene of trouble as soon as possible. The letter said: "They [the volunteers before alluded to] must make haste and put a stop to the devastation which is menaced by these infuriated fanatics, and they *must go prepared, and with a full determination to exterminate or expel them from the State en masse.*"

The italics are mine, and I use them because it was upon the strength of this message that Governor Boggs afterwards issued his celebrated exterminating order. And I pause here to call attention to the fact that these men, Wiley C. Williams and Amos Rees had started for Jefferson City as special messengers to the governor to secure the banishment of the saints from the State of Missouri. These untruthful reports of the trouble on Crooked River were favorable to their cause, and an express was sent after them to add this falsehood to those with which they were already laden, and to wish them "God speed" in their murderous affairs! We need not say the "Mormons" had not so much as thought of going to Richmond, or acting otherwise than on the defensive.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

EXTERMINATING ORDER OF GOVERNOR BOGGS.

IN the meantime the messengers from those parties who had burned their own homes and destroyed their own property at Millport had reached Jefferson City, and poured into the willing ears of the executive the villainous falsehoods that the "Mormons" with an armed force had expelled the old settlers from Daviess County, pillaged and burned their dwellings, driven off their stock, and destroyed their crops. They also said that Millport and Gallatin were in ashes, and that all the records of the county were destroyed. Upon the reception of this batch of falsehoods and an application from these people to be restored to their homes and protected in them, Governor Boggs set himself vigorously at work calling out militia forces to accomplish this object.

One can not help pausing a moment to notice the difference in the action of the State authorities in two cases that would have been just alike, provided the report of those parties who fled from Daviess County, by the light of their burning homes, had been true. In 1833 the saints were driven by brute force and under circumstances the most distressing, from their possessions in Jackson County. And not only was their property destroyed, but quite a number of them were killed, while the number that was exiled amounted to twelve hundred. The State authorities had the fullest evidence of these outrages—in fact the very man who at the time of the Daviess County troubles was governor of the State, was on the ground and knew of all the circumstances of cruelty and outrage. But

when those things came before the State authorities, it took more than two whole years of correspondence to come to an understanding of what could and should be done, and then the decision was that the exiles would do well to move still further on, in fact, get entirely away from that section of the country where they had made their homes, as the prejudices of the people were set against them, and the popular sentiment in this country was *vox Dei!* But now, when a mere rumor comes that the "Mormons" have been guilty of inflicting upon the Missourians the outrages which aforetime had been perpetrated against them, there is no halting on the part of the authorities,but on the contrary the most vigorous efforts are put forth to punish the reputed offenders, and reinstate the supposed exiles!

Governor Boggs, then, began his efforts to restore these reputed exiles to their homes. He sent an order to General John B. Clark, of the first division of Missouri militia, directing him to raise two thousand men from the first, fourth, fifth, sixth and twelfth divisions of the militia to be mounted and armed as the law directs, provided with rations for fifteen days, and to rendezvous at Fayette in Howard County, about eighty miles southeast of Far West, by the third of November.

This order was dated the twenty-sixth of October, 1838. The next day, however, Amos Rees and Wiley C. Williams arrived in Jefferson City with their false report of the battle on Crooked River, and Governor Boggs changed his orders to General Clark the same day. This letter is Boggs' exterminating order. He said to General Clark:

> Since the order of the morning to you, * * * I have received by Amos Rees, Esq., and Wiley C. Williams, one of my aids, information of the most appalling character, which changes the whole face of things and places the "Mormons" in the attitude of open and avowed defiance of the laws, and of having made open war upon the people of this State. Your orders are, therefore, to hasten your

operations and endeavor to reach Richmond, in Ray County, with all possible speed. The "Mormons" must be treated as enemies and *must be exterminated* or driven from the State, if necessary for the public good. Their outrages are beyond description. If you can increase your force, you are authorized to do so to any extent you may think necessary.

The governor also ordered Major General Wallock of Marion County, to raise five hundred men, and join General Doniphan of Clay County, who had been directed to raise a like number of men, and together they were to proceed to Daviess County to cut off the retreat of the "Mormons" to the north. General Parks had been ordered to raise four hundred men and join Clark at Richmond, and thus the campaign was planned. The troops were not to reinstate the supposed exiles of Daviess County in their homes and protect them, but they were to operate directly against the "Mormons"—in fact, make war upon them—exterminate them, or drive them from the State.

Up to this time Major General Atchison had apparently exercised his influence counseling moderation in dealing with the "Mormons." He was a resident of Clay County when the saints were driven into that county from Jackson. He, with General Doniphan and Amos Rees, had acted as counsel for the exiles, and had seen the doors of the temples of justice closed in their faces by mob violence, and all redress denied them. He was acquainted with the circumstances which led to their removal from Clay County, to the unsettled prairies of what afterwards became Caldwell County. He knew how deep and unreasonable the prejudices were against the saints. Can it be possible that he did not know how utterly unjustifiable the present movement against them was? Whether he was blinded by the false reports about Millport and Gallatin and Crooked River, or whether his courage faltered, and he became afraid longer to defend a people against whom every man's hand was raised, I can-

not now determine, but one or the other must have been the case for I find him joining with S. D. Lucas in the following communication to Governor Boggs:

SIR:—From late outrages committed by the "Mormons," civil war is inevitable. They have set the laws of the country at defiance and are in open rebellion. We have about two thousand men under arms to keep them in check. The presence of the commander in chief is deemed absolutely necessary, and we most respectfully urge that your excellency be at the seat of *war* as soon as possible.

Your most obedient, etc.

DAVID R. ATCHISON, M. G. 3rd Div.
SAMUEL D. LUCAS, M. G. 4th Div.

General Atchison, however, was afterwards "dismounted," to use a word of General Doniphan's in relating the incident, and sent back to Liberty in Clay County by special order of Governor Boggs, on the ground that he was inclined to be too merciful to the "Mormons." So that he was not active in the operations about Far West. But how he could consent to join with Lucas in sending such an untruthful and infamous report to the governor about the situation in upper Missouri, is difficult to determine. The saints had not set the laws at defiance, nor were they in open rebellion. But when all the officers of the law refused to hear their complaints, and both civil and military authority delivered them into the hands of merciless mobs to be plundered and outraged at their brutal pleasure, and all petitions for protection at the hands of the governor had been answered with: "*It is a quarrel between the Mormons and the mob, and they must fight it out,*" what was left for them to do but to arm themselves and stand in defense of their homes and families? It is not admitted in the above that the saints had defied the laws of the country, for it was not so. The movement on Gallatin by Captain Patten and that on Millport by Colonel Wight was ordered by General Parks, who called upon Colonel Wight

to take command of his company of men, when the militia under Parks' command mutinied, and disperse all mobs wherever he found them. Gallatin was not burned, nor were the records of the county court, if they were destroyed at all, destroyed by the saints. What houses were burned in Millport had been set on fire by the mob. The expedition to Crooked River was ordered by Judge Higbee, the first judge in Caldwell County and the highest civil authority in Far West, and was undertaken for the purpose of dispersing a mob which had entered the house of a peaceable citizen—one Pinkham—and carried off three people prisoners, four horses and other property, and who had threatened to "give Far West hell before noon the next day." So that in their operations the acts of the saints had been strictly within the law, and only in self defense.

CHAPTER XL.

HAUN'S MILL.

THE mob forces were gathering from all quarters to destroy Far West. Niel Gilliam was in the west urging the citizens to drive the "Mormons" from the State. Generals Lucas and Wilson, who will be remembered as active leaders of the mob which expelled the saints from Jackson County, were collecting those same mob forces; while General Clark was in the south raising companies of men to carry out the exterminating order of Governor Boggs.

In addition to these preparations for the destruction of the saints, in the counties immediately surrounding Caldwell, there was a general uprising of the old settlers under no particular leadership, but roaming through the scattered settlements of the saints in small bands, murdering, stealing stock, house-burning, whipping the men and driving the terror-stricken women and children from their homes. In fact, the whole country surrounding Far West was infested with a merciless banditti, which daily were guilty of the most atrocious deeds of cruelty. The saints living in a scattered condition over the prairies who were fortunate enough to escape with their lives, came running into Far West at all times of the day and night, white with fear. Let it here be said that the Prophet Joseph had counseled his people to settle in villages, and have their farms on the outskirts thereof, after the pattern, as far as circumstances would permit, of the plan given by revelation for building up the city of Zion, described in a former chapter of this volume. He had urged, in addition to the improved opportunities this plan would give them

for educating their children, etc., that they would be in a better condition to defend themselves against their enemies. But the saints, at least many of them, would not hearken to this advice; now, however, that the enemy was upon them, when it was too late for them to profit by it, they could see the wisdom of it.

It was one of these marauding bands, under the leadership of Nehemiah Comstock, which was guilty of a fiendish massacre at Haun's Mill, on the thirtieth of October. Haun's Mill was between ten and twelve miles nearly due east of Far West, on the south bank of Shoal Creek, which takes a meandering course, though in the main flowing east, and finally empties into Grand River. All told there were about thirty families of the saints located at Haun's Mill, several of which had just recently arrived from the eastern states, and were camped in their wagons and tents behind an old blacksmith's shop adjacent to the mill. The banks of the stream were lined with a growth of scattered trees and an undergrowth of hazel and other brush; while back from the banks is the rather sharp rolling prairie common to that part of Missouri.

This little body of saints had been threatened by mobs for some time and were therefore on their guard. On the twenty-eighth of October, however, Colonel Jennings, of Livingston County, whose band of mobbers had been most menacing to the peace and safety of the saints, sent one of his men to the settlement to make a treaty of peace. This proposition of peace was gladly accepted by the saints, in fact, it was what they most devoutly prayed for. There was to be mutual forbearance, and each party was to exert itself to the extent of its influence to prevent further hostilities. There were other mobs collecting in the vicinity, however, who were not affected by this agreement of peace entered into by the saints and Colonel Livingston —one particularly on Grand River, at William Mann's residence. Hence the brethren in the little settlement on Shoal Creek remained under arms.

The thirtieth of October, the day on which the fearful tragedy occurred, is said by some of the survivors to have been a most beautiful one: one of those days in mid-autumn, when smoky mists hang about the horizon—the sure sign of the Indian summer; when the sun shines with all the brightness, but without the scorching heat, of August; when the gentle breeze rustles through the ripened corn and softly stirs the leaves of the forests that have been kissed by the early frosts and autumn sun to purple and gold, and all the shades and tints known to the practiced eye of the artist; when the sinking sun paints the heavens with new glories; and when hill and plain, stream and sky, forest and field all reflect the fullness of nature's beauties. Oh, is it not passing strange that one of God's fairest days should be made to look upon so foul a deed as that committed at Haun's Mill! The merry laughter of the children as they played upon the banks of Shoal Creek, mingled with the snatches of songs the mothers sang as they went about their domestic employments, made sweet music to the fathers engaged in gathering the crops, or guarding the mill.

In their neighborhood all apparently was peace, and no premonitory shuddering warned the saints of their approaching fate. It burst upon them with all the suddenness of a clap of thunder from a cloudless sky. The sun had sunken more than halfway down the western sky, when some of those on guard saw a large body of armed and mounted men approaching the mill at full speed. They came through the scattering timber on the bank of the creek to the edge of the prairie, where they formed themselves in a three square position with a vanguard. David Evans ran out to meet them, swinging his hat and crying, "Peace! Peace!"

But there was no peace.

The saints by this time were in the wildest state of excitement, and running in every direction, many of the men taking refuge in an old blacksmith shop not far from the mill. The

leader of the mob, numbering two hundred and forty, fired his gun, and after a pause of a few seconds about a hundred shots were fired into the old blacksmith shop, and at those fleeing for the protection of the woods. The mob then rode up to the shop and fired through the space between the logs until, as they thought, all had been killed or mortally wounded. They then entered, and among the dead and dying found Sardius Smith, a lad about twelve years old, who in his fear had crawled under the bellows for safety. He was dragged from his place of concealment by a Mr. Glaze, who placed the muzzle of his gun near the boy's head and literally shot off the top of it. The inhuman wretch afterwards shamelessly boasted of his damning deed. His brother, Alma, a boy of eight summers, was shot through the hip. He had seen his father and brother shot down, and fearing if he moved the heartless wretches would shoot him again, he remained quiet among the dead until he heard the voice of his mother gently calling his name in the darkness. She nursed him tenderly, prayerfully, and under the inspiration of heaven made such a collection of herbs and barks with which she dressed his wound that he recovered, grew to manhood, lived to a reasonably good old age, and lately died at Coalville, Summit County, Utah.

Thomas McBride, an old gray haired veteran of the American Revolution, was met by a number of the mob in front of Mr. Haun's house. The old man, trembling with age rather than from fear, surrendered his gun, saying: "Spare my life, I am a Revolutionary soldier." But the inhuman wretch to whom he made this simple, pathetic appeal, sufficient to have moved adamantine hearts, shot the veteran down with his own gun, and then a Mr. Rogers, of Daviess County, fell upon him and hacked him to pieces with an old corn cutter. And there lay the veteran soldier of the Revolution, covered with a score of unsightly wounds, either of which alone had been fatal—his brains oozing from his cracked skull, and his white hairs crim-

soned with his gore! Oh, a hard fate to overtake one of that noble band, who gave the best years of his life to his country's service, that liberty might survive oppression!

As night drew her sable mantle over the ghastly scene about Haun's Mill, those who had escaped to the woods returned to learn the fate of their friends. I need not dwell upon the horrors of that awful night in which wives with bursting hearts sought for their husbands, and mothers searched for their sons among the mangled bodies of the dead. Nor need I pause to relate in detail the sights revealed by the morning light. According to the statement of the leaders of the mob, they had fired seven rounds each, making in all some sixteen hundred shots fired at a company in which there were not more than thirty men. Nineteen of the men and boys were killed outright in this inhuman butchery, and some twelve to fifteen were wounded more or less severely. The few men who escaped with their lives, the following day carried the bodies of the slain to an old vault which had been dug for a well, and there the butchered were interred in haste, as those performing these sad offices were under fear every moment that the mob would return to massacre the survivors of the tragedy of the day before.

This Haun's Mill butchery may very properly be regarded as the first fruits of Governor Boggs' exterminating order. On the twenty-eighth of October, Colonel Jennings, of Livingston County, had entered into a treaty of peace with the saints at Haun's Mill, and each party agreed to use whatever of influence it possessed for peace; and while we cannot learn whether that same colonel was in the company which did the killing or not, still it is known that a few days after the massacre, he, in company with other leading men in upper Missouri, among whom was Mr. Ashby, member of the State legislature from Chariton, went about threatening the lives of the survivors, stealing their property, laying waste their crops and running off

their stock. My own view of the circumstances is that after the treaty of peace entered into on the twenty-eighth, Colonel Jennings' men, with other mob forces, heard of the exterminating order of Governor Boggs, and gathered together under the leadership of Comstock and undertook to carry out the monstrous edict that was worthy only of a Nero, a Caligula, or a Domitian.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE BETRAYAL OF FAR WEST.

IN the meantime the mob forces, called "the governor's troops," had gathered about Far West to the number of two thousand two hundred men, armed and equipped for war. The main body of these forces had marched from Richmond under the command of Major General Samuel D. Lucas, starting on the 29th of October. The following day he was joined by the forces of General Doniphan at the ford of Log Creek, not far from Far West. Here they received the exterminating order of Governor Boggs. This order made no provisions for the protection of the innocent, the "Mormons" were either to be exterminated or driven from the State, regardless of their guilt or innocence as individuals.

On the morning of the 30th, the citizens of Far West had been informed of the approach of large bodies of armed men from the south, and sent out a company of one hundred and fifty of their number to learn the character of these forces, whether they were friendly or otherwise. The scouting party was soon convinced that the intentions of the approaching forces were hostile, and found some difficulty themselves in returning to Far West without being captured by the mob militia. As they approached the city in the evening, they were discovered by General Doniphan, who received permission from General Lucas to try and capture them; but having a superior knowledge of the ground, they escaped.

Seeing these large bodies of men approach, what militia there was in Far West was drawn up in line just south of the

city to oppose the advance of the formidable enemy. Both parties sent out a flag of truce, and they met between the two forces. In answer to the inquiry of the citizens of Far West as to who the mob forces were and what their intentions, the reply was, "We want three persons out of the city before we massacre the rest."* Hostilities, however, were postponed until the next day, and the mob began the work of encampment along the borders of a small stream called Goose Creek. During the night, the people in Far West constructed, as best they could, some rude fortifications south of the city, and were reinforced in the night by Lyman Wight and a small body of men from Diahman.

The mob forces were also strengthened during the night by the arrival from the west of Niel Gilliam's bands, who were dressed and painted like Indians, and doubtless more savage than the savages whose dress, paint, and horrible yells they imitated. The mob forces under Comstock, with their hands dripping with the blood of their Haun's Mill victims, also joined Lucas during the night.

That was a terrible night of suspense for Far West. The people had learned of the massacre at Haun's Mill; they knew the murderous intentions of the mob forces encamped within two miles of their homes, and outnumbering the people of Far West by more than four to one, and clothed with a seeming authority by the highest officer in the State, to resist which, however outrageous or barbarous the conduct of the mob might be, would give further excuse for their extermination. How true the saying: "When the wicked rule, the people mourn!"

It was with heavy hearts and sinking hopes that the saints watched the first approach of the gray dawn that ushered in the 31st of October. About eight o'clock a flag of truce was

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* P. P. Pratt's Autobiography, page 201. The man sent out with the flag of truce from Far West was the late C. C. Rich.

sent out (Joseph and other Church writers say) by the mob forces; Lucas in his report to Governor Boggs says: "I received a message from Colonel Hinkle, the commander of the 'Mormon' forces, [Caldwell militia] requesting an interview with me on an eminence near Far West, which he would designate by hoisting a white flag. I sent him word I would meet him at two o'clock p. m., being so much engaged in receiving and encamping fresh troops, who were hourly coming in, that I could not attend before."

It may be, judging from the subsequent treachery of Colonel Hinkle, that he sent a secret messenger to Lucas requesting an interview, and that the white flag sent out by the mob forces, of which our Church annals speak, and which was met by Hinkle in person with a few others, was sent to give General Lucas' answer to Hinkle's earlier request for an interview. At any rate, the truce flag was sent out and was met by some of the brethren, among whom was Hinkle; and if anything special was learned, or accommodations arranged, or understanding arrived at by the conference held with the enemy's flag of truce, our writers have failed to mention it. The reasonable conclusion is, therefore, that the flag of truce merely brought to Colonel Hinkle the information that Lucas could not meet him until two o'clock; and that Hinkle did meet him at that time; and upon his own responsibility, without consulting with the citizens of Far West or their leaders, entered into, and bound the people to, the following terms of capitulation:

First. To give up all their [The Church] leaders to be tried and punished.

Second. To make an appropriation of their property, all who have taken up arms, to the payment of their debts, and indemnify for damage done by them.

Third. That the balance should leave the State, and be protected out by the militia, but to remain until further orders were received from the commander in chief.

Fourth. To give up their arms of every description, to be receipted for.

According to Lucas' statement, Hinkle, while he readily accepted these terms of capitulation, desired to postpone the matter until the following morning; to which Lucas replied that if that was done he would demand that Joseph Smith, Junior, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt and George W. Robinson be surrendered to his custody as hostages for his faithful compliance with the foregoing terms; and if after reflection and consultation the people decided to reject the terms offered them, these hostages were to be returned at the point where they were delivered into his possession.*

Let us pause here for a moment's reflection. If Lucas intended to deliver up those men again, what advantage was it for him to have them? According to his own statement he offered Hinkle terms of capitulation which he and the people affected were to consider and report their conclusions upon the following day; but Lucas demands the principal "Mormon" leaders as hostages for the faithful performance—of what? Merely to bind them to consider the terms of capitulation, according to Lucas' statement; and if those terms were rejected after due consideration and consultation, these hostages were to be restored to the people! Was there any need of hostages being given to insure the consideration of the terms of surrender offered? Not under the circumstances. The whole thing was a plan to get the leaders of The Church into the hands of the mob, that the governor's order of extermination or banishment might be carried out without the mob militia running the risk of some of them losing their lives; as their generals believed the saints would submit to any injustice or indignity, rather than endanger the lives of their prophet leaders by resisting it.

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* Report of Lucas to Governor Boggs, dated November 2, 1838. Headquarters near Far West.

These men were demanded as a pledge that the whole infamous agreement between Lucas and Hinkle should be faithfully performed on Hinkle's part; and not to insure the consideration of his terms of surrender as Lucas clumsily puts it. As I proceed with the narrative it will be seen that Lucas never intended to restore the prisoners to their friends.

Hinkle returned from the secret consultation with Lucas, and about four o'clock in the afternoon told Joseph Smith and the other men Lucas demanded as hostages, that the leaders of the governor's troops desired a consultation with them outside the city limits. Accordingly the brethren, in company with Hinkle, walked out of Far West in the direction of the enemy's encampment. When midway between that encampment and Far West, the little band of brethren were met by the mob forces. Lucas occupied a central place, followed by fifty artillerymen, with a four-pounder; while the remainder of the forces, amounting to over two thousand, came up on the right and left. As soon as Lucas came up, Lyman Wight shook hands with him and said: "We understand, General, you wish to confer with us a few moments; will not tomorrow morning do as well?"

Here Colonel Hinkle said:

"General Lucas, these are the prisoners I agreed to deliver to you."

Lucas brandished his sword and told these men from Far West that they were his prisoners, and that they would march into his camp without further delay!

"At this moment," says Lyman Wight, "I believe there were five hundred guns cocked and twenty caps bursted, and more hideous yells were never heard, even if the description of the yells of the damned in hell is true as given by the modern sects of the day."* Especially horrible and threatening were the

*Wight's affidavit, Times and Seasons, Vol. 4, page 267.

yells and threats of Niel Gilliam's company, costumed and painted as Indians.

The brethren had been basely betrayed by Hinkle, as he had never consulted with them or any of the leaders of the people in relation to the terms of surrender offered by Lucas; and by misrepresentation he had induced them to place themselves in the hands of their implacable enemies. So long as treason is detested, and traitors despised, so long will the memory of Colonel Hinkle be execrated for his vile treachery.

On reaching the enemy's camp, ninety men were called out to guard the prisoners. Thirty were on this duty at a time: two hours on and four hours off. The prisoners lay in the open air with nothing as a covering, and they were drenched with rain before morning. All night long they were mocked and taunted by the guard, who demanded signs, saying, "Come, Mr. Smith, show us an angel, give us one of your revelations, show us a miracle;"* mingling these requests with the vilest oaths. Sidney Rigdon had an attack of apoplectic fits, which afforded much merriment to the brutal guard.

All night long the prisoners were compelled to listen to the filthy obscenity of those who watched them, and hear them relate their deeds of rapine and murder, and boast of their conquest over virtuous wives and maidens by brute force. Thus the wretched night passed away.

The morning following, which was the 1st of November, Hyrum Smith and Amasa Lyman were brought into the mob's camp as prisoners.

According to Hinkle's agreement, the militia in Far West were marched out of the city and grounded their arms, which were taken possession of by Lucas, although they were not State arms, but were the private property of the men who carried them. The mob was now let loose upon the unarmed citizens of

* P. P. Pratt's Autobiography, page 204.

Far West, and under the pretext of searching for arms they ransacked every house, tore up the floors, upset haystacks, wantonly destroyed much property, and shot down a number of cattle just for the sport it afforded them. The people were robbed of their most valuable property, insulted and whipped; but this was not the worst. The chastity of a number of women was defiled by force; some of them were strapped to benches and repeatedly ravished by brutes in human form until they died from the effects of this treatment. The horrible threat made a few years before in Jackson County had been at last carried out—*We will ravish their women!*

At night a court-martial was held, consisting of some fourteen militia officers, among whom were Colonel Hinkle and about twenty priests of the different denominations. Sashiel Woods and Bogart, the Presbyterian ministers, were among them; and in addition to these spiritual dignitaries, there was the circuit judge, Austin A. King and the district attorney, Mr. Birch. The decision of the court was that the prisoners should be shot the following morning at eight o'clock, in the public square of Far West, in the presence of their families, as an example to the "Mormon" people.

Colonel Hinkle visited Hyrum Smith and told him that a court-martial had been held and that he had contended for his (Hyrum's) acquittal, but it availed nothing, and all were to be shot the next morning. General Wilson had made an effort during the day to corrupt Lyman Wight, and get him to testify to something against Joseph Smith, but in this he failed. About the time Hinkle went to Hyrum, General Wilson took Wight aside and told him the decision of the court-martial. "Shoot and be damned," said Wight. About this time General Doniphan came up to Wilson and Wight and, addressing the latter, he said: "Colonel, the decision is a damned hard one, but I wash my hands against such cold-blooded murder." And he further said that he intended to remove his troops the following day as

soon as light, that they should not witness such heartless murder. General Graham and a few others, whose names unfortunately have not been preserved, had voted against the decision of the court-martial, but it availed nothing.

The bold stand taken by General Doniphan the next morning, in threatening to remove his troops and denouncing the execution of the prisoners as cold-blooded murder, alarmed Lucas, and he changed his mind about executing the decision of the court-martial; in fact he revoked the decree, and placed the prisoners in charge of General Wilson with instructions to conduct them to Independence.

CHAPTER XLII.

SAD SCENES AT FAR WEST.

BEFORE starting, the prisoners were conducted into Far West, permitted to get a change of linen, and take leave of their families, though in the presence of a brutal guard. This parting, which they had good reason to believe was their final one, was very distressing. Yet it was borne with manly fortitude. Parley P. Pratt's wife was sick with a fever, with an infant at her breast. The roof of the miserable hovel in which she lay afforded but little protection from the drizzling rain which at the time was falling. His large comfortable house had been pulled down by the mob, and he had been forced to find temporary shelter in this hovel, for his sick wife and her young family. Stretched out on the foot of the bed, on which his wife lay, was another woman who had been driven from her home the night before, who now was in the throes of child-birth. To leave a family sick and helpless and destitute and exposed to the insults of a lawless band of murderers, would appall the stoutest heart. In tears Elder Pratt went to General Wilson and told him the circumstances of his family with the view of getting time to provide for their comfort, but he was only answered with a mocking, exultant laugh.

The wife of Hyrum Smith was near her confinement, yet he was compelled to take his leave of her in the presence of his brutal guard, who peremptorily ordered her to get her husband a change of clothing within two minutes or he would be compelled to go without them; and after securing the clothing he was rudely hustled out of the house to join the rest of the prisoners.

The separation of Sidney Rigdon from his family was scarcely less distressing, and Joseph had been as roughly torn away from his family. The prisoners were placed in a wagon, around which crowded the friends and relatives, among whom were the aged parents of Joseph and Hyrum, their hearts wrung with anguish and their eyes blinded with tears, as they beheld their noble sons in the hands of their merciless enemies. No one was allowed to speak to them, the silent pressure of the hand was the only token of affection granted, and the wagon containing the prisoners moved on, surrounded by its military guard, and followed by the prayers of heart-sick wives and a grief-stricken people. Leaving the prisoners to pursue their journey to Independence, let us relate what happened about Far West and Diahman.

Joseph and his fellow-prisoners were started for Jackson County on the second of November, and General Clark arrived at Far West on the fourth. In the meantime, Lucas had sent Niel Gilliam's company and a part of General Parks' brigade, under command of General Parks, with orders to surround Diahman and disarm the people. And just before Clark arrived, Lucas, too, went to Diahman. The first thing done by Clark was to send orders to General Lucas to take all the men among the "Mormons" prisoners, and secure their property, with a view of paying with it the damages that had been sustained by the old settlers.

After this, the brethren remaining at Far West were drawn up in line, and the names of fifty-six called off, and as they stepped out from the line, they were put under arrest to await a trial, though they were not informed as to the nature of the charges against them. After these fifty-six had been secured, General Clark addressed himself to the remainder, and referred them to the terms of surrender that Colonel Hinkle had arranged for them without their consent, and even without consulting with them. Yet General Clark as rigidly enforced those terms as if the people had drafted them, or had given them their sanc-

tion after they were drafted. The first item in the terms of capitulation was that the leaders of the people should be given up to be dealt with according to law. "This," said Clark, "you have complied with."

The second item was that they should deliver up their arms. "This has been attended to," said the general.

The third stipulation was that they sign over their property to defray the expenses of the war. "This you have also done," complacently went on Clark. That was true. The saints had signed away their property at the point of the musket, while the mob which compelled them to go to such extremes, mocked them with their taunts and sneers, unchecked by the officers who commanded them.

After enumerating the things the saints had complied with, the self-important general concluded his speech in these words:

Another article yet remains for you to comply with, and that is, that you leave the State forthwith; and whatever may be your feelings concerning this, or whatever your innocence, it is nothing to me. General Lucas, who is equal in authority with me, has made this treaty with you—I approve of it—I should have done the same had I been here—I am therefore determined to see it fulfilled. The character of this State has suffered almost beyond redemption, from the character, conduct and influence that you have exerted. And we deem it an act of justice to restore her character to its former standing among the States by every proper means.

The orders of the governor to me were, that you should be exterminated, and not allowed to remain in the State; and had your leaders not been given up and the terms of the treaty complied with, before this you and your families would have been destroyed, and your homes in ashes. There is a discretionary power vested in my hands which I shall exercise in your favor for a season, for this lenity you are indebted to *my clemency*. I do not say that you shall go now, but you must not think of staying here another season, or of putting in crops; for the moment you do this the citizens will be upon you. If I am called here again in case of a non-compliance of a treaty made,

do not think that I shall act any more as I have done, you need not expect any mercy, but extermination, for I am determined the governor's order shall be executed.

As for your leaders do not once think—do not imagine for a moment—do not let it enter your mind, that they will be delivered or that you will see their faces again, for *their fate is fixed—their die is cast. Their doom is sealed.* I am sorry, gentlemen, to see so great a number of apparently intelligent men found in the situation you are; and oh, that I could invoke that *Great Spirit,* the unknown God, to rest upon you and make you sufficiently intelligent to break that chain of superstition and liberate you from those fetters of fanaticism, with which you are bound, that you no longer worship a man.

I would advise you to scatter abroad and never again organize yourselves with bishops, presidents, etc., lest you excite the jealousies of the people and subject yourselves to the same calamities that have now come upon you.

You have always been the aggressors; you have brought upon yourselves these difficulties by being disaffected and not being subject to rule; and my advice is that you become as other citizens, lest by a recurrence of these events, you bring upon yourselves irretrievable ruin.

After listening to this harrangue—this mixture of hypocrisy and conceit, affected pity and heartless cruelty, pretended patriotism and willful treason—the fifty-six brethren who had been arrested, for what, they knew not, neither did Clark appear able to inform them, were sent to Richmond where they were to be tried; and the remainder were dismissed to provide food and fuel for their families, and make preparations for leaving the State.

Governor Boggs appeared anxious about having his exterminating orders carried into effect, and occasionally stirred up General Clark to a lively remembrance of what he expected him to do, by sending him messages from time to time. Here is a specimen received directly after Clark had sent the fifty-six prisoners to Richmond:

It will be a necessity that you hold a military court of inquiry in Daviess County, and arrest the "Mormons," who have been guilty of the late outrages committed towards the inhabitants of said county. My instructions to you are to settle this whole matter completely if possible before you disband your forces; if the "Mormons" are disposed voluntarily to leave the State, of course it would be advisable in you to promote that object in any way deemed proper. *The ringleaders ought by no means to be permitted to escape the punishment they merit.*

As if inspired to new zeal by the receipt of this message, Clark ordered General Wilson, who, in the meantime, had returned from Jackson County, to go to Diahman and take charge of all the prisoners at that place, and ascertain those who had committed "crimes," put them under close guard, and when he moved to take them to Keytesville, the county seat of Chariton County, and between seventy and eighty miles from Diahman. A number of the brethren were taken prisoners at Diahman and were examined before Judge Adam Black, one of the ringleaders of the mob in bringing about the whole trouble. But even he was obliged to acquit the brethren brought before him, as they were innocent of the charges made against them. At the close of their examination, General Wilson ordered all the saints to leave Diahman within ten days, with permission to move into Caldwell County, and remain until spring, when they were to leave the State

A committee of twelve men were granted the privilege of moving about freely between Far West and Diahman, with permission to move the corn and household goods from the latter to the former place. The stock, or the most of it, was taken possession of by the mob-militia. The committee of twelve were to wear white badges on their hats in order that they might be easily recognized by the forces that would be detailed to watch the movements of the "Mormon" people.

By this arrangement the saints at Diahman were driven

from their comfortable homes to camp out through a long, dreary and severe winter in their wagons and tents, by reason of which exposure many perished, among whom were a number of delicate women and children.

CHAPTER XLIII.

A PROPHET'S REBUKE.

IT is time now that we turn our attention to what befell Joseph Smith and his fellow-prisoners. The first day from Far West they made twelve miles, camping at night on Crooked River. A strong guard was placed around the prisoners, who watched them closely.

The next morning the Prophet Joseph had a word of comfort for his brethren. He spoke to each one quietly saying: "Be of good cheer, brethren, the word of the Lord came to me last night that our lives should be given us; and that whatever we might suffer during this captivity, not one of our lives should be taken."*

The reader will pardon me if I anticipate sufficiently to say that this remarkable prophecy was verily fulfilled: not one of their lives was sacrificed.

The same day this prophecy was made, the prisoners reached the Missouri River, and were hurried across into Jackson County, for General Clark had sent word to Lucas to bring the prisoners to him at Richmond; but Wilson was determined to exhibit the prisoners at Independence. On the journey Wilson became more friendly towards his prisoners and conversed freely with them in relation to the disturbances which had taken place in Jackson County, in 1833. General Wilson, it must be remembered, was the man who kept a store about one mile west of Big Blue, and seven or eight miles west of Independence; and who was active in driving the saints from Jackson County and burning their

*Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt, page 210.

homes. Of the part he took in these proceedings he boasted as if it was some laudable work he had acomplished, though he admitted that he and his associates then, and now, were the aggressors, and that the manner of life followed by the saints was blameless.

On the fourth the prisoners and their guards arrived at Independence, and though it was raining, the prisoners were driven about the streets for the purpose of exhibiting them to the crowds which had come together to see them. They were placed in an old, vacant house where many came to see them during that and the following day. Among those who came on the first day was a lady, who innocently inquired which one of the men it was the "Mormons" worshiped. Joseph was pointed out to her as the one, and she inquired of him if he professed to be the Lord and Savior. To which he replied that he "professed to be nothing but a man, and a minister of salvation, sent by Jesus Christ to preach the Gospel." This astonished the lady and her eager questions brought from the prophet, ever willing to preach the gospel either in freedom or in bondage, a discourse on the principles he was sent to teach. The lady broke down in tears, and left their dingy prison with a prayer for their safety and deliverance. Joseph's native eloquence and the truth he advocated had gained another triumph, for not only was the lady overcome with what she heard, but it had its effect upon all who listened.

In a day or two the prisoners were removed from their miserable quarters where the floor had been their bed and blocks of wood their pillows, to the best hotel in the city, where they were treated kindly and allowed to move about pretty freely, with a small guard to watch their movements. Subsequently, however, they had to pay their own expense at this hotel, and exorbitant charges were made for every comfort afforded them.

During the few days that Joseph and his fellow-prisoners remained at Independence, several messages were sent from General Clark's headquarters at Richmond to have the "Mormon"

leaders sent there immediately. General Wilson, however, found it difficult to secure a guard to accompany them, as no one would volunteer, and when men were drafted they refused to obey orders. At last three men were obtained as a guard, and on the morning of the eighth of November they set out for Richmond. They traveled down the south bank of the Missouri River to a ferry kept by a Frenchman by the name of Roy. Here they crossed the river, and after going about a half a mile lodged for the night at a private house. The guard who accompanied the prisoners came more as a protection to them than to hinder them from escaping, and the people in and about Independence appeared willing for the prisoners to escape. The guards had been drinking during the day, and not infrequently the prisoners were sixty or eighty rods in the rear or ahead of them. When night found them at the private house before mentioned, sleep so overpowered the guards that they gave their arms into the hands of the prisoners that they might protect themselves if occasion to do so should occur; and that was quite likely since they were in a neighborhood filled with their most bitter enemies.

The night passed, however, without any disturbance, and the next morning the journey to Richmond was continued. Before starting a number of armed and rough-looking men, gathered about the prisoners with curses and threats, and the guards alarmed for their safety, sent a messenger to Richmond to obtain a stronger guard. Without waiting for its arrival, the little company proceeded on its journey, but had not gone far when they met Colonel Sterling Price and a guard of seventy soldiers.

Arriving at Richmond, Joseph and his brethren were thrust into an old, vacant house under guard. Soon afterwards they were visited by General Clark who was introduced to them. The prisoners made an effort to find out the charges against them, but Clark evaded their questions and shortly withdrew. Clark

had left the room but a few minutes when Colonel Price came in accompanied by a blacksmith of the name of John Fulkerson, carrying a log chain and a number of pad-locks. The windows to the house were nailed down, and the seven prisoners from Independence were chained together by the ankles; Price's guard of ten men standing with guns poised, and their thumbs on the hammers for instant use.

In the meantime General Clark was searching for authority to try the prisoners before a court-martial, and it would appear from the testimony of a brother, by the name of Grant, that he had concluded to so proceed, and had even given the sentence of the court before an investigation had occurred; for this young man by the name of Grant, (given name not known), but a brother-in-law to William Smith, brother to the Prophet Joseph, lodged at the hotel where Clark made his headquarters. He saw that general select the men who were to shoot the "Mormon" leaders on the morning of the twelfth of November. He saw these men choose their rifles and load them with two balls in each; after which Clark said to them: "Gentlemen, you shall have the honor of shooting the "Mormon" leaders on Monday morning at eight o'clock."*

Some of the friends of the captive brethren intimated to the general that he had no authority to try the prisoners by court-martial; whereupon he sent to Fort Leavenworth to obtain the military code of laws, which he searched for several days for authority to try the prisoners as he had proposed, by court-martial. At last he had to give it up, but he did it with great reluctance. He visited the prison where Joseph and his brethren were confined, and told them he had decided to deliver them to the civil authorities; and informed them they were accused of "treason, murder, arson, larceny, theft, and stealing." The

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* Testimony of Hyrum Smith, Times and Seasons, volume 4, page 252.

prisoners then were delivered into the hands of the civil authorities, and an investigation was begun before Austin A. King, the circuit judge, and Thomas C. Birch, the prosecuting attorney for the State.

The examination of the witnesses for the State continued from the eleventh of November to the twenty-sixth. Each night after the day's examination the prisoners who had been brought down from Independence were taken to their gloomy prison and chained together, while about fifty of their brethren and fellow-prisoners, who had been brought from Far West, were kept under guard in an open unfinished, court-house, exposed to the excessive coldness of that inclement season.

The constitution of Elder Rigdon was so delicate, that in consequence of the exposure and hardships he was forced to endure under this cruel persecution, his health broke down and at last he lost his reason; yet he was chained to his companions and compelled to remain in the presence of a noisy and unruly and unfeeling guard. His daughter, who was the wife of George W. Robinson, one of the prisoners fastened to the same chain with her father, was at last permitted to come to the prison and care for her afflicted father. Lovingly, tenderly this delicate young woman with her first born babe at her breast, nursed her afflicted father through those gloomy days, and through her tenderness and anxious care nursed him back to health and reason.

The guard, under Colonel Price, was perhaps the most foul-mouthed and villainous that could possibly be brought together. They related to each other their deeds of murder and rapine, and boasted of raping virtuous wives and maidens, until the prisoners were heart-sick with the disgusting details of their crimes. Parley P. Pratt relates an incident that occurred in the prison one night when the guards were unusually obscene, which we give entire in that writer's own language:

I had listened [to the guard's boasts of defiling wives and maidens by force] till I became so disgusted, shocked, horrified and so filled with the spirit of indignant justice that I could scarcely refrain from rising upon my feet and rebuking the guards; but had said nothing to Joseph, or any one else, although I lay next to him and knew he was awake. On a sudden he arose to his feet, and spoke in a voice of thunder, or as the roaring lion, uttering as near as I can recollect, the following:

"*Silence!* ye fiends of the the infernal pit. In the name of Jesus Christ I rebuke you, and command you to be still; I will not live another minute and hear such language. Cease such talk, or you or I die *this instant.*"

He ceased to speak. He stood erect in terrible majesty. Chained and without a weapon; calm, unruffled, dignified as an angel, he looked upon the quailing guards, whose weapons were lowered or dropped to the ground; whose knees smote together, and who shrinking into a corner, or crouching at his feet, begged his pardon, and remained quiet till a change of guards.

I have seen the ministers of justice, clothed in magisterial robes, and criminals arraigned before them, while life was suspended on a breath, in the courts of England. I have witnessed a congress in solemn session to give laws to nations; I have tried to conceive of kings, or royal courts, of thrones and crowns, and of emperors assembled to decide the fate of kingdoms; but dignity and majesty have I seen but once, as it stood in chains, at midnight in a dungeon, in an obscure village in Missouri.

CHAPTER XLIV.

"A STRONG POINT FOR TREASON."

FIFTEEN days were consumed in taking testimony for the State. At the expiration of that time the judge ordered the defendants to bring forth their rebutting testimony or he would thrust them into prison. "I could hardly understand what the judge meant," says Hyrum Smith, "as I considered we were in prison already." The names of forty persons, residents of Far West, were given to the court to be called as witnesses for the defense, and the subpœnas for them were placed in the hands of "Captain" or "Parson," which ever title the reader may be best pleased to know him by, for he was both captain of a gang of mobbers and a supposed minister of Christ, and now an arm of the civil power—any way it was Bogard of Crooked River battle fame. He took with him a force of fifty men and started for Far West; and in the course of a few days returned with the forty men. They were at once put under arrest and by this cunning were prevented from appearing as witnesses.

After executing this *coup de main* the judge petulantly exclaimed: "Gentlemen, you must get your witnesses or you shall be committed to jail immediately." Most of the brethren felt very much discouraged at the turn affairs had taken, but Hyrum Smith, under the advice of General Doniphan and Lawyer Reese, gave the names of some twenty other persons at Far West, who were desirable as witnesses. The same man was ordered to bring the witnesses to Richmond, but in the meantime the people at Far West had learned of the intrigue being practiced upon them, and the persons whose names Bogard took with him, who had not left the State, kept out of the way and

he returned to Richmond with but one man who was wanted, and he was thrust into jail and not allowed to testify. The judge again urged the prisoners to bring on their witnesses, telling them it was the last day he would hold the court open for them.

While the brethren were in consultation with their lawyers a Mr. Allen passed the window and Hyrum Smith beckoned to him to come inside, and the prisoners then informed the court that they had one witness who was ready to be sworn. But at this juncture the prosecuting attorney, Birch, objected to having the witness testify, as this court was merely investigating the case, and not trying it, notwithstanding the frequent calls from the court asking the accused to procure witnesses. General Doniphan here lost his patience, and rising to his feet he said: "I'll be G— d——d if the witness is not sworn. It is a d——d shame to treat these defendants in this manner. They are not allowed to put one witness on the stand; while the witnesses they have sent for have been captured by force of arms and thrust into the 'bull pen,' to prevent their testifying."

No sooner, however, had Allen begun his testimony than he was taken by the nape of the neck by a brother-in-law of the priest Bogard, kicked out of the room and made to run for his life.

During this preliminary examination Judge King appeared extremely anxious to fasten the crime of treason upon Joseph Smith and his associates; and to that end he bent every energy, knowing that if a charge of that character were sustained against them he could refuse them bail. The judge asked one of the witnesses if the "Mormons" sent missionaries to foreign countries. He was answered in the affirmative. "Do the 'Mormons' profess a belief in the seventh chapter of Daniel, and the twenty-seventh verse?"* asked the judge.

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*"And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the king-

"Certainly they do," replied the witness. "Then," said Judge King, turning to the clerk of the court, and speaking with that dignity all judges are supposed to possess, "put that down; that is a strong point for treason!"

The examination resulted in the Prophet Joseph, his brother Hyrum, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Caleb Baldwin and Alexander McRae being committed on a charge of treason, and sent to Liberty jail, in Clay County.

Parley P. Pratt, Morris Phelps, Lyman Gibbs, Darwin Chase and Norman Shearer were committed on a charge of murder for the part they took in the battle of Crooked River; and were to remain in prison at Richmond.

The fifty-six other brethren that had been sent to Richmond as prisoners by General Clark, and the forty brought down by Bogard under the pretense that they were to be witnesses on behalf of their brethren, were either released or admitted to bail. Those admitted to bail, together with those who went on their bonds, were subsequently driven from the State so that the bail was forfeited. Having followed the brethren in bonds thus far, we must turn our attention to what befell the main body of the Saints.

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dom under the whole heavens shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him" [meaning Christ.]—Daniel 7: 27.

CHAPTER XLV.

EXODUS FROM MISSOURI.

IT will perhaps be remembered that the saints at Diahman were given a very limited time by General Wilson in which to leave for Far West—only ten days. Therefore in their flight to Far West they left much of their stock and property behind them.

On the first of December the "Mormon" committee that had been granted the privilege of moving freely between Diahman and Far West for a limited time proposed to a committee of Daviess County citizens, viz., W. P. Peniston, Dr. K. Kerr, and Adam Black, that the "Mormon" committee be allowed, first, to employ twenty teams and their drivers to move the property of the saints from Diahman to Far West; and, second, that they be allowed to collect all stock the "Mormon" people owned in Daviess County, and that on a given day a committee from said county examine the stock and accompany the "Mormon" committee and the stock out of the county, the brethren binding themselves on their part not to take any stock from the county after this general drive. These propositions were accepted by the Daviess County committee, and duly executed, though much of the stock belonging to the saints had been driven away, or shot down to supply the mob forces with beef.

It was during these trying times that Brigham Young, afterwards the President of The Church, began to exhibit those executive qualities which so eminently fitted him as a great leader. By the apostasy of Thomas B. Marsh, the presidency of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles devolved upon him, hence also the leadership of The Church during the absence of the First

Presidency. Was God training him for leadership in that greater exodus to take place a few years later?

He called together those members of the High Council of the Far West stake of Zion that still remained in Far West, and enquired of them as to their faith in the Latter-day work, first telling them that his own faith was unshaken. All the members present expressed their undying faith in the gospel, and their confidence in Joseph Smith as a prophet of God. The council was then reorganized; the vacancies caused by absence or apostasy were filled up, and the council was prepared to do business.

Elders John Taylor and John E. Page, both of whom had previously been chosen by revelation for the office, were ordained members of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles, on the nineteenth day of September, under the hands of Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball. This work of setting in order the High Council and filling the vacancies in the quorum of the Apostles being accomplished, Elder Young waited upon Bishop Partridge and proposed to him that they adopt some plan to remove the poor from the State, that they might not fall victims to the governor's exterminating order. The bishop's reply was rather ungracious, for he said: "The poor may take care of themselves, and I will take care of myself!" "Well," said Elder Young, "if you will not help them out, I will." Here, however, I would suggest to the reader not to judge the bishop too harshly for the petulant expression he allowed to escape him at that moment. Let it be remembered that when the bishop first became connected with The Church he was a man of considerable means: and now, in consequence of frequent drivings, and caring for his brethren, he found himself stripped of nearly all his earthly possessions, and sorely perplexed as to the future. No wonder then, if, in a moment of forgetfulness, he made the remark quoted above. Those were days that tried men's souls, be not surprised if good men and true had their periods of despondency.

Elder Young's activity and zeal in the matter of caring for the poor were unbounded. A public meeting was called, not only of the saints but also of the citizens of Caldwell County and the poverty and distress of many of the saints presented to them. Several gentlemen, not members of The Church, expressed themselves as being of opinion that an appeal should be made to the citizens of upper Missouri, inviting their assistance towards furnishing means to remove the poor from Caldwell County. Whether such an appeal was made or not, I cannot say, but rather think not, as a resolution was adopted at this meeting as follows: "*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this meeting that an exertion should be made to ascertain how much [means] can be obtained from individuals of the society [church]; and that it is the duty of those who have, to assist those who have not, that thereby we may, as far as possible, within and of ourselves, comply with the demands of the Executive." So that the generosity of the people of upper Missouri I think was not appealed to by the saints that were driven from among them.

At a subsequent meeting, similar in character to the one alluded to, Elder Young offered this resolution: "*Resolved*, That we this day enter into a covenant to stand by and assist each other, to the utmost of our abilities, in removing from this State, and that we will never desert the poor who are worthy, till they shall be out of the reach of the general exterminating order of General Clark, acting for and in the name of the State." This resolution was adopted, and a committee of seven appointed to superintend the removal of the saints.

A committee was also appointed to draft a covenant that should bind the saints in an agreement to assist each other to the extent of their available property to remove from the State of Missouri, in accordance with the orders of the governor; this covenant was drawn up in due form and signed by the faithful brethren. Elder Young secured eighty names to this covenant the first day he took hold of it, and three hundred the next.

The Prophet Joseph, not willing to be behind the other brethren in the good work, hearing what was going on through those who visited him while in prison, from his gloomy dungeon at Liberty, sent the brethren a hundred dollars to assist in removing the Saints.

Charles Bird was appointed to go down towards the Mississippi and make deposits of corn for the use of the saints as they should make their way out of the State. He was also to make contracts for ferriage and arrange whatever else might be necessary for their comfort and security. Thus all things were prepared for the exodus of The Church from the unfriendly State of Missouri.

No sooner had these arrangements been perfected than Elder Young, whose wisdom and activity had doubtless given offense to the enemies of The Church, had to flee from Far West to escape the vengeance of the mob. He went to Illinois. In his labors, Elder Young had been materially assisted by the support and counsels of Heber C. Kimball, John Taylor and the members of the various committees that had been appointed, to whom was now left the execution of the plans that had been laid for the removal of The Church.

I can not dwell upon all the details of that exodus. All I need say here is that it was managed with consummate wisdom; and, in view of all the difficulties in the way, with less suffering than could have been expected.

By the twentieth of April nearly all the saints, variously estimated from twelve to fifteen thousand, had left the State where they had experienced so much sorrow; and found a temporary resting place in the State of Illinois, chiefly in the city of Quincy and vicinity, but a few settled in the then Territory of Iowa.

CHAPTER XLVI.

AGAIN THE PASSIVELY GOOD—PETITIONS.

IT must not be supposed that all the people of Missouri sanctioned the outrages committed against The Church. On the contrary there was here and there an honorable man who protested against the conduct of the mob and the authorities; and occasionally some newspaper would deplore the action of the State against the saints.

Among the men who were moved with sympathy by their sufferings was Michael Arthur. He wrote to the representatives in the State legislature from Clay County, relating the vile atrocities that were heaped upon the heads of the defenseless saints after they had surrendered their arms to General Clark. He represented that the "Mormons" were willing to leave the State, in fact that they were making every effort that their limited means would permit them to make to get away, and suggested that a company of reliable men under the command of Geo. M. Pryer be authorized to patrol on the line between Daviess and Caldwell counties with authority to arrest any one they found disturbing the peace, that the "Mormons" might be protected while they were making preparations to leave the State. And if it was impracticable to organize this company of men, then he suggested that the arms taken from the "Mormons" be returned to them, that they might defend themselves from the barbarous attacks of their enemies.

Nor were the saints wanting in attention to the instructions of the Lord in the matter of petitioning for a redress of their grievances. For as soon as the legislature was convened they sent a statement of all the wrongs heaped upon them during

their sojourn in the State of Missouri, from the time they first settled in Jackson County to the treaty forced upon them at Far West by Generals Lucas and Clark, and the outrages that had been committed against them since the surrender of their arms.

After detailing the story of their wrongs, they asked: first, that the legislature pass a law rescinding the exterminating order of Governor Boggs; second, they asked an expression of the legislature, disapproving the conduct of those who compelled them to sign a deed of trust at the muzzle of the musket, and of any man in consequence of that deed of trust taking their property and appropriating it to the payment of damages sustained, in consequence of trespasses committed by others; third, that they receive payment for the six hundred and thirty-five arms that were taken from them, which were worth twelve or fifteen thousand dollars; fourth, that an appropriation be made to reimburse them for their loss of lands from which they had been driven in Jackson County. The petition closed in these words:

> In laying our case before your honorable body, we say that we are willing, and always have been, to conform to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and of this State. We ask in common with others the protection of the laws. We ask for the privileges guaranteed all free citizens of the United States and of this State to be extended to us, and that we may be permitted to settle and live where we please, and worship God according to the dictates of our own conscience without molestation. And while we ask for ourselves this privilege, we are willing all others should enjoy the same.

Elder David H. Redfield was appointed to present this petition to the legislature; and on that mission he arrived at Jefferson City on the seventeenth day of December. The same day of his arrival he had an interview with Governor Boggs, in which the governor manifested much interest, and on being informed that the Missourians were committing depredations against the saints,

promised to write Judge King and Colonel Price ordering them to put down every hostile appearance.

In the course of this conversation Boggs admitted that the "stipulations entered into by the Mormons to leave the State, and signing the deeds of trust, were unconstitutional and not valid." "We want the legislature to pass a law to that effect, showing that the stipulations and deeds of trust are not valid and are unconstitutional," said Redfield, and went on to say if they did not, the character of the State was forever lost.

Previous to the arrival of Redfield, the governor's exterminating order, General Clark's reports, the report of the *ex parte* investigation at Richmond, and a lot of other papers, had been forwarded to the legislature and referred to a special joint committee. That committee reported the day following Redfield's arrival at Jefferson City, the eighteenth of December. And to show in what bad repute these documents were held by this committee, I need only say that it refused to allow them to be published with the sanction of the legislature, because the evidence adduced at Richmond in a great degree was *ex parte* and not of a character to be desired for the basis of a fair and candid investigation. The report concluded with three resolutions: one to the effect that it was inexpedient at that time to prosecute further the inquiry into the cause of the late disturbances; another to the effect that it was inexpedient to publish any of the documents accompanying the governor's message in relation to those disturbances; the last favored the appointment of a joint committee from the house and senate to investigate the troubles and the conduct of the military operations to suppress them. These resolutions were subsequently referred to a joint select committee with instructions to report a bill in conformity thereto, and to which I shall again allude.

The day after, the committee reported in relation to that part of the governor's message relating to the "Mormon troubles," and on the documents accompanying it. The petition from the

saints was read, amid profound stillness of the ho use, and at its conclusion an angry debate followed, in which quite a number of the members testified to the correctness of the statements made in the petition and to the cruelties practiced upon the saints, but they were in the minority.

On the sixteenth of January, Mr. Turner, the chairman of the select joint committee before alluded to, in conformity with the resolution passed, reported "A bill to provide for the investigation of the late disturbances in the State of Missouri." The bill consisted of twenty-three sections. It provided for a joint committee composed of two members of the senate and three members from the house, which was to meet at Richmond on the first Monday in May and thereafter at such time and places as it saw proper. The committee was to select its own officers; issue subpœnas and other processes, administer oaths, keep a record, etc.

This bill was introduced on the sixteenth of January, and on the fourth of February called up for its first reading, but on motion of Mr. Wright was laid on the table till the fourth of July. He knew that by that time, since the governor's exterminating order was still in force, that the "Mormons," in obedience to that cruel edict, would all have left the State, and then there would be no need of an investigation. That was the fate of the bill. It was never afterwards brought up.

The legislature in its magnanimity appropriated two thousand dollars to relieve the sufferings of the people in Daviess and Caldwell Counties, the "Mormons" were to be included. And now came an opportunity for the Missourians of Daviess County to display their generosity. Having filled their homes with the household effects of the saints; their yards with the stock they had stolen; their smoke houses with "Mormon" beef and pork; they concluded they could get along without their portion of the appropriation and allowed the two thousand dollars to be distributed among the "Mormons" of Caldwell County!

Judge Cameron and a Mr. McHenry superintended the dis-

tribution of this appropriation. The hogs owned by the brethren who had lived in Daviess County were driven down into Caldwell, shot down and without further bleeding were roughly dressed and divided out among the saints at a high price. This and the sweepings of some old stores soon exhausted the legislative appropriation, and amounted to little or nothing in the way of relief to the saints.

Subsequently this same legislature, while the petition of the saints for a redress of their wrongs was lying before it, appropriated two hundred thousand dollars to defray the expenses incurred in driving the "Mormons" from the State, and dispossessing them of their property! By that act the legislature became a party to the deeds of the mob forces, urged on in their cruelties by the executive of the State; for that legislature had sealed with its approval all that had been done, by paying the mob that had executed the plan devised for the expulsion of the "Mormon" people.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE ESCAPE OF THE PROPHET FROM MISSOURI.

THE winter of 1838-9 must have been a trying one to Joseph the Prophet and his associates immured in Liberty prison. The gloom of their prison life must have caused them less sorrow than the anxiety they felt for the safety of their families and friends, who were being abused and insulted by a heartless mob, even while making arrangements to leave the State. Still there were occasional glimpses of sunshine breaking through the clouds. Some of the faithful brethren called occasionally, bringing them the news from their families and their people, and the progress being made in the preparations to leave the State. Letters also from their families were brought to them, so that they were not altogether cut off from that sweet communion which affection breeds. Nor was the Lord unmindful of them, but he communed with them, and through the Prophet Joseph some of the noblest revelations ever given to The Church were received in that gloomy stone prison known as Liberty jail.*

Nor were Joseph and his companions neglectful in making every proper effort to obtain justice from the State authorities. On the contrary they exhausted every means their minds could conceive of to regain their liberty. They petitioned the legislature, but without availing anything. Failing here, they petitioned the supreme court of the State twice for a writ of habeas corpus, but each time the petition was denied by Judge Reynolds, who subsequently became governor of the State.

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* See Doc. & Cov. Sec. 121, 122 and 123.

They then petitioned the county court, and in about three weeks afterwards Judge Turnham came into their prison and said he had permitted Sidney Rigdon to get bail, but he had to do it in the night; and that he would have to make his escape in the night as his enemies had sworn they would kill him if they could find him. The judge said that he dared not admit the others to bail, lest it should cost him his own life, as well as theirs. The judge informed the prisoners that the whole scheme for the expulsion from the State of the "Mormon" people was arranged early in the spring, and that every officer in the State from the governor down was connected with the plot. He said the governor was now heartily sick of the whole transaction and would grant them a release if he dared; but the matter had gone beyond his control. However, the judge bid the prisoners to be of good cheer, as the governor had arranged a plan for their escape.

In April the prisoners were taken to Daviess County, where they expected to be tried. Here they found Judge Thomas C. Birch on the bench—formerly the prosecuting attorney for the State in the *ex parte* examination of the Prophet and his companions before Judge King at Richmond, and the man who was connected with the court-martial that condemned them to be shot in the public square at Far West. They were arraigned by a grand jury, composed of men connected with the massacre at Haun's Mill, some of whom, while under the influence of liquor, boasted of their deeds of cruelty at that horrible butchery. This grand jury did double service. During the day it acted as a court of inquiry, at night members of it were chosen by turns to act as a guard over the prisoners!

After ten days passed in this manner, the jury reported indictments against the prisoners, for "treason, murder, arson, theft and stealing."

The prisoners asked for a change of venue to Marion County. That was denied, but one was given them to Boone County,

and Judge Birch made out the mittimus without date, name, or place; and the prisoners in charge of the sheriff and four other men and a two horse team and wagon started for Boone County.

Passing through Diahman the prisoners were allowed to purchase two horses of the guard, giving some clothing for one, and their note for the other. The third day out from Gallatin three of the guards and the sheriff got drunk and went to bed. The sheriff, previously having shown the prisoners the mittimus made out by Judge Birch, now also informed them that Birch had told him not to take the prisoners to Boone County. After exposing the plan that had been laid for their escape by the authorities, the sheriff assured the prisoners that he should take a good drink of whiskey and go to bed, and they could do as they pleased. Accordingly when all the guards but one were asleep, that one, who, by the way, was sober as well as awake, assisted them to mount their horses and escape. Ten days later they arrived among their friends in Illinois. The Prophet in a signed summary of the persecutions endured by himself and his people in Missouri says:—

Before leaving Missouri I had paid the lawyers at Richmond thirty-four thousand dollars in cash, lands, &c.; one lot which I let them have, in Jackson County, for seven thousand dollars, they were soon offered ten thousand dollars for it, but would not accept it. For other vexatious suits which I had to contend against, the few months I was in the State, I paid lawyers' fees to the amount of about sixteen thousand dollars, making in all about fifty thousand dollars, for which I received very little in return; for sometimes they were afraid to act on account of the mob, and sometimes they were so drunk as to incapacitate them for business. But there were a few honorable exceptions.

Among those who have been the chief instruments and leading characters in the unparalleled persecutions against The Church of Latter-day Saints, the following stand conspicuous, viz.: Generals Clark, Wilson and Lucas; Colonel Price, and Cornelius Gilliam; Cap-

tain Bogart also, whose zeal in the cause of oppression and injustice was unequalled, and whose delight has been to rob, murder and spread devastation among the saints. He stole a valuable horse, saddle and bridle from me, which cost two hundred dollars, and then sold the same to General Wilson. On understanding this, I applied to General Wilson for the horse, who assured me, upon the honor of a gentleman and an officer, that I should have the horse returned to me; but this promise has not been fulfilled.

All the threats, murders and robberies, which these officers have been guilty of, are entirely overlooked by the executive of the State; who, to hide his own iniquity, must of course shield and protect those whom he employed to carry into effect his murderous purposes.

I was in their hands, as a prisoner, about six months; but notwithstanding their determination to destroy me, with the rest of my brethren who were with me, and although at three different times (as I was informed) we were sentenced to be shot, without the least shadow of law (as we were not military men), and had the time and place appointed for that purpose, yet through the mercy of God, in answer to the prayers of the saints, I have been preserved and delivered out of their hands, and can again enjoy the society of my friends and brethren, whom I love, and to whom I feel united in bonds that are stronger than death; and in a State where I believe the laws are respected, and whose citizens are humane and charitable.

During the time I was in the hands of my enemies, I must say, that although I felt great anxiety respecting my family and friends, who were so inhumanly treated and abused, and who had to mourn the loss of their husbands and children who had been slain, and, after having been robbed of nearly all that they possessed, were driven from their homes, and forced to wander as strangers in a strange country, in order that they might save themselves and their little ones from the destruction they were threatened with in Missouri, yet so far as I was concerned, I felt perfectly calm, and resigned to the will of my Heavenly Father. I knew my innocency, as well as that of the saints, and that we had done nothing to deserve such treatment from the hands of our oppressors. Consequently, I could look

to that God who has the hearts of all men in his hands, and who had saved me frequently from the gates of death, for deliverance; and notwithstanding that every avenue of escape seemed to be entirely closed, and death stared me in the face, and that my destruction was determined upon, as far as man was concerned, yet, from my first entrance into the camp, I felt an assurance that I, with my brethren and our families, would be delivered. Yes, that still small voice, which has so often whispered consolation to my soul, in the depth of sorrow and distress, bade me be of good cheer, and promised deliverance, which gave me great comfort. And although the heathen raged, and the people imagined vain things, yet the Lord of Hosts, the God of Jacob, was my refuge; and when I cried unto him in the day of trouble, he delivered me; for which I call upon my soul, and all that is within me, to bless and praise his holy name. For although I was "troubled on every side, yet not distressed; perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed."

The conduct of the Saints, under their accumulated wrongs and sufferings, has been praiseworthy; their courage in defending their brethren from the ravages of the mobs; their attachment to the cause of truth under circumstances the most trying and distressing which humanity can possibly endure; their love to each other; their readiness to afford assistance to me and my brethren who were confined in a dungeon; their sacrifices in leaving Missouri, and assisting the poor widows and orphans, and securing them houses in a more hospitable land; all conspire to raise them in the estimation of all good and virtuous men, and has secured them the favor and approbation of Jehovah, and a name as imperishable as eternity. And their virtuous deeds and heroic actions, while in defense of truth and their brethren, will be fresh and blooming when the names of their oppressors shall be either entirely forgotten, or only remembered for their barbarity and cruelty.

Their attention and affection to me, while in prison, will ever be remembered by me; and when I have seen them thrust away and abused by the jailer and guard, when they came to do any kind offices, and to cheer our minds while we were in the gloomy prison-house, gave me feelings which I cannot describe; while those who

wished to insult and abuse us by their threats and blasphemous language, were applauded, and had every encouragement given them.

However, thank God, we have been delivered. And although some of our beloved brethren have had to seal their testimony with their blood, and have died martyrs to the cause of truth; yet

> Short though bitter was their pain,
> Everlasting is their joy.

Let us not sorrow as "those without hope;" the time is fast approaching when we shall see them again and rejoice together, without being afraid of wicked men. Yes, those who have slept in Christ shall he bring with him, when he shall come to be glorified in him, and admired by all those who believe; but to take vengeance upon his enemies and all those who obey not the gospel.

At that time the hearts of the widows and fatherless shall be comforted, and every tear shall be wiped from off their faces. The trials they have had to pass through shall work together for their good, and prepare them for the society of those who have come up out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

Marvel not, then, if you are persecuted; but remember the words of the Savior: "The servant is not above his Lord; if they have persecuted me, they will persecute you also;" and that all the afflictions through which the saints have to pass, are in fulfillment of the words of all the prophets which have spoken since the world began.

We shall therefore do well to discern the signs of the times as we pass along, that the day of the Lord may not "overtake us as a thief in the night." Afflictions, persecutions, imprisonments and deaths, we must expect, according to the Scriptures, which tell us, that the blood of those whose souls were under the altar could not be avenged on them that dwell on the earth, until their brethren should be slain as they were.

If these transactions had taken place among barbarians, under the authority of a despot, or in a nation where a certain religion is established according to law, and all others proscribed, then there might have been some shadow of defense offered. But can we real-

ize that in a land which is the cradle of liberty and equal rights, and where the voice of the conquerors who had vanquished our foes had scarcely died away upon our ears, where we frequently mingled with those who had stood amidst "the battle and the breeze," and whose arms have been nerved in the defense of their country and liberty, whose institutions are the theme of philosophers and poets, and held up to the admiration of the whole civilized world—in the midst of all these scenes, with which we were surrounded, a persecution the most unwarrantable was commenced, and a tragedy the most dreadful was enacted, by a large portion of the inhabitants of one of those free and independent States which comprise this vast Republic; and a deadly blow was struck at the institutions for which our fathers had fought many a hard battle, and for which many a patriot had shed his blood, and suddenly was heard, amidst the voice of joy and gratitude for our national liberty, the voice of mourning, lamentation and woe? Yes! in this land, a mob, regardless of those laws for which so much blood had been spilled, dead to every feeling of virtue and patriotism which animated the bosom of free men, fell upon a people whose religious faith was different from their own, and not only destroyed their homes, drove them away, and carried off their property, but murdered many a free-born son of America—a tragedy which has no parallel in modern, and hardly in ancient, times; even the face of the red man would be ready to turn pale at the recital of it. It would have been some consolation, if the authorities of the State had been innocent in this affair; but they are involved in the guilt thereof, and the blood of innocence, even of *children*, cries for vengeance upon them.

I ask the citizens of this vast Republic, whether such a state of things is to be suffered to pass unnoticed, and the hearts of widows, orphans and patriots to be broken, and their wrongs left without redress? No! I invoke the genius of our Constitution. I appeal to the patriotism of Americans, to stop this unlawful and unholy procedure; and pray that God may defend this nation from the dreadful effects of such outrages.

Is there not virtue in the body politic? Will not the people rise in their majesty, and with that promptitude and zeal which is so characteristic of them, discountenance such proceedings, by bringing

the offenders to that punishment which they so richly deserve, and save the nation from that disgrace and ultimate ruin, which otherwise must inevitably fall upon it?

JOSEPH SMITH, Junior.

The other prisoners who had been left in Richmond during this dreary winter, in the spring were taken to Columbia, in Boone County, and during the summer also escaped and joined their fellow exiles in Illinois.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

A PROPHECY THAT DID NOT FAIL.

BEFORE concluding this writing I wish to refer to a matter before briefly alluded to. On July 8, 1838, the Lord had given a revelation to the Twelve Apostles through Joseph, the Prophet, in which John Taylor, John E. Page, Wilford Woodruff and Willard Richards were chosen to fill the vacancies in the quorum of the Twelve, and the Apostles were to take leave of the saints in Far West on the twenty-sixth day of April, 1839, on the building spot of the Lord's House, and from thence depart over the great waters to preach the gospel in foreign lands.

It had been the constant boast of the mob throughout the persecutions we have been relating, that this was one of "Joe Smith's" revelations, at least, that should not be fulfilled.

Yet at the time appointed, the twenty-sixth day of April, five of the Twelve Apostles arrived there, having come from Quincy by various routes to elude the vigilance of their enemies, together with a number of Elders, High Priests and Priests. The five Apostles ordained Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith members of their quorum, thus making the number of Apostles present seven, a majority of the Twelve, and hence competent to transact business as a quorum. They also ordained a number to the office of Seventy. They excommunicated a number of persons from The Church; prayer was offered up by the Apostles in the order of their standing in the quorum. A hymn known to the saints as Adam-Ondi-Ahman was sung. After this hymn was sung, Elder Alpheus Cutler, the master-workman of the Lord's House, laid the south-east corner

stone in its position, and then said, in consequence of the peculiar situation of the saints, it was deemed prudent to discontinue further labor on the House until the Lord should open the way for its completion. The Apostles then took leave of some seventeen saints, who were present, and started on their way to fill their missions beyond the great Atlantic Ocean. Thus was fulfilled that revelation in every particular, notwithstanding the boasts of the mob which said it should fail of fulfillment. So important do I deem the fulfillment of this prophecy, however, that I give here the official report of the proceedings of that meeting, signed by the president of it:—

At a conference held at Far West by the Twelve, High Priests, Elders and Priests, on the twenty-sixth of April, 1839, the following resolution was adopted—

Resolved: That the following persons be no more fellowshipped in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, but excommunicated from the same, viz.:—Isaac Russell, Mary Russell, John Goodson and wife, Jacob Scott, Senior, and wife, Isaac Scott, Jacob Scott, Junior, Ann Scott, Sister Walton, Robert Walton, Sister Cavanaugh, Ann Wanlass, William Dawson, Junior, and wife, William Dawson, Senior, and wife, George Nelson, Joseph Nelson and wife and mother, William Warnoch and wife, Jonathan Maynard, Nelson Maynard, George Miller, John Grigg and wife, Luman Gibbs, Simeon Gardner and Freeborn Gardner.

The council then proceeded to the building spot of the Lord's House; when the following business was transacted—Part of a hymn was sung, on the mission of the Twelve.

Elder Cutler, the master-workman of the House, then re-commenced laying the foundation of the Lord's House, agreeably to revelation, by rolling up a large stone near the southeast corner.

The following of the Twelve were present—Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, John E. Page and John Taylor, who proceeded to ordain Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith (who had been previously nominated by the First Presidency, accepted by the Twelve, and acknowledged by The Church)—to the office of the

Twelve, to fill the places of those who are fallen. Darwin Chase and Norman Shearer (who had just been liberated from Richmond prison, where they had been confined for the cause of Jesus Christ,) were ordained to the office of the Seventies.

The Twelve then offered up vocal prayer in the following order —Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, John E. Page, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith. After which we sung Adam-Ondi-Ahman, and then the Twelve took their leave of the following saints, agreeably to the revelation, viz.: Alpheus Cutler, Elias Smith, Norman Shearer, William Burton, Stephen Markham, Shadrach Roundy, William O. Clark, John W. Clark, Hezekiah Peck, Darwin Chase, Richard Howard, Mary Ann Peck, Artimesia Grainger, Martha Peck, Sarah Grainger, Theodore Thurley, Hyrum Clark and Daniel Shearer.

Elder Alpheus Cutler then placed the stone before alluded to in its regular position, after which, in consequence of the peculiar situation of the saints, he thought it wisdom to adjourn until some future time, when the Lord shall open the way; expressing his determination then to proceed with the building; whereupon the conference adjourned.

BRIGHAM YOUNG, President.
JOHN TAYLOR, Clerk.

CHAPTER XLIX.

A STATE'S SHAME.

THIS brings me to the close of the story of the Missouri Persecutions. We have seen a people start out under the direction of the Lord to build up the City of Zion to his holy name; but because of their disobedience and failure to observe strictly those conditions upon which the Lord had promised them success in accomplishing so great a work, they were driven entirely from that county and state where that city is to be founded.

We have seen a proud, sovereign state of the great American Union, with a constitution that guaranteed the largest possible religious and civil liberty to its citizens, ignore both the spirit and letter of that constitution. We have seen its officers shamefully violate the laws passed in pursuance of it; and from the chief executive down enter into plots to destroy the saints of God, or drive them from the State; in accomplishing which, they were guilty of the most cruel barbarity. It is no palliation of their offense to say that the saints had not strictly kept the commandments of God. Their offenses were against the laws of God rather than the laws of man; delinquencies that fell not under the power of the State to correct. So far as the State of Missouri was concerned, she was not justified in trampling on her own constitution and laws, and permitting not only her people but the officers of the State to commit outrages against an innocent people that would put savages to the blush of shame.

I impeach the State of Missouri before the Bar of Nine-

teenth Century Civilization; and affirm that in the five years between 1833 and 1838, she permitted and became a party to acts of robbery, violence and blood which are a disgrace to the age and its boasted spirit of progress and toleration. I charge that Missouri was guilty of crimes the perpetration of which forbids the claim that in the United States of America, and in this enlightened century, there has been an abandonment of the barbarities of past ages.

Before the great Bar of History, I impeach the State of Missouri. In the years from 1833 to 1838 there were committed within her borders and against an unoffending, and law-abiding people, acts of shameful robbery, arson, mob-violence; willful, wanton slaughter of men, women and children; worst of all, rape upon virtuous wives and maidens; and, at the last, illegal banishment of some twelve thousand people from the State. For these crimes, repeatedly committed and numerous, no offender was ever brought to punishment by the State. On the contrary the machinery of its government was employed and its officers exerted themselves to further oppress the innocent sufferers; so that instead of being a means for their protection, the government was made an engine for their oppression; and its legislature turning a deaf ear to the story of their wrongs, made liberal appropriations from the State treasury to defray the expenses of those who committed the outrages against them and drove them from the State.

I impeach the State of Missouri before the Bar of American Constitutions and Institutions; and charge that in the crimes permitted and by her officers perpetrated against the Latter-day Saints in the five years between 1833 and 1838, she both deserted and violated the principles of government upon which the State is founded. By failing—nay, worse, by refusing at first to protect by the majesty and righteous execution of her laws, and next by becoming an assailant and robber of the unoffending Latter-day Saints, she denied to them and deprived them of the right to

property, the right to pursue happiness, the right to be free, the right to worship God after the dictates of their own consciences. And by denying to them and depriving them of these rights, Missouri violated the fundamental principles of American government, and outraged American institutions.

Lastly, I charge Missouri's historians, both those who have written the history of the counties in which the outrages I have detailed occurred, as well as the historians of the State at large, with having glazed over these deeds of infamy. They have either withheld or misrepresented the facts, and have descended so low as to become apologists for the State and the officers that could perpetrate and become a party to such acts of injustice, rapine and murder.

The statements of fact in these pages are irrefutable and easy of verification. They can neither be successfully denied, gainsaid, nor explained away; nor can the impeachment of the State of Missouri before the Bar of History, Civilization or of American Institutions. The otherwise grand State of Missouri is stained with dishonor; because of her treatment of the Latter-day Saints on her escutcheon is to be seen the blotch of innocent blood unavenged.

In undertaking the task of writing this history, the one thought above all others in my mind has been the desire to present to the youth of the Latter-day Saints, many of whose fathers passed through these trying scenes, with a circumstantial account of them that they might know how much was endured by their fathers for the truth's sake; that they might learn to prize it, not only for what it is in itself, but also to prize it to some degree for what it cost the fathers. But at the close of my task I find myself convinced that it is equally important that the people of Missouri and of the United States should have the plain facts presented to them, that they may not unwittingly, as the general tendency now is, become in a manner parties to the crime by approving what was done in that period, and thus fall under the

displeasure of God, whose words are equally strong against those who shed the blood of the saints and the prophets, and those who applaud such crimes.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

"MORMONS" IN JACKSON COUNTY.

(*Taken from the "History of Jackson County, Missouri," published by Union Historical Co., Kansas City, Missouri,* 1881, *pp.* 250 *to* 269, *inclusive.*)

A VERY prominent feature of the early history of Jackson County was the trouble between the "Mormons" and other citizens during 1831 and 1832, which led to the expulsion of the former from the county during the latter part of the year 1832. This sect was brought into existence on the sixth day of April, 1830, near Manchester, New York. The first society consisted of six persons—Joseph Smith, Sr., Joseph Smith, Jr., Hyrum Smith, Samuel Smith, Oliver Cowdery and Joseph Knight. The three Smiths last mentioned were brothers, and sons of Joseph Smith, Sr., and Joseph Smith, Jr., was the reputed author of the new faith, and is the prophet of "Mormon" history. This Smith family came from Vermont, where Joseph, Jr., was born at Sharon, in Windsor County, December 23rd, 1805. They are represented by their neighbors, both in Vermont and New York, to have been a shiftless, worthless family. The parents are represented as having been dishonest, unreliable, ignorant and superstitious, and the sons seemed to have inherited all these peculiarities. A part of the business of the father was that of "water witch," in which capacity he went about the country with a hazel rod divining where water could be found by digging wells, by the writhings of the rod when held in the hands in a peculiar manner.

Young Joseph is reported to have been a wild, reckless boy, dis-

honest, untruthful and intemperate. As he grew toward adult age he adopted his father's profession of "water-witching," and afterwards added to it the more practical business of digging the wells he thus located. While in this capacity he discovered a smooth, round stone of peculiar shape while digging a well for a Mr. Chase near Manchester. This he adopted as a "peep stone," and pretended that by placing it in his hat in a peculiar way it had the miraculous power of revealing to him where lost and stolen articles could be found, and he then added this to his previous miraculous business of "water-witchery."

During the decade from 1820 to 1830 a great religious revival swept over the country, and gave rise to the phenomena known as "jerks!" This excitement raged greatly in western New York and in the neighborhood of the Smiths. Joseph, Jr., and some of his sisters and brothers became converted at one of the revivals, but Joseph was greatly vexed in spirit by the uncertainty as to which of the sects was the right one. He became a constant reader of the Bible for a time, but subsequently fell again into his old ways, and later events indicate that he fell also into some new ones, which have extended the peculiarities of his nature much beyond the sphere of his personal influence and beyond the period of his time. He put forth the claim that in September, 1823, God sent messengers to him to say that he was forgiven for his sins. Again in 1826, he claimed an angel visited him with the information that in the Hill Cumorah, not far from Manchester, were hidden certain golden plates which he was to unearth and translate. These plates were exhumed in September, 1826, as Joseph represents it, "with a mighty display of celestial machinery," and were delivered by the angels to him. These plates were afterwards translated by Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, a schoolmaster, and one Martin Harris, and published in the early part of the year 1830 as the "Book of Mormon."

Another account of the origin of the Book of Mormon is that it was written as a historical romance, to account for the Indians in America, in 1812, by a Mr. Solomon Spaulding, a retired preacher, and presented to Mr. Patterson, a bookseller in Pittsburg for publication, together with a preface representing it to have been taken from plates dug up in Ohio. Mr. Patterson did not think the enterprise

would pay, and hence did not publish it; but Sidney Rigdon, afterwards quite noted in early "Mormon" history, was then at work in the office of Mr. Patterson, and it is suggested that he stole the manuscripts, and had his full share in bringing "Mormonism" into existence, though he did not appear in connection with it for some months after the organization of the first society.

But, however the book may have come, Joseph Smith appears from the first as prophet, and directed the movements of the new sect by what he claimed to be divine revelations, and put forth the most extravagant claims for himself and his prophetic powers. This was a time particularly favorable for the cultivation of such a superstition. The religious ideas prevailing at the time of the religious excitement referred to, embraced the belief in the direct dealings of God with man, very much after the manner represented in ancient Jewish history, which made such pretenses as these peculiarly liable to be accepted. Immediately after the organization of the first society, as above stated, there was an administration of the sacrament, and the laying on of hands for the "Gift of the Holy Ghost." Five days afterward, on the 11th of May, Oliver Cowdery preached the first sermon on the new faith, and before the close of the month, at Colesville, Browne* County, New York, there was what was claimed by the new sect to be miracles performed. From this the new sect took strong root with the ignorant and superstitious, and it gained members rapidly, notwithstanding the prophet was several times arrested for misdemeanors. In August, Paxley P. Platte† and Sidney Rigdon appeared as "Mormons," and soon after Orson Platte‡ was converted and baptized into the new sect.

The work of propagandation now became very active and effective. Smith put forth a revelation that mundane things were about to be brought to an end, a claim that was likely to strike terror into the hearts of the ignorant and superstitious, after the strong religious excitement that had been prevailing, and with the ideas of hell and the future state at that time current in theology. This was industri-

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* This should be Broome County.

† Should be Parley P Pratt.

‡ Should be Orson Pratt.

ously proclaimed by the preachers, and accompanied with the narration of Smith's miracle, and the injunction to seek safety in the new Church. Its effect upon the ignorant and superstitious was very great, and by October, 1830, the society numbered fifty, and by June, 1831, about two thousand. Rigdon having taken up his residence near Kirtland, Ohio, had gathered around him about fifty very fanatical people. In January, 1831, he visited Smith in New York, and Smith returned with him to Kirtland, and soon afterward there was a gathering of all the adherents at Kirtland. This is known in "Mormon" history as the "First Hegira."

The sect, at this time, as at all others, was composed of ignorant, superstitious and fanatical people prepared by these qualities to accept anything marvelous that might be told them, or to do anything to which they might be directed by one imposed upon them as a prophet or something demanded of them by the Lord.

Such were the character of the people whom Smith attempted to settle in Jackson County. In June, 1831, Smith put forth a revelation to the effect that the final gathering place of the saints, which name they had now assumed, was to be in Missouri. Accordingly he set out with a few elders for the new land of promise, arriving at Independence in July. Here he put forth another revelation stating that this was the land, or as he put it, "the Zion that should never be moved," and that the whole land was "solemnly dedicated to the Lord and his saints." They began at once to build and at first erected a log house in Kaw township about twelve miles from Independence. On the 2nd of August, he gave out another revelation that the site of the great temple was three hundred yards west of the court house in Independence, and accordingly on the 3rd of August the spot was taken possession of by Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Edward Partridge, W. W. Phelps, Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris and Joseph Coe, and dedicated with great ceremony, and followed by an "accession of gifts" from God. The next day, August 4th, another and larger party arrived from Kirtland, and the first "general conference" in the Land of Zion was immediately held. During this conference Smith gave utterance to another revelation, stating that the whole land should be theirs and should not be obtained "but by purchase or by blood." The situation, surroundings and leadership of these people seemed to im-

press their ignorant and superstitious minds with the idea that they were a chosen people designed in the purposes of God, to effect some great reformation in the world, and they seemed to have imagined that they occupied a similar position to that assigned by the Bible to the ancient Jews at the time of their escape from Egyptian bondage and replanting in Canaan. From this extravagance the way to others was open, easy and natural. In their poverty, the purchase of the "whole land" by them was manifestly not intended, and hence they seemed to expect that in some way the Lord would establish them in the possession of Missouri without that. Assuming this that they were the holy people of the Lord, that the Lord was the real owner of all things, and that all his possessions were free to them, they were not calculated to be respectful of the rights and interest of their non-"Mormon" neighbors *But though no overt acts of transgression upon such rights were being committed,** the rapidly gathering members of the "Mormons," their ignorance, poverty and fanaticism, and the boastfulness and assurance with which they reiterated their belief in their destined possession of the country, backed by Smith's significant revelations and the dishonesty of the methods of the leaders, made the new sect an object of profound solicitude to the people.

In August following the "general conference," Smith and Rigdon returned to Kirtland, where they established a mill and a bank, the latter being an irresponsible "wild cat" concern that failed soon after its notes were well afloat, which failure was attended by another revelation to Smith, directing him and Rigdon to depart at night for Missouri.

Soon after their arrival at Kirtland in August, W. W. Phelps was appointed to purchase a press and establish a Church paper in Independence, to be called the *Evening and Morning Star*. The prospectus for this paper appeared in February, 1832, and the paper itself in June following. On the 25th of March, 1832, Smith and Rigdon, while away from home, were seized by a mob and tarred, feathered and beaten for attempting to establish communism, and for forgery and dishonest dealings. In April, 1832, Smith being at Independence,

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* Italics are mine.—*R.*

a council was held and the printing press set up with religious ceremonies. In June the paper made its appearance and further excited the apprehensions of the citizens by an article on "Free People of Color," which was understood by the slave-holding population of Missouri to mean that the new sect were what was then appropriately called "abolitionists," and which in the excitement of that time about slavery, were as obnoxious to slave-holders as though they possessed the "cloven foot." This was a further cause of apprehension and led to a reply in a pamphlet entitled, "Beware of False Prophets!" In the spring of 1833, the "Mormons" numbered fifteen hundred in Jackson County. They had nearly taken possession of Independence, and were rapidly extending their settlements. They grew bolder as they grew stronger, and daily proclaimed to the older settlers that the Lord had given them the whole land of Missouri; that bloody wars would extirpate all other sects from the country; that it would be "one gore of blood from the Mississippi to the border," and that the few who were left unslain would be the servants of the saints, who would own all the property in the country.

At the same time they fell into equal extravagance regarding spiritual things, and declared themselves "kings and priests of the Most High God," and all other religious sects as reprobates, the creation of the devil designed to speedy destruction, and that all but themselves were doomed, cast away Gentiles, worse than the heathen and unfit to live. They notified all "Gentiles" who were building new houses and opening new farms that it was needless, that the Lord would never allow them to enjoy the fruits of their labor and that in a few months the "Gentiles" would have neither name nor place in Missouri.

At the same time that these extravagances were thus indulged, there does not appear to have been any more lawlessness among them or by them than would result from any equal number of low, ignorant people, so that while their presence was rapidly becoming insufferable, *they were doing nothing that would warrant their legal expulsion.** Still their numbers constantly increased by accessions from the east and from time to time large and enthusiastic meetings were held. In

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* Italics are mine.—*R.*

addition to their paper they had established a Church store in Independence, which was kept by Bishop Partridge. During the spring and summer it began to be manifest that they would be strong enough at the fall election to control the election of officers, and the other settlers could not regard, except with grave apprehension, the filling of the county offices by members of such a sect. These apprehensions were intensified by scandalous stories, which about this time began to reach Missouri about the leaders of the sect in Ohio, and as the feeling of apprehension increased, there arose a state of restlessness and friction closely bordering upon open hostility. However, beyond some mutual petty annoyances, such as throwing stones at houses, breaking down fences, etc., there was no open action taken until the 20th of July, when a number of citizens, about four hundred, assembled to take action on the situation.

The following account of this meeting is taken from a report published in the *Western Monitor*, at that time published by Weston F. Birch, at Fayette, Mo.:

"The meeting was organized by calling Colonel Richard Sampson to the chair, and appointing James H. Flournoy and Colonel Samuel D. Lucas as secretaries.

"Messrs. Russell Hicks, Esq., Robert Johnson, Henry Childs, Esq., Colonel James Hambriglet, Thomas Hudspeth, Joel F. Chiles, and James M. Hunter, were appointed to draft an address; the meeting then adjourned and convened again, when the following was presented:

"This meeting, professing to act not from the excitement of the moment, but under a deep and abiding conviction, that the occasion is one that calls for cool deliberation, as well as energetic action, deem it proper to lay before the public an *expose* of our peculiar situation, in regard to this singular sect of pretended Christians, and a solemn declaration of our unalterable determination to amend it.

"The evil is one that no one could have foreseen, and it is therefore unprovided for by the laws, and the delays of legislation would put the mischief beyond remedy.

"But little more than two years ago some two or three of these people made their appearance in the upper Missouri, and they now number some twelve hundred souls in this county, and each succes-

sive autumn and spring pours forth its swarms among us, with a gradual falling of the character of those who compose them, until it seems that those communities from which they come were flooding us with the very dregs of their composition. Elevated, as they mostly are, but little above the condition of our blacks, either in regard to property or education, they have become a subject of much anxiety on that point, serious and well-grounded complaints having already been made of their corrupting influence on our slaves.

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"When we reflect on the extensive field in which the sect is operating, and that there exists in every country a leaven of superstition that embraces with avidity notions the most extravagant and unheard-of, and whatever can be gleaned by them from the purlieus of vice and the abodes of ignorance, it is to be cast like a waif into our social circles. It requires no gift of prophecy to tell that the day is not far distant when the civil government of the county will be in their hands; when the sheriff, the justices and the county judges will be 'Mormons,' or persons wishing to court their favor from motives of interest or ambition.

"What would be the fate of our lives and property in the hands of jurors and witnesses who do not blush to declare, and would not upon occasion hesitate to swear that they have wrought miracles, and have been the subjects of miraculous and supernatural cures; have conversed with God and his angels, and possess and exercise the gifts of divination and of unknown tongues, and fired with the prospect of obtaining inheritances without money and without price, may be better imagined than described.

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"And we do hereby most solemnly declare,

"That no 'Mormon' shall in future move into and settle in this county.

"That those now here shall give a definite pledge of their intention, within a reasonable time, to move out of the county, shall be allowed to remain unmolested until they have sufficient time to sell their property and close their business without any material sacrifice.

"That the editor of the *Star* be required forthwith to close his office, etc. * * * * * *

"That those who fail to comply with these requisitions be referred to those of their brethren who have the gift of divination and of unknown tongues to inform them of the lot that awaits them."

Compliance with these demands being refused, the people assembled, tore down the printing office, scattering the materials and paper on the ground, and took Bishop Partridge, and a man named Charles Allen, to the public square, where they stripped and tarred and feathered them. Mr. Gilbert, who was now connected with the store, agreed to close it, and the mob then dispersed until the twenty-third.

On the 23rd of July, this convention of citizens again convened and a committee was appointed to confer with the "Mormon" leaders. This committee was met by Messrs. Phelps, Partridge, Gilbert, and Messrs. Covil, Whitmer and Morley, elders of the sect. Between them an agreement was made to the effect that Oliver Cowdery, W. W. Phelps, William McLellin, Edward Partridge, Lyman Wight, Simeon Carter, Peter and John Whitmer, and Harvey Whitlock, were to remove from the county on or before January 1, 1834, and were to use their influence to secure the removal of all the saints—one-half by January 1st, the other half by April 1, 1834; John Corril and Algernon Gilbert were to be allowed to remain as agents to settle up the business of those removing; the *Star* was not again to be published nor any other press set up in the county; Mr. Phelps and Mr. Partridge, if their families removed by January 1st, were to be allowed to come and go in settling up their business. The committee of citizens pledged themselves to use their influence to see that no violence was to be used against the saints while compliance to the agreement was being observed.

This agreement as reported to the meeting, was unanimously adopted by the citizens, and the minutes signed by the chairman, Richard Sampson, and the secretaries, S. D. Lucas, J. H. Flournoy.

In September Orson Hyde and W. W. Phelps were appointed by the "Mormons" as a delegation to Governor Dunklin, then Governor of Missouri, and to represent the affairs already recited, and to ask for protection. They prepared and presented to the Governor, October 8th, a long memorial setting forth a long list of grievances, wrongs and intimidations which they had suffered at the hands of the people

of Jackson County. The Attorney-General being absent, Governor Dunklin declined to take any action until his return, so that it was not until the 19th of October that they received his decision. The case presented to him was an *ex parte* one, and it received a decision which led the "Mormon" leaders to rely upon his protection. He denied the right of any citizens to take into their own hands the redress of the grievances, and recommended the "Mormons" to appeal to the civil courts by affidavit and legal process for redress of the wrongs complained of, and promised them a faithful enforcement of the laws.

In pursuance of this action of the Governor, the leaders resolved not to abide by the agreement made with the people in July. Preparations for removal from the county were stopped and their leaders engaged Messrs. Woods, Reese, Doniphan and Atchison to defend them and prosecute for them in the courts. This aroused the citizens again, and although the "Mormons" had not so violated the law as to enable the people to proceed against them by legal process, the prospect, from the facts already stated, were regarded by the people as so extraordinary as to warrant extraordinary measures. Their safety, it appeared to them, depended upon the expulsion of the "Mormons" from the county by force, and they at once began preparations to that end.

On the 31st day of October, a party of forty or fifty armed men, without other warrant than their own judgment of the requirements of the situation, visited a settlement of the "Mormons" on the Big Blue, destroyed ten houses and whipped a number of men. On the night of the 1st of November another party visited a settlement about twelve miles southwest of Independence, where Parley P. Pratt had assembled a force of about sixty men; here they encamped for the night and put out guards, two of which, Robert Johnson and a man named Harris, had an encounter with Pratt, whom one of them knocked down with a musket. They were then captured by Pratt's party and detained over night. The same night they were attacked in Independence and houses were stoned, doors broken down, etc. Part of A. S. Gilbert's house was pulled down and the doors of the store were broken in and the goods scattered on the street. A party of "Mormons," summoned from a neighboring settle-

ment, saved part of the goods and attempted to have a man named Richard McCarty arrested for participation in the affair, but the Justice of the Peace applied to, Samuel Weston, refused to issue a warrant for the purpose. At the same time other "Mormon" settlements were visited by the people and great consternation was caused thereby among the women and children, the men having fled, but no injury was done them. The next day, November 2nd, all the Independence "Mormons," numbering about thirty families, left town and gathered together for protection. The same day people made another attack on the Big Blue settlement, when they unroofed another house. They attacked also another settlement about six miles from Independence. The next day, November 3rd, Joshua Lewis, Hiram Page and two other "Mormons" went to Lexington to ask protection from the circuit court, which was refused; while others applied to Justice of the Peace Silvers at Independence, with a like result. A number of persons at this time visited the "Mormons" and advised them to leave the country, as the people were so incensed at them that their lives were in danger. This was Sunday, and the "Mormons" had a rumor among them that a general massacre was impending for Monday.

When Monday came the citizens collected and took possession of a ferry belonging to the "Mormons" across the Blue, but they soon abandoned it and gathered in greater numbers at Wilson's store about one mile west of it. A party of "Mormons," numbering about thirty, started from an adjacent settlement to help those on the Blue, but hearing of the assembly of the citizens at the store, fled through the cornfields and were pursued by the citizens. Later in the day a party of about thirty arrived from the settlement on the prairie where Pratt had encountered the guards a few nights before, and between them and the citizens a fight occurred, in which Hugh L. Brozeal and Thos. Linville of the citizens were killed and a "Mormon" named Barber fatally wounded. This fight created the greatest excitement throughout the county.

The same day Richard McCarty caused Gilbert and Whitney to be arrested for assaulting him in Independence Saturday night, and for causing his arrest and attempting to prosecute him afterward. The situation of affairs now was that no "Mormon" could receive jus-

tice from the public courts any more than a citizen could have received justice in a trial by "Mormons." The conduct of the "Mormons" had so disrupted public peace and order that the county was virtually in the hands of a mob. In this situation Samuel C. Owens, clerk of the county court, advised Gilbert and Whitney to go to jail as a means of protection, and they, together with W. E. McLellin and a Mr. Coville and Morley, and one other "Mormon," took this advice. During the night, Gilbert, Coville and Morley were taken out for the purpose of an interview with their fellow "Mormons," but on being returned next morning were fired upon by a party of six or seven citizens. Coville and Morley ran and escaped, but Gilbert was retained by the sheriff. The balance of the party were released next day.

The next day, November 5th, brought still more exciting times, for rumors from both sides exaggerated the scenes that had transpired; the citizens gathered to the number of hundreds from all parts of the county; the "Mormons," too, were rallying, one hundred of them collecting about a mile west of Independence. There they halted, waiting to learn the condition of affairs. They were informed that the militia had been ordered out for their protection and that Colonel Pitcher was in command. Upon application to this officer the "Mormons" were told that there was no alternative, they must leave the county forthwith; and deliver into Col. Pitcher's hands certain ones of their number to be tried for murder; and to give up their arms. To these demands the "Mormons" yielded. The arms, about fifty guns of all sorts, were surrendered; the men present accused of being in the skirmish the evening before, were given up for trial; and after being kept in durance for a day and night Col. Pitcher took them into a cornfield near by and said to them, "Clear out!"

Following this event small parties went over the country warning the "Mormons" away wherever found, and not unfrequently using violence to the men when any of them were caught. This was continued by the infuriated citizens until the "Mormons" had all fled the county. They attempted to find refuge in adjoining counties, but Clay was the only one that would receive them.

This was the end of "Mormonism" in Jackson County, but not

the end of the Mormon trouble, for through the influence of their attorneys, and in the absence of such open violations of law as would have warranted their legal expulsion from the county, they were able to impress Governor Dunklin with the idea that they were then the victims of a ruffianly mob and were being persecuted on account of their religion. Hence for several years afterward there was a sort of support given them by the governor, which, though insufficient to reinstate them in Jackson County, was sufficient to inspire them with the hope, and caused them to expect and to some extent propose to return. This kept up the trouble.

Whether the people were justified in so employing violence to rid themselves of an obnoxious sect, the members of which had not so violated the law as to warrant their legal expulsion, was shown by the events of the next few years. The "Mormons" settled finally in Clay, Carroll, Ray, Caldwell and Daviess counties, where they grew strong and prosperous, and, as in Jackson County, became correspondingly arrogant and unbearable. They took political possession of Daviess County, and there and in Caldwell County began to put in practice the things the people in Jackson County had apprehended and to prevent which they expelled them from the county. After making for themselves a record for treason, arson, burglary, theft, murder, and a long list of other crimes, they were finally, in 1838, expelled from the State by Governor Boggs, whom they attempted afterward, on the 6th day of May, 1842, to assassinate while sitting in his house at Independence.*

A quite detailed account of their efforts to get back to Jackson County, and of the action of Governor Dunklin, and the negotiations between them and the people of Jackson County, has been furnished in the following, which, it will be observed, is as favorable to the "Mormons" as possible:

November 21st, R. W. Wells, attorney-general of Missouri, wrote to the legal counsel employed by the saints, that he felt warranted in advising them that in case the "Mormons" expelled from Jackson County desired to be reinstated, he had no doubt the governor would

* For an investigation of this subject see "Rise and Fall of Nauvoo," by the author of "Missouri Persecutions."

send them military aid. He further advised that the "Mormons' might organize into militia and receive public arms for their own defense. Judge Ryland also wrote Attorney Amos Reese, stating that the governor had inquired of him respecting the "outrageous acts of unparalleled violence that have lately happened in Jackson County;" and wished to know whether the "Mormons" were willing to take "legal steps against the citizens of Jackson County."

He further wished to know whether a writ issued by him upon the oath of Joshua Lewis and Hiram Page had been handed to the sheriff for service; and if so what was the fate of the writ. This letter was dated November 24, 1833.

In answer to the governor's inquiries Mr. Gilbert wrote that officer on November 29th, giving the following reasons why an immediate court of inquiry could not be held. "Our Church is scattered in every direction: some in Van Buren, (a new county;) a part in this county, (Clay;) and a part in Lafayette, Ray, etc. Some of our principal witnesses would be women and children, and while the rage of the mob continues, it would be impossible to gather them in safety to Independence. And that your excellency may know of the unabating fury with which the last remnant of our people remaining in that county are pursued at this time, I here state that a few families, perhaps fifteen to twenty, who settled themselves more than two years ago on the prairie, about fifteen miles from the county seat of Jackson County, had hoped from the obscurity of their location that they might escape the vengeance of the enemy through the winter; consequently they remained on their plantations, receiving occasionally a few individual threats, till last Sunday, when a mob made their appearance among them; some with pistols cocked and presented to their breasts, commanding to leave the county in three days, or they would tear their houses down over their heads, etc." * * *

"An immediate court of inquiry called while our people are thus situated, would give our enemies a decided advantage in point of testimony, while they are in possession of their homes, and ours also; with no enemy in the county to molest or make them afraid."

This letter was read and concurred in by Mr. Reese.

Those people threatened on the 24th, as stated by Mr. Gilbert fled into Clay County and encamped on the Missouri.

December 6th, an additional memorial of facts and petition for aid, was sent to Governor Dunklin, setting forth the facts of their dispersion, and signed by six of the elders of The Church. A letter accompanied the petition, informing his excellency of the wish and intention of the saints to return to their homes, if assured of safety and protection.

On Monday, December 24th, four families living near Independence, whose age and penury prevented their removal in haste, were driven from their homes; the chimneys of their houses were thrown down, and the doors and windows broken in. Two of these men were named Miller and Jones, Mr. Miller being sixty-five years old, and the youngest of the four.

A court of inquiry was held in Liberty, Clay County, during December, which resulted in the arrest of Colonel Pitcher for driving the saints, or "Mormons," from Jackson, for trial by court-martial.

Mr. Gilbert wrote Governor Dunklin from Liberty, Clay County, January 9, 1834, submitting for consideration the idea of the saints making the endeavor to purchase the property of a number of the most violent opposers, if such effort would be satisfactory, and help to solve the question peaceably.

Governor Dunklin replied to the memorials and petitions of the saints in a friendly manner, avowing his desire and design to enforce the civil law, and if practicable, to reinstate those unlawfully dispossessed of their homes. Two clauses in this letter disclose something in reference to the peculiar animus of the persecution waging against the "Mormon" population. He wrote: "Your case is certainly a very emergent one, and the consequences as important to your society as if the war had been waged against the whole State; yet the public has no other interest in it, than that the laws be faithfully executed. Thus far, I presume, the whole community feel a deep interest, for that which is the case of the 'Mormons' today, may be the case of the Catholics tomorrow; and after them any other sect that may become obnoxious to a majority of the people of any section of the State. So far as a faithful execution of the laws is concerned, the executive is disposed to do everything consistent with the means furnished him by the legislature, and I think I may safely say the same of the judiciary.

"As now advised, I am of the opinion that a military guard will be necessary to protect the State witnesses and officers of the court, and to assist in the execution of its orders, while sitting in Jackson County."

An order was sent by the same mail from the governor, directing the captain of the Liberty Blues, a military organization, to comply with the requisitions of the circuit attorney, in the progress of the trials that might ensue. This letter is dated February 4, 1834.

Suits were instituted by Messrs. Phelps and Partridge, in the proper courts of Jackson County, and a dozen or so of the brethren summoned by subpœna to attend the sitting of the court of inquiry to be held. These witnesses were met February 23rd, at Everett's Ferry by the Liberty Blues, fifty strong, commanded by Captain Atchison, to guard them into Jackson County. They crossed the river, and encamped about a mile from it. From reports brought into camp by scouts sent out, Captain Atchison sent an order to Captain Allen for two hundred drafted militia, and to Liberty for ammunition. The next day the party reached Independence, where the witnesses met the district attorney, Mr. Reese, and the attorney-general, Mr. Wells; and from them it was ascertained that all prospect for a criminal prosecution was at an end. Mr. Wells had been instructed by the governor, to investigate, "as far as possible," the outrages in Jackson; but the determined opposition presented to the enforcement of the law, by those who had driven the "Mormons" out, prevented the performance of executive duty. The judge discharged Captain Atchison and his company of Blues, stating that their service was not needed and that officer marched out of town, with the witnesses under guard, to the tune of "Yankee Doodle."

While all this was transpiring time passed on and others were made to suffer. One old man Lindsay, nearly seventy, had his house thrown down, his goods, corn and other property piled together and fired, but was fortunate, after the parties who did it left, to save a part of his effects through the exertions of a son. Lyman Leonard, one of those who was compelled to return from Van Buren County was dragged from his house, beaten and left for dead, but revived and escaped. Joshua Sumner and Barnet Cole were beaten severely at the same time.

March 31st, 1834, Ira I. Willis went over from Clay County into Jackson to look for and reclaim a cow that had strayed. While at the house of Justice Manship, making proof to the ownership of the cow, he was set upon and cruelly whipped.

April 10th, 1804,* a petition was prepared memoralizing the President of the United States, and stating the facts of the expulsion of the people from Jackson County; and further setting forth that an impartial investigation into their several individual wrongs in the county where those wrongs were committed was impossible; they therefore asked that the executive power of the United States be exercised in their protection. This memorial and petition was signed by one hundred and fourteen of the expelled refugees.

In answer to this petition the President by order replied that the matter of the petition was referred to the War Department, and the department declined interference, as it did not appear that the emergency warranting such interference had occurred. This information was dated May 2nd, 1834, and signed by Lewis Cass. On the same day Governor Dunklin wrote to Messrs. Phelps and others, that the court of inquiry, before which Lieut. Col. Pitcher was to answer, had decided that the demand made by the officer for the surrender of the arms of the saints on Nov. 5th, 1833, was improper, and an order was sent to Col. Lucas to return them. This order directed Col. Lucas to deliver to W. W. Phelps, E. Partridge and others, fifty-two guns and one pistol, received by Col. Pitcher from the "Mormons," Nov. 5th, 1833.

The result of this order is seen from the following communication made to Gov. Dunklin, May 7th, 1834: "Since the 24th ult., the mob of Jackson County have burned our dwellings to the number of over one hundred and fifty. Our arms were also taken from the depository, (the jail,) about ten days since and distributed among the mob." * * * * * * *

The order for the restoration was forwarded to Col. Lucas, at Independence, May 17th, with a statement that he might return the arms to either of the three ferries on the Missouri, the line between Jackson and Clay counties. Of this delivery of the order the gover-

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* Doubtless should be 1834.

nor was informed by letter dated May 29th. To the letter and order to Col. Lucas, that officer stated that he would reply by May 22nd, but before that time he removed to Lexington and did not reply what he would do.

Some time in May the expelled "Mormons" and their friends in Clay County began the manufacture of weapons, in order to be prepared for defense if occasion again required it; and in this many of the influential men of the county encouraged them, in order, as they said, "to help the 'Mormons' to settle their own difficulties."

In the fall and before the agreement to leave Jackson County had been made, by the "Mormons" afterward expelled, a number of their brethren in Ohio, including Joseph Smith, Sylvester Smith, Frederick Williams and others, not far from one hundred and fifty men in all, had made arrangements to move into Missouri, with the intent to aid their followers there in defending themselves, or to share with them the fate that might await them. Of their intention thus to enter the State as immigrants, they notified their brethren in Missouri, who by letter dated April 24th, 1834, informed the governor, asking that their arms be restored to them and they be reinstated in their homes with the privilege of maintaining themselves in those homes, when so reinstated, by force; further asking the governor to give them a guard to escort them to Jackson County, when their friends from the East arrived. This letter was signed by A. S. Gilbert and four others.

This company above referred to, left Kirtland May 5th, 1834, and on June 5th, Mr. Gilbert notified the governor, in accordance with the opinion of Mr. Reese, district attorney, that the company was nearly to their journey's end; and again asked for an escort.

In answer to the communications of Mr, Gilbert and others, Governor Dunklin made answer, dated at Jefferson City, June 6th, 1834, from which letter, directed to Col. J. Thornton, the following extracts are taken:

"Dear Sir:—I was pleased at the reception of your letter, concurred in by Messrs. Reese, Atchison and Doniphan, on the subject of the Mormon difficulties. * * * A more clear and indisputable right does not exist, that the Mormon people, who were expelled from their homes in Jackson County, to return

and live on their lands, and if they cannot be persuaded as a matter of policy to give up that right, or to qualify it, my course, as the chief executive officer of the State, is a plain one. The Constitution of the United States declares: 'That the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.' Then we cannot interdict any people who have a political franchise in the United States, from immigrating to this State, nor from choosing what part of the State they will settle in, provided they do not trespass on the property or rights of others. * * * And again, our Constitution says, 'That all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences.' I am fully persuaded that the eccentricity of the religious opinions and practices of the 'Mormons' is at the bottom of the outrages committed against them. They have the right constitutionally guaranteed to them, and it is indefeasible, to believe, and worship Joe Smith as a man, as an angel, or even as the true and living God, and to call their habitation Zion, the Holy Land, or even heaven itself. Indeed there is nothing so absurd or ridiculous, that they have not the right to adopt as their religion, so that in its exercise they do not interfere with the rights of others. * * * I consider it the duty of every good citizen of Jackson and adjoining counties, to exert themselves to effect a compromise of their difficulties, and were I assured I would not have to act in my official capacity in the affair, I would visit the parties in person and exert myself to the utmost to settle it. My first advice would be to the Mormons to sell out their lands in Jackson County, and to settle somewhere else, where they could live in peace, if they could get a fair price for them, and reasonable damages for injuries received. If this failed I would try the citizens and advise them to meet and rescind their illegal resolve of last summer; and agree to conform to the laws in every particular, in respect to the Mormons. If both these failed, I would then advise the plan you have suggested, for each party to take separate territory, and confine their numbers within their respective limits, with the exception of the public right of ingress and egress upon the public highway. If all these failed then the simple question of legal right would have to settle it. It is this last that I am afraid I shall

have to conform my action to in the end, and hence the necessity of keeping myself in the best situation to do my duty impartially."

To facilitate any effort that might be made to effect a settlement of the troubles, the governor appointed Col. Thornton as an aid to the commander-in-chief, and requested him to keep himself and the governor closely informed of all that was transpiring.

The company emigrating from Ohio, under the charge of Joseph Smith, were joined at Salt River, Missouri, by a number from Michigan in charge of Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wright,* their united number being two hundred and five men. These were organized and drilled under Mr. Wright, who was appointed to the command of the whole force.

June 9th, 1834, the governor issued a second order for the return of the arms, directed to Col. Pitcher, Col. Lucas having resigned his command and left the county. This order to Col. Pitcher required him to collect the arms, if not in his possession, and return them to Messrs. Phelps and Partridge and others from whom they were taken.

June 10th, Judge John F. Ryland wrote to Mr. Gilbert from Richmond, requesting that the "Mormons" be called together at Liberty the following Monday, the 16th, at which time he would meet them with a deputation of some of the most respectable citizens of Jackson County and explain to them his views, stating further that he dreaded the consequences likely to ensue if he failed in his efforts to secure an amicable adjustment between the parties. This request was acceded to. Mr. Gilbert and others notified their brethren of the time and place of meeting and its object; and on the 16th the meeting was held, the citizens of Clay County, including the "Mormons," numbering between eight hundred and a thousand, assembled at the court house, where they were met by the judge and a deputation from Jackson County. At this meeting the citizens of Jackson County, through a committee consisting of Mr. Samuel C. Owens and nine others, submitted propositions in substance as follows: That they would purchase the lands and improvements of the "Mormons" at a valuation to be fixed by arbitrators to be agreed upon by

*Wight.

the parties; that when these arbitrators should have been chosen, twelve of the "Mormons" should be permitted to go with the arbitrators to point out the lands and improvements to be valued, the people of the county guaranteeing their safety while so doing; that when these arbitrators should have fixed said valuation, the people of Jackson County would pay the same with one hundred per cent added thereto within thirty days after said report. That upon said payment so made the "Mormons" should execute deeds for the lands, and make no effort ever after to settle as a community or as individuals within the county. Both parties were to enter into bonds to keep the terms of the agreement when made. A counter proposition was that the "Mormons" should buy all the lands of the people of Jackson County and their improvements on the public lands, the valuation to be made in the same way by arbitrators, and the same addition of one hundred per cent to such valuation when reported, payment to be made by the "Mormons" within thirty days after said report of valuation, as in the first proposition.

After the reading of this proposition, its adoption and enforcement were warmly urged by Mr. Owens, chairman of the deputation from Jackson County, and were as warmly met and opposed by Gen. Doniphan. Rev. M. Riley, of the Baptist church, urged the expulsion of the "Mormons," stating that they had "lived long enough in Clay County, and must either clear out or be cleared out." Mr. Turnham, the moderator of the meeting, answered this speech, counseling moderation, saying, among other things, "Let us be Republicans; let us honor our country and not disgrace it like Jackson County. For God's sake, don't disfranchise or drive away the 'Mormons.' They are better citizens than many of the old inhabitants." This expression was endorsed by Gen. Doniphan. Considerable excitement ensued, during which a quarrel occurred between some parties outside the door, in which one Calbert stabbed another man named Wales. Someone shouted into the door of the court room, "A man stabbed!" which broke up the meeting. Pending the restoration to order, Messrs. Phelps, McClellan and others consulted together and replied to the proposition, that they were not authorized to accede to either of the set of terms submited, but that they would give general notice and call a meeting of their brethren and make defi-

nite answer by the following Saturday or Monday, and that such answer should be placed in the hands of Judge Turnham, chairman of the meeting, earlier than the day named, if possible; assuring Mr. Owens and others that there was no design to open hostilities on the people of Jackson or other counties. They further pledged themselves to prevent any of their brethren coming from the east from entering into Jackson County.

Messrs. Phelps and Gilbert submitted to Mr. Owens and others of the Jackson committee a reply dated June 21st, 1834, stating that they had consulted with their brethren, as agreed, and were authorized to state that the propositions as made to them June 16th, could not be acceded to. In the same communication they gave the assurance that there was no intention on the part of themselves or their brethren to invade the county of Jackson in a hostile manner.

By this uniting, immediate conflict seemed to be averted, and the Jackson County committee returned home by way of the ferry, where is now the Wayne City landing. The boat was taken over to them and ten or twelve men and as many horses went aboard the boat. When about the middle of the Missouri the boat filled with water and sank; men, horses and all went down together. George Bradbury, David Lynch and James Campbell were drowned. S. V. Nolan could not swim, but catching hold of his horse's tail was hauled safely to the Jackson County shore. Samuel C. Owens and Thomas Harrington clung to the wreck of the boat and floated down a mile, and when the boat reached a sandbar Mr. Owens divested himself of all his clothes except his shirt, left the wreck and swam safely to the shore. He found a cow path which he followed to the main road. While traveling the path he found himself terribly annoyed by the sting of the nettle, but he walked to Independence, a distance of some four miles. Mr. Harrington hung to the boat and was drowned. William Everett swam to the Jackson shore and was washed against a drift and was found there ten days afterwards, one hand fast hold of a projecting snag. The other men swam back to the Clay County shore, where they all made it safe except Smallwood Nolan, who clung to a "sawyer" only a short distance from the shore. The men who made the shore built a fire and encouraged Nolan to "cling on" till they could rescue him. He did cling on with

the grip of death. When daylight came and the men went in to take him off his scanty support, they found that the water was only waist deep and he could have waded to the shore with ease if he had known it.

It was rumored that the "Mormons" had secretly bored holes in the boat above the customary water mark, but when loaded would sink to the holes and then fill with water. But the most reasonable idea was that the boat did not generally carry such heavy loads, hence the timbers had become dry and the corking loose, and when the water pressed against it gave way and the boat filled.

Joseph Smith and his party passed through Richmond, Clay County, June 19th, and encamped between two branches of Fishing River, not far from their junction. Here they were met by five armed men, who informed them that sixty men from Ray and seventy from Clay counties were to meet others from different places and prevent their further progress. They also learned that two hundred from Jackson County were to cross the Missouri River at Williams' Ferry, there to meet the forces from Ray and Clay Counties, at Fishing River ford, and thence to attack and disperse or destroy them. Their designs, if entertained, were prevented, for on the night following a severe storm of wind and rain occurred, which raised the streams, flooded the country and prevented any hostile movements being made by either party.

Mr. Smith's band moved out on the prairie on the 20th and encamped, where, on the 21st, they were visited by Col. Sconce and two other leading men from Ray County, who were anxious to know what were their intentions. Mr. Smith replied, stating that they had come to assist their brethren, bringing with them clothing and other supplies to aid them in being reinstated in their rights; and disclaimed any design to interfere with, or molest any people. These men returned from their visit, satisfied of the intentions of Mr. Smith and those with him, and rode through the neighborhood, using their influence to allay the excitement.

Cornelius Gillium, sheriff of Clay County, went to the camp of Mr. Smith and party on June 22nd, and asked for Mr. Smith; and upon being presented to him, gave them some instructions concerning the peculiarities of the inhabitants of the county; and advised

Mr. Smith and the rest as to the course that should be pursued by them to secure the protection of the people. Mr. Smith and those with him resumed their march to reach Liberty, Clay County, on the 23rd; but were met by Gen. Atchison and others when within six miles of the town, and were by them persuaded not to go to Liberty, as the people were too much incensed against them. The party, therefore turned away to the left and encamped upon the premises of a member of the fraternity named Burghardt, on the bank of Rush Creek.

From here a proposition for settlement was agreed to on the part of the "Mormons," and was by them sent to Mr. S. C. Owens and others, the committee from Jackson County. This proposition was in substance as follows:

That if the inhabitants of Jackson County would not permit them to return to their homes and remain in peace, then twelve disinterested men were to be chosen, six by each party to the strife, and these twelve men were to fix the value of the lands of those men resident in the county who were opposed to the "Mormons," and could not consent to live in the county with them; that when this valuation was made, the "Mormons" were to have one year in which to raise the money; that none of the "Mormons" should enter the county to reside until the money was paid; that the same twelve men were also to fix the amount of damages incurred by the "Mormons" in their expulsion, and the amount of damages so fixed should be taken from the aggregate sum to be paid by the said "Mormons" for the lands appraised by said arbitrators.

On June 25th, Mr. Smith caused his company to be broken into small bands, and scattered them among the resident members. He also apprised Generals Doniphan, Atchison and Thornton of what he had done, informing them that his company of emigrants would so remain dispersed until every effort for an adjustment of differences had been made on their part, "that would in anywise be required of them by disinterested men of Republican principles."

June 26th, by agreement among the elders of the "Mormons," a letter was prepared to Governor Dunklin, informing him of their arrival in Clay County, of their having been met by General Doniphan, of their present condition and the nature of the negotiations

then pending, of the character of the proposals made by them, and notifying the governor that if the present effort for peace failed they should do all that could be required of them by human or divine law to secure peaceably their homes in Jackson County, their claim to which they would not abandon. They further notified the governor that within the week one of their brethren was taken by some citizens from Jackson County, and forcibly carried from Clay County across the Missouri, and after being detained in custody for a day and night was threatened and released. Also, that the houses of a number of their members in Clay County had been broken into and rifled of guns and arms during the absence of the men folks, the women being threatened and intimidated. On the same day they received a rejection of the proposals to Mr. Owens, by the way of their attorney, Mr. Reese.

While encamped on Rush Creek the cholera broke out among them, and out of sixty-eight attacked thirteen died, among them John S. Carter, Eber Wilcox and Algernon S. Gilbert, he who was expelled from Independence.

Mr. Gillium published the result of his visit to the "Mormon" camp, and the propositions made by them as stated above, in the *Enquirer*, July 1st, 1834, and the whole country then became acquainted with the purposes and wishes of these worshipers. We quote from this publication the following:

"We wish to become permanent citizens of the State, and bear our proportion in support of the government and to be protected by its laws. If the above propositions are complied with we are willing to give security on our part, and we shall want the same of the people of Jackson County, for the performance of this agreement. We do not wish to settle down in a body, except where we can purchase the land with money; for to take possession by conquest or the shedding of blood is entirely foreign to our feelings. The shedding of blood we shall not be guilty of, until all just and honorable means among men prove insufficient to restore peace."

This declaration was signed by Joseph Smith, Jr., F. G. Williams, then acting president of The Church, Lyman Wright, Roger Orton, Orson Hyde and John S. Carter, all leading men among the "Mormons." It was directed to John Lincoln, John Sconce, George

R. Morehead, James H. Long and James Collins. The "Mormons" also appointed a committee of their number, who drafted an appeal to the people of the United States, in which they set forth the purposes expressed by them in their statement to Mr. Gillium. This appeal was published and scattered abroad, but it is not known what effect it had, other than possibly to exasperate the feeling in Missouri against them.

The message of the governor of Missouri to the general assembly of the State, then in session, communicated on November 20th, 1838, recommended a commission of both houses of the Legislature to inquire into the "Mormon" difficulties. The house, in committee of the whole on the state of the Republic, November 22nd, appointed a select committee of seven to co-operate with such number from the senate as that body might appoint, to inquire into the "causes of said disturbances, and the conduct of the military operations in suppressing them, with power to send for men and papers." The senate, on November 23rd, appointed Messrs. Turner, Noland and Scott, as their part of said committee, thus concurring in the action. This committee reported in the senate, on December 18th, that they had taken the matters submitted to them into consideration, and decided that they "thought it unwise and injudicious under all the circumstances of the case to predicate a report from the papers, documents, etc., purporting to be copies of the evidence taken before an examining court, held in Richmond, Ray County, for the purpose of inquiring into the charges alleged against the people called 'Mormons,' growing out of the difficulties between that people and other citizens of the State."

The reasons given are: The evidence given in that examination was in a great degree *ex parte*, and not of a character to afford a "fair and impartial investigation." The papers had been so certified as to satisfy the committee of their authenticity. There were still charges pending against some of the "Mormons" for treason, murder and other felonies, which charges were to be tried before the courts in the several counties, where such crimes were charged to have been committed. Publication of the evidence and papers referred to might affect seriously the right of trial by a "jury of the vicinage," by prejudicing public sentiment against the accused. Were the

committee to act and send for papers and persons, it might interfere with the action of the courts wherein the suits were pending. For this reason the committee recommended the appointment of a committee, who should, after the adjournment of the assembly, go into the vicinity of the scenes of the difficulties, there to make inquiry and make proper report to the legislature of their inquiry and examination when concluded. Among other reasons given for such recommendation occur these: that the "documents, although serviceable in giving direction to the course of inquiry, are none of them, except the official orders and correspondence, such as ought to be received as conclusive evidence of the facts stated." And that it "would not be proper to publish the official orders and correspondence between the officers in command, and the executive, without the evidence on which they were founded; and that evidence is not sufficiently full and satisfactory to authorize its publication."

The recommendations of the committee were concurred in by the senate, January 10th, and on the 16th Mr. Turner introduced a bill providing such inquiry; making it the duty of the commission when appointed to inquire into the causes of the disturbances. This bill passed after amendment, and being reported to the house was, on February 4th, 1839, laid on the table until July 4th, by 48 to 37.

Pending the expiration of the time for which this bill to inquire into the causes of the disturbance of the peace in the various counties of Clay, Ray and Daviess, the history of the "Mormons" of the State is about as follows:

After the removal from Jackson, and the acceptance of the final decision, nothing further appears of any settlement being attempted in Jackson County by the expelled party, or their brethren. Joseph Smith returned to Kirtland, Ohio, with many others, while some concluded to remain in the, to them, land of Zion; and these settled in and through the counties above named.

Things did not long remain in a peaceful condition, however, and it became apparent that there would again be trouble. To avoid this, if possible, it appears that some of the leading men among the "Mormons" were sent to Richmond, Ray County, and made inquiry as to whether the citizens would be willing that they should settle upon the territory north of and contiguous to the county of Ray, at that

time unorganized. To this no answer was given, and, taking it for granted that no objections would be offered, many removed, and Mr. James M. Hunt, in his "Mormon War," written in 1844, declares that: "Here, for some time, the Prophet concentrated his followers; houses were erected, as if by magic—improvements were prosecuted with such rapidity as to promise a flourishing town and country in a very short time. The country round about was fast being settled, and undergoing improvements—every month bringing swarms of deluded fanatics, to forward the designs of their ambitious leaders."

Settlements were made at Far West; one on Grand River, in Daviess, called Adam-Ondi-Ahman, and one in Carrol County, called DeWitt. At these places says, Hunt, "members gathered, improving town and country rapidly." "It is due the 'Mormons,'" further says this writer, "here to state, that they were an industrious, agricultural people, or at least that portion of them who located in the country round about in the 'stakes,'" as these settlements were called by them.

Between the year 1834 and the beginning of 1838, these settlements, outside of Jackson, continued to thrive, disturbed, possibly, by now and then an outrage or reprisal, such as may occur in newly settled countries among any class of settlers, for which mutual wrongs, attempted redresses were sought before mutual courts, as some of the local minor courts were in the hands of the "Mormons," though the county and superior ones were held by other citizens; and each party claimed that injustice was done them by these courts by reason of partisan bias. The feeling was growing bitter against the "Mormons" on the part of the citizens, and the feelings of injury and resentment began to crystallize into provocation and resentment (especially so with some individuals) on the part of the "Mormons." Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon had settled with their families in the State, and under their direction the people had been organized and armed, more or less efficiently, to repel encroachments and protect themselves, as they stated, from unlawful aggressions. They had been told that the authority of the legislature and executive could not be brought to bear for their defense until remedies at the lesser courts failed them, and then only at the requisition of local civil officers, and had been advised whether judiciously or

otherwise to defend themselves. There grew up some dissensions among themselves: a few, some of the prominent men among them, dissented from the rules of the society and the authority of Messrs. Smith and Rigdon; these were denounced as apostates, and attempts made to drive them out from the society and settlements, which resulted in mutual recrimination and the making public exaggerated accounts of the intentions of the "Mormon" leaders. Some of the brethren who were fanatical or more unwise than others, were guilty of a flagrant excess of language calculated to create suspicion and uneasiness in the minds of those already prejudiced against them as a people. There were some law-breakers among them who committed crimes and were not punished; all of which hastened the impending trouble. These things among themselves, and the constant manifestation of hostility from many of the citizens, lawless and irresponsible, and some of note and ability among the most respectable as well, with occasional depredation upon the "Mormons," resulted in making further peace very improbable.

In June, 1838, Sidney Rigdon preached a sermon, taking strong ground against the dissenters and the Missourians. This sermon was construed as a declaration of war against the apostates and of reprisal against the citizens. Mr. Hunt states that in this state of things, the citizens apprehended wrong-doers against them, but having to go before a "Mormon" justice and jury, they failed and were abused by the "Mormons" for bringing vexatious suits; and that the Gentiles were not idle in "setting afloat their grievances, and probably exaggerating them."

Mr. Rigdon is said to have delivered an oration July 4, 1838, at Far West, before a gathered multitude, which was called a treasonable speech. This oration we have carefully read and can now see that the passages construed as treasonable and dangerous, may have been but the indignant protest against violence that a possible enthusiast might unadvisedly use. They are as follows: "And that mob that comes on us to disturb us, it shall be between us and them a war of extermination; for we will follow them till the last drop of their blood is spilled, or they will have to exterminate us, for we will carry the seat of war to their own houses and their own families, and one party or the other shall be utterly destroyed. Remember it, then,

all men! We will never be the aggressors—we will infringe on the rights of no people, but shall stand for our own till death. We claim our own rights, and are willing that others shall enjoy theirs. No man shall be at liberty to come into our streets, to threaten us with mobs, for if he does, he shall atone for it before he leaves the place; neither shall he vilify or slander any of us, for suffer it we will not in this place. * * * Neither will we indulge any man or set of men, in instituting vexatious law-suits against us to cheat us out of our rights; if they attempt it, we say woe be unto them."

August 1st, at an election in Daviess County, a quarrel ensued between some citizens and "Mormons." One of the latter was badly stabbed, and others on both sides wounded. From this occurrence, rumors flew in every direction. The "Mormons" at Far West were told that several of their number had been killed, and two hundred of them went into Daviess County to inquire into it. They found no one killed; but Mr. Adam Black, a justice of the peace of Daviess County, stated under oath, before John Wright and Elijah Foley, fellow justices, that Mr. Smith and others, to the number of one hundred and fifty-four, exacted from him about August 8, 1838, a written promise to support the Constitution of the State and the United States; and not to support a mob nor attach himself to any mob, nor to molest the "Mormons." To answer to this charge Mr. Smith, L. Wight and others were arrested, and recognized to appear for trial. Other disturbances followed, and upon representation of a deputation of citizens from Daviess County, Major-General Atchison, at the head of a thousand men of the Third Division of militia, went to the scene of trouble. The major-general found the citizens and the "Mormons" in hostile array. He dispersed both parties and reported to the governor, with the further statement that no further depredations were to be feared from the "Mormons." Almost simultaneously disturbances occurred in Carroll and Caldwell counties. The citizens determined to drive the "Mormons" from the State; the "Mormons" refused to be driven. A number of citizens made representations to General Atchison, on September 10th, that the citizens of Daviess had a "Mormon" in custody, as a prisoner, and that the "Mormons" had Messrs. John Comer, Wm. McHamy and Allen Miller prisoners, as hostages. Certain of the "Mormons," and other citizens of Carroll County, peti-

tioned the governor from De Witt, stating the committal of lawless acts against them, among which was the ordering them to leave the county, giving them till October 1st, and asking interference and relief. This was dated September 22, 1838.

From reports filed with the governor, by Generals H. G. Parks, David R. Atchison and A. W. Doniphan, copies of which accompanied the messages of the governor to the assembly, it appears that when the proper authorities appeared on the scene of difficulty, the "Mormons" gave up, not only the prisoners they had taken in reprisal, but their arms, and also the men of their number against whom civil proceedings were pending. General Parks, in a report dated Mill Post, September 25, 1838, states: "Whatever may have been the disposition of the people called 'Mormons,' before our arrival here, since we have made our appearance, they have shown no disposition to resist the laws, or of hostile intention. * * * There has been so much prejudice and exaggeration concerning this matter, that I find things on my arrival here, totally different from what I was prepared to expect. When we arrived here, we found a large body of men from the counties adjoining, armed, and in the field, for the purpose, as I learned, of assisting the people of this county against the 'Mormons,' without being called out by the proper authorities." General Atchison wrote the governor from Liberty, Missouri, September 17, 1838: "I have no doubt your excellency has been deceived by the exaggerated statements of designing or half crazy men. I have found there is no cause of alarm on account of the 'Mormons;' they are not to be feared; they are much alarmed."

Hostile feeling culminated rapidly. The citizens, in absence of the militia, gathered their forces together, and, on the night of October 1st, attacked De Witt. A committee of citizens of Chariton County went into Carroll County, and found De Witt invested by a large force, the "Mormons" in defense and suing for peace, and wishing for the interposition of the civil authorities. They reported October 5, 1838. General Atchison reported October 16th, that the "Mormons" had sold out in Carroll County and left, and that a portion of their assailants were on the march to Daviess County with one piece of artillery, "where, it is thought the same lawless game is to be played over, and the 'Mormons' driven from that county, and

probably from Caldwell." "Nothing, in my opinion," wrote this general in his report, "but the strongest measures within the power of the executive will put down this spirit of mobocracy."

The "Mormons" resisted, and in their turn plundered the store of Jacob Stollings at Gallatin, removing the goods, burned the store and other buildings in that place and Millport. The citizens of Ray, Daviess, Carroll, Jackson, Howard and some other counties gathered, and apprising the governor that the "Mormons," now growing desperate, had become the aggressors, the governor, L. W. Boggs, moved thereto by representations made to him, issued orders to General John B. Clark, placing him in command of all the force necessary, with instruction that he was in receipt of information of the most appalling nature, "which entirely changed the face of things, and places the 'Mormons' in the attitude of an open and armed defiance of the laws, and of having made war upon the people of this State * * * The 'Mormons' must be treated as enemies, and must be exterminated or driven from the State, if necessary for the public peace—their outrages are beyond all description."

In obedience to this order, General Clark, associated with General Lucas, proceeded to the seat of war, and, without much resistance, disbanded the armed forces of the "Mormons," demanded and received their arms, took Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Hyrum Smith and fifty other leading men prisoners for trial upon various charges —high treason against the State, murder, burglary, arson, robbery and larceny. These men were examined before Austin A. King, judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit in the State of Missouri, at Richmond, beginning November 12, 1838. At this examination some were discharged for lack of evidence to hold them, but Joseph Smith, Lyman Wight, Hyrum Smith, Alexander McRae and Caleb Baldwin were held for trial and committed to jail in Clay County; some others were recognized for trial and gave bonds. A further demand was made to the effect that the "Mormons" make an appropriation to pay their debts and the indemnification for the damage to citizens done by them. The property said to have been taken by them was mostly restored upon demand of the officers.

The "Mormons" began leaving at once, and continued to leave until all were gone, except now and then a recalcitrant member, or

one who had some personal friends among the citizens. Many sold out for what they could get, and many were compelled to go without selling at all. Their leaders were taken prisoners, their means of defense, as well as offense, were taken from them by law, and by the will of the citizens, enforced by the order of the governor, some twelve thousand people were driven from the State. The number of killed in this "Mormon" war is stated by the official report of the general in command in the following language: "The whole number of the 'Mormons' killed through the whole difficulty, as far as I can ascertain, are about forty, and several wounded." This is rather a damaging result against the State, after the terrible character given the "Mormons" by those opposed to them, and upon whose reports the governor ordered their suppression. Messrs. Smith, Rigdon and their comrades, in jail at Liberty, took change of venue to Boone County, but the officer charged with their delivery in Boone in his return of the order of removal to Daviess County states that the prisoners escaped. They afterwards reached Illinois in safety.

Such in brief is the history of that strange people called "Mormons," in Missouri; the events succeeding their departure from the county of Jackson and settlements in Ray, Clay, Caldwell, Daviess and other counties, has been hurried over as not properly belonging in our history of Jackson.

After this expulsion from Missouri, the "Mormons" settled in Illinois, where in six years, from 1838 to 1844, they increased rapidly and laid the foundation for a magnificent city. They began the erection of a stone temple upon a sightly location. Trouble followed them, the citizens were again aroused. Process was issued for the arrest of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, on charge of treason; awaiting trial upon which charge in the jail of Hancock County, Illinois, June 27th, 1844, they were attacked and killed by a mob. Two years after that, the "Mormons," under the leadership of Brigham Young, were expelled from Illinois, and Utah and polygamy are the outcome.

There is now in Jackson County a body of people calling themselves Latter-day Saints. They are in fact a branch of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, of which church, Joseph Smith, Jr., the eldest son of Joseph Smith, the puta-

tive father of "Mormonism," is the president. The present headquarters of the church is at Plano, Kendall County, Illinois; where they have a printing house, containing engine, press, type and other facilities for carrying on quite an extensive business. They number some fifteen thousand members now, dispersed through the United States in over four hundred congregations, including branches in Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Salt Lake City and many other prominent cities; and are most numerous in Illinois, Iowa and Missouri. In many places they have houses of worship, which they by the engagement and aid of the citizens have built; one of these buildings is in Independence.

This church, under Mr. Smith's presidency, has kept an active ministry at work in Utah, endeavoring to disabuse the "Mormons" of that Territory of the dogma of polygamy, which they assert to be no part of primitive "Mormonism;" and from the history of the sect during its stay in Missouri from 1835 to 1838, it would appear that these organizers are correct; for not a single charge of such dogma being held or taught appears in the many statements made against them, or in the published orders and reports of the officers engaged in expelling them from the State. They, at all events, oppose the tenet, and are directly antagonizing Utah "Mormonism."

APPENDIX II.

"MORMON" WAR.

(*Taken from the History of Clay County as published in St. Louis by the National Historical Company,* 1885.)

IN 1832 the "Mormons" under their Prophet Joe Smith came into Jackson County, where the previous year large tracts of land had been entered and purchased for their benefit and began to occupy and possess the land with the intention, as they said, of remaining for all time. "But their years in that land were few and full of trouble." They were in constant collision with their Gentile neighbors, who frequently tied them up and whipped them with cowhides and hickory switches, derided their religion, boycotted them where they did not openly persecute them, and at last engaged in a deadly encounter with them, tarred and feathered their bishops; threw their printing press into the river and finally drove them from their homes and out of the county.

Affrighted, terror-stricken, many of the "Mormons" took refuge in Clay County. Every vacant cabin in the south of the county was occupied by the fugitives. Many of them among the men obtained employment with the farmers, some of the women engaged as domestics, others taught school. A few heads of families were able to and did purchase land and homes, but the majority rented. The Clay County citizens treated them kindly and administered to their wants and rendered so many favors that to this day away out in Salt Lake the old "Mormons" hold in grateful remembrance the residents of the county of 1834-6.

An old citizen of Independence has recently published in the Kansas City *Journal* an interesting article on the "Mormon" troubles in Jackson County. One paragraph of this article reads as follows:

True history, however, must record the fact that the deluded

followers of the so-called prophet Joseph Smith, in their first effort to organize and establish a religious, socialistic community in Jackson County, Missouri, were unjustly and outrageously treated by the original settlers. That is seen in the tragical and pitiful scene which occurred during the last part of their sojourn in this their promised inheritance, their Zion and New Jerusalem. With scarcely one exception the old settlers were the aggressors so far as overt acts of hostility were concerned. During the last year of their stay, the continued persecutions to which they were subjected excited the sympathy of many outside the county, especially of the people of Clay County, who gave them an asylum and assistance for a year or two after their expulsion. Indeed, material aid and arms were furnished them by citizens of Clay County before their expulsion. A wagon with a quantity of guns was stopped near the south part of Kansas City and seized by parties on the watch.

The Jackson County people were indignant at the reception given the "Mormons" by the citizens of Clay County and stigmatized some of our citizens as Jack "Mormons," a term yet used. On one occasion a delegation of eleven Jackson County citizens, led by Major S. Owens and James Campbell came over to Liberty to hold a council with the Gentile citizens and "Mormons" of Clay County in regard to the lands from which the "Mormons" had been driven. The title to these lands was in the hands of the "Mormons," but the Gentiles wished to extinguish it by purchase, if it could be obtained at their —the Gentiles'—price. Accordingly, they offered the "Mormons" an insignificant sum for their lands and farms, many of which were already in possession of certain citizens of Jackson County, but this offer was refused. The Clay County people generally endorsed the refusal. Returning home that night in great ill humor with their neighbors on this side of the river, the delegation of Jackson County met with a sad misfortune. As they were crossing the river at Duckins Ferry, about the middle of the river the boat sank and five of them were drowned. Three of the unfortunate men were Ilu Job, James Campbell and —— Everett. The casualty increased the indignation already felt against the people of Clay County.

By the year 1838, all or nearly all of the "Mormons" had left Clay County, and joined the "Mormon" settlement at or near Far

West, or at other points in Caldwell and Daviess counties; and in October of that year the "'Mormon' War" broke out. Among the troops dispatched to Far West during that month were some companies of militia from Clay County, belonging to General Doniphan's brigade, of Major-General D. R. Atchison's division. Two of these companies were commanded by Corporals Prior and O. P. Moss.

Of Captain Prior's company Peter Holtzclaw was first lieutenant. He with twenty-five men from the north part of the county became separated from the main command and did not leave with it. The detachment marched across into Ray County and fell in with the Jackson County regiment, which had refused to march through Clay County owing to the animosity existing, and had crossed the river at Lexington.

All the Clay County men were in line confronting the breastworks when the "Mormon" camp at Far West was surrendered, and witnessed all the proceedings. They saw the white flag pass back and forth from the "Mormons," and saw the robber, Captain Bogard of the Missourians, fire on it; saw the cannoneers stand with lighted matches beside their pieces, having sent word to General Doniphan that they were ready to fire; saw suddenly a white flag go up; saw the "Mormon" battalion march out with "General" G. W. Hinkle, brave as a lion, at its head and form a hollow square and ground arms, and then saw Hinkle ride up to Doniphan, unbuckle his sword and detach his pistols from their holsters and pass them over to his captor, who quietly remarked, "Give them to my adjutant." Then they saw Hinkle dash the tears from his face, and ride back to his soldiers.

The "Mormons" agreed fully to Doniphan's conditions, that they should deliver up their arms, surrender their prominent leaders for trial, and the remainder of them, with their families, leave the State. As hostages, Joe Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, G. W. Hinkle*

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* Hinkle was not among the hostages that were held for the faithful performance of his agreement with the mob, nor did those "hostages" deliver themselves up to the mob; they were betrayed into the hands of their enemies by Hinkle.—*B. H. R.*

and other prominent "Mormons" delivered themselves up to be held for the faithful performance of the hard conditions.*

The "Mormon" leaders were taken before a court of inquiry at Richmond, Judge Austin A. King presiding. He remanded them to Daviess County, to await the action of the grand jury on a charge of treason against the State and murder. The Daviess County jail being poor and insecure, the prisoners were brought to Liberty and confined in the old stone jail (still standing) for some time. Many citizens of the county remember to have seen Joe Smith when he was a prisoner in the old Liberty jail.

In due time indictments for various offenses, treason, murder, resisting legal process, etc., were found against Joe Smith and his brother Hyrum, Sidney Rigdon, G. W. Hinkle, Caleb Baldwin, P. P. Pratt, Luman Gibbs, Maurice Phelps, King Follet, Wm. Osburn, Arthur Morrison, Elias Higbee and others. Sidney Rigdon was released on a writ of habeas corpus, the others requested a change of venue, and Judge King sent their cases to Boone County for trial. On the way from Liberty to Columbia, Joe Smith escaped. It is generally believed the guard was bribed. P. P. Pratt escaped from Columbia jail; the others were either tried and acquitted, or the cases against them were dismissed. The entire proceedings in the cases were disgraceful in the extreme. There never was a handful of evidence that the accused were guilty of the crimes with which they were charged. Those who were tried were defended by General Doniphan and James S. Rollins.—pp. 132–5.

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* Colonel Lewis Wood of this county, who was present, states to the compiler that at a council of the leading militia officers held the night following the surrender, it was voted by nearly three to one to put these leaders to death, and their lives were only saved by the intervention of General Doniphan, who not only urged his authority as brigadier, but declared he would defend the prisoners with his own life.—*N. H. C.*

APPENDIX III.

THE "MORMONS."

(*History of Daviess County, by D. L. Kort.*)

THIS sect of professed Christians, whose history is but a burlesque upon the pure morality of the meek and lowly, but glorious Nazarene, came to this country in 1836. Their chief settlement was in Far West, in Caldwell County, where their apostle, Joseph Smith, and all their chief dignitaries resided. Here in 1838 the corner stone of the temple was laid, with great ceremony and not a little deception; for Smith had foretold that the rock, which was of great size, would move at his command. This it apparently did do, but actually by means of ropes and pulleys worked through a concealed trench, by men at a distance.

The temple was to occupy a large square in the centre of the town, and was approached by four main streets, each one hundred feet wide, and was to exceed in magnificence any edifice in the United States. The temple was never built, but Far West attained a population of three thousand inhabitants, and was for some years the county seat of Caldwell County. Now, however, not one stone is left upon another, and the farmer's plow turns up their once busy streets and desecrates their holy ground.

In our own county their chief point was a place still known as "Diamond," but by the "Mormons" called Adam-ondi-Ahman, which we believe means "the grave of Adam." This place is the old Dr. Craven's farm now, owned and occupied by Major McDonald, and lies about three and a half miles northwest of Gallatin. It is a romantic spot, on the east bluff, overlooking the valley of Grand River; and to this day, owing perhaps to fissures in the underlying rock, the observer may behold the greasy cactus-lined walks of their "garden of Eden; laid off with almost mathematical precision. Adam's

Grave is at the edge of the garden, and is a small mound of broken limestone, gravel and soil intermixed. From Diamond to Far West the "Mormons" had a very fair road, and all along it and interspersed throughout the county were many settlers of their faith.

A trace of wandering, a track of blood and temple building are the principal features in the history of this deluded people, deluded by a film so thin that even sense might see beyond. Taking their rise in the south of New York they soon migrated to Kirtland, Ohio, then to Jackson County, Missouri, then to Clay County, then to Daviess and Caldwell, then to Nauvoo, Illinois, and thence across the plains to Salt Lake, and even now there are rumors of another removal. In all these places they began to build a temple, and in all except the first they left the marks of blood, either their own or shed by them. The "Mormons" have always claimed that they were peaceable and law-abiding; yes, peaceable when not resisted in their outrages, law-abiding when obeying the laws of their prophet.

They have always claimed that they never shed blood only when attacked: but this is stark falsehood, as, witness the work of their Danite Destroying Angels, Mountain Meadow Massacre; and even the attacks they complain of were always induced by their infamous conduct.

The first cardinal principle in the tenets of their religion, as exemplified among our people, was: "The Lord has given the earth and the fullness thereof to his saints," the next was, "We are his saints." Thus armed and equipped and incited by their leaders, they roamed through the county, took whatever pleased their fancy, carried it to Diamond and placed it in the "Lord's storehouse." Nothing was safe, nothing was exempt from their rapacity, and our sturdy pioneers were justly indignant and panting for revenge. With them the "Mormon" war meant business, and we find the county court on the sixth of March, 1839, allowing an account of twenty-one dollars for powder and lead furnished the county during the "Mormon" war. So great was the numerical superiority of the "Mormons" that the citizens dared offer no resistance, but were simply at their mercy. On the 13th of October, 1838, the "Mormon" Legion formed their line of battle in front of the few houses in Gallatin, and ordered the citizens to leave at once. From there

the legion proceeded to Millport and issued the same order. That night the citizens fled by the light of their burning homes, the principal part going to Livingston County. When they burned Gallatin the "Mormons" robbed the treasury: true, they did not find much money, but they took what they could lay their hands on. Shortly after this the State militia, under General Parks, entered the county, and the people arose en masse to assist him. Diamond, containing perhaps five hundred souls, surrendered without resistance. About the same time Smith himself surrendered Far West, and the war was over.

At the April term, 1839, of our circuit court, indictments for treason, arson, riot, burglary, and a host of other crimes were found against Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Lyman Wight, Caleb Baldwin, Alexander McRae, W. S. Slade, H. H. B. Belt, Eli Bagley, Wm. Aldridge, Alanson Ripley, Amos Lubbs, Perry Durphery, John Lehomon and many others. Most of them were released on bail, which they forfeited, but Smith and the rest of the leaders, being refused bail, took a change of venue to Boone County, to which place the sheriff was ordered to convey them under military guard. On the way the prisoners effected their escape, it is claimed, by bribing their guard.

During the time between the surrender of the "Mormons" and the finding of the indictments against them, they had been in custody in Clay County, and a claim of four hundred and eighty dollars for guarding them in Liberty jail was presented to our county court, but disallowed. The claimants obtained a temporary writ of mandamus, which was venued to Caldwell County, and finally passed into oblivion. The general assembly on the eleventh day of December, 1838, appropriated two thousand dollars to relieve the suffering in Daviess and Caldwell caused by this "Mormon" war. This was for the relief of "Mormons" as well as others, and M. T. Green was appointed relief commissioner for this county.

APPENDIX IV.

CALDWELL COUNTY.

(By Crosby Johnson.)

MORMON emigration.—Shortly prior to the organization of the county, the "Mormons," driven from Jackson County, sent J. Whitmer and others to select a home in the wilderness. Far West was chosen, which was approved by The Church authority.

Far West.—The site chosen for Far West was a high, rolling prairie, visible for a long distance from all directions. The plat of the town as laid off embraced a square mile, to-wit: Northeast quarter, section fifteen; northwest quarter, sction fourteen; southeast quarter, section ten; southwest quarter, section eleven. In the center of the town a large square was left as a site for a temple which it was their design to erect. The square was approached by four main streets, each a hundred feet wide. * * * As its population increased, additions to the town were laid out. At the time of the "Mormon" war the population of Far West was about two thousand five hundred, and it was the largest town in the State north of the Missouri.

"Mormon" War.—The "Mormons" as a people were honest, sober and industrious, but the object of the leaders was to make money and obtain power. Joe Smith and his brother Hyrum, with The Church funds, purchased of the government large tracts of land around Far West, which they did not scruple to sell to their followers at exorbitant prices. When the leaders set the example of speculating in the devotion of the people, it is scarcely to be wondered at if the subordinates went to greater extremes to fill their purses, and if they had but little respect for their obligations to each other, they had less for the laws of the State or the rights of their Gentile neighbors. Some

of their daring leaders taught the doctrine that the Lord had given the earth and the fullness thereof as an inheritance to his people, and they were his people and had a right at pleasure to take what pleased their appetite or fancy. At the time of the difficulties in Jackson County, Joe Smith organized a band of men called the army of Zion, to protect his people against the attacks of their enemies. Among these were many who were too lazy to earn a living by the sweat of their brow. Desperado and vagabond joined his band for the purpose of plundering. Squads of them strolled about the county threatening the men, intimidating the women, and appropriating in the name of the prophet any property which pleased their taste. As the "Mormons" largely outnumbered the Gentiles, they elected to all offices of honor and trust persons of their own faith. Smith was careful that the persons selected should be subservient to the will of himself and his apostles. The Gentiles declared it was impossible for them to get a fair hearing before the "Mormon" magistrates and juries; that the trials were farces: that the leaders taught and the members acted on the principle that a Gentile had no rights that a "Mormon" was bound to respect, and that not the merits of the cause, but the creeds of the contestants determined which way the scales should turn.

Whether these complaints were true or false, they were believed by many and naturally excited deep indignation against the "Mormons." Tales of debauchery, theft and murder were told of them, and their expulsion from the county demanded. These bitter feelings engendered broils and riots. Crowds of excited fanatics pelted obnoxious Gentiles on the streets of Far West with clubs and stones. In retaliation armed Gentiles rode into public meetings where their lawless conduct was being denounced, seized the speakers and applied the lash until the blood trickled down their backs. Both sides ceased to resort to legal methods in the enforcement of their rights.

Amid so much excitement and insubordination the civil authorities were powerless to enforce the laws and punish offenses.

Finally, in 1838, the disorder became so great and outrages so frequent that the State authorities felt it their duty to interfere. Governor Boggs issued a proclamation calling out the militia to aid in restoring order and enforcing the laws. The generals in command were Generals John B. Clark, David R. Atchison, A. W. Doniphan.

General Doniphan's brigade removed to Far West. The main body of the army of Zion under the command of G. M. Hinkle, whom Smith designated as commander in chief of the "Mormon" forces, was held in reserve to act as emergencies might require. Smaller forces were thrown forward to guard the approaches from the south and the east.

Haun's Mill.—On the thirtieth of October an engagement was fought at Haun's Mill on Shoal Creek, south of Beckenridge. At that point a "Mormon" outpost entrenched in the mill and a blacksmith shop was attacked by the Livingston County militia under Captain Comstock. After a brief struggle the "Mormons" threw down their arms in token of surrender, but one of the militia men, being savagely wounded, his comrades were so enraged that their officer was unable to check them until eighteen of the "Mormons" were killed and a number wounded. Haun, the proprietor of the mill, was killed and with the rest of the dead buried in a well that stood near by.

"Mormon" Exodus.—The surrender took place in November. The days were cold and bleak, but the clamor for the instant removal of the "Mormons" was so great that the old and young, the sick and feeble, delicate women and suckling children, almost without food and without clothing were compelled to abandon their homes and firesides to seek new homes in a distant State. Valuable farms were sold for a yoke of oxen, an old wagon or anything that would furnish means of transportation. Many of the poorer classes were compelled to walk. Before half their journey was accomplished the chilly blasts of winter howled about them and added to their general discomfort. The suffering they endured on this forced march though great, was soon forgotten in the prosperity of Nauvoo, their new asylum. Their trials and sufferings instead of dampening the ardor of the Saints, increased it ten fold. "The blood of the martyrs became the seed of The Church."

The exodus of the "Mormons" reduced the population of the county from six thousand to less than one thousand; but the deserted farms and houses offered inducements to emigration that were not despised and new settlers rapidly filled the places of the departed ones.

Visions.—If that strang people who built Nauvoo and Salt Lake, who uncomplainingly toiled across the American Desert and made the

wilderness of Utah bloom like a garden, had been permitted to remain and perfect the work which they had begun here, how different would have been the history of Far West. Instead of being a farm with scarcely sufficient ruins to mark the spot where it once stood, there would have been a rich populous city, along the streets of which would be pouring the wealth of the world, and instead of an old dilapidated farm house there would have been magnificent temples, to which devout Saints from the farthest corners of the world would have made their yearly pilgrimages. But the bigotry and intolerance of the Saints toward the Gentiles and especially toward dissenters from the new revelations of Joe Smith, rendered such a consummation impossible.

APPENDIX V.

"MORMON" DIFFICULTIES.

(*History of Missouri, Union Historical Society*, 1881.)

IN 1832, Joseph Smith, the leader of the "Mormons," and the chosen prophet and apostle, as he claimed, of the Most High, came with many followers to Jackson County, Missouri, where they located and entered several thousand acres of land.

The object of his coming so far west—upon the very outskirts of civilization at that time—was to more securely establish his Church, and the more effectively to instruct his followers in its peculiar tenets and practices.

Upon the present town site of Independence the "Mormons" located their "Zion," and gave it the name of "New Jerusalem." They published here *The Evening Star*, and made themselves generally obnoxious to the Gentiles who were then in a minority, by their denunciatory articles through their paper, their clannishness and their polygamous practices.*

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*Although the work from which the above record is quoted is quite a pretentious history consisting of 1006 pages, yet it apparently has no regard for consistency of statement, for while it is said on page 47, that this Church (of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—"Mormon") made themselves generally obnoxious by their polygamous practices, on page 269 the following occurs, speaking of the difference between the so-called Josephite Church, who now have a congregation and church building in Independence, Mo., and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: "This church, * * * (i. e., Josephite Church,) has kept an active ministry at work in Utah, endeavoring to disabuse the 'Mormons' of that Territory of the dogma of polygamy, which they assert to be no part of primitive Mormonism; and from

Dreading the demoralizing influence of a paper which seemed to be inspired only with hatred and malice toward them, the Gentiles threw the press and type into the Missouri River, tarred and feathered one of their Bishops, and otherwise gave the "Mormons" and their leaders to understand that they must conduct themselves in an entirely different manner if they wished to be left alone.

After the destruction of their paper and press, they became furiously incensed, and sought many opportunities for retaliation. Matters continued in an uncertain condition until the 31st of October, 1833, when a deadly conflict occurred near Westport, in which two Gentiles and one "Mormon" were killed.

On the second of November following the "Mormons" were overpowered and compelled to lay down their arms and agree to leave the county with their families by January 1st on the condition that the owner would be paid for his printing press.

Leaving Jackson County, they crossed the Missouri and located in Clay, Carroll, Caldwell and other counties, and selected in Caldwell County a town site, which they called "Far West," and where they entered more land for their future homes.

Through the influence of their missionaries, who were exerting themselves in the east and in different portions of Europe, converts had constantly flocked to their standard, and Far West, and other "Mormon" settlements, rapidly prospered.

In 1837 they commenced the erection of a magnificent temple but never finished it. As their settlements increased in numbers they became bolder in the practices and deeds of lawlessness.

During the summer of 1838, two of their leaders settled in the town of DeWitt, on the Missouri River, having purchased the land from an Illinois merchant. DeWitt was in Carroll County, and a good point from which to forward goods and emigrants to their town—Far West.

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the history of the sect during its stay in Missouri from 1835 to 1838, it would appear that these organizers are correct; for not a single charge of such dogma being held or taught appears in the many statements made against them, or in the published orders and reports of the officers engaged in expelling them from the State."

Upon its being ascertained that these parties were "Mormon" leaders the Gentiles called a public meeting, which was addressed by some of the prominent citizens of the county. Nothing, however, was done at this meeting, but at a subsequent meeting, which was held a few days afterward, a committee of citizens was appointed to notify Colonel Hinkle (one of the "Mormon" leaders at De Witt,) what they intended to do.

Colonel Hinkle upon being notified by this committee became indignant, and threatened extermination to all who should attempt to molest him or the Saints.

In anticipation of trouble, and believing that the Gentiles would attempt to force them from De Witt, "Mormon" recruits flocked to the town from every direction, and pitched their tents in and around the town in great numbers.

The Gentiles, nothing daunted, planned an attack upon this encampment, to take place on the 21st of September, 1838, and, accordingly, one hundred and fifty men bivouacked near the town on that day. A conflict ensued, but nothing serious occurred.

The "Mormons" evacuated their works and fled to some log houses, where they could the more successfully resist the Gentiles, who had in the meantime returned to their camp to await reinforcements. Troops from Howard, Ray and other counties came to their assistance, and increased their number to five hundred men.

Congreve Jackson was chosen brigadier-general; Ebenezer Price, colonel; Singleton Vaughn, lieutenant-colonel, and Sashel Woods, major. After some days of discipline, this brigade prepared for an assault, but before the attack was commenced Judge James Earickson and William F. Dunnica, influential citizens of Howard County, asked permission of General Jackson to let them try and adjust the difficulties without bloodshed.

It was finally agreed that Judge Earickson should propose to the "Mormons" that, if they would pay for all the cattle they had killed belonging to the citizens, and load their wagons during the night and be ready to move by ten o'clock next morning, and make no further attempt to settle in Howard County, the citizens would purchase at first cost their lots in DeWitt, and one or two adjoining tracts of land.

Colonel Hinkle, the leader of the "Mormons," at first refused all attempts to settle the difficulties in this way, but finally agreed to the proposition.

In accordance therewith, the "Mormons," without further delay, loaded, up their wagons for the town of Far West, in Caldwell County. Whether the terms of the agreement were ever carried out, on the part of the citizens, it is not known.

The "Mormons" had doubtless suffered much and in many ways—the result of their own acts—but their trials and sufferings were not at an end.

In 1838 the discord between the citizens and the "Mormons" became so great that Governor Boggs issued a proclamation ordering Major-General David R. Atchison to call the militia of his division to enforce the laws. He called out a part of the first brigade of the Missouri State Militia, under the command of General A. W. Doniphan, who proceeded to the seat of war. General John B. Clark, of Howard County, was placed in command of the militia.

The "Mormon" forces numbered about 1,000 men, and were led by G. W. Hinkle. The first engagement occurred at Crooked River, where one "Mormon" was killed. The principle fight took place at Haun's Mill, where eighteen "Mormons" were killed and the balance captured, some of them being killed after they had surrendered. Only one militiaman was wounded.

In the month of October, 1838, Joe Smith surrendered the town of Far West to General Doniphan, agreeing to his conditions, viz: That they should deliver up their arms, surrender their prominent leaders for trial, and the remainder of the "Mormons" should, with their families, leave the State. Indictments were found against a number of these leaders including Joe Smith, who, while being taken to Boone County for trial, made his escape, and was afterward, in 1844, killed at Carthage, Illinois, with his brother Hyrum.

THE

RISE AND FALL OF NAUVOO.

BY ELDER B. H. ROBERTS,

AUTHOR OF "OUTLINES OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY," "A NEW WITNESS FOR GOD," "THE MISSOURI PERSECUTIONS," "THE GOSPEL," "SUCCESSION IN THE PRESIDENCY," ETC.

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PREFACE.

THE RISE AND FALL OF NAUVOO is a companion volume and stands in historical sequence to "The Missouri Persecutions." It was written with the same object in view, *viz.*, "To place in the hands of the youth of the Latter-day Saints a full statement of the persecutions endured by the early members of The Church in this last dispensation; * * * that they may be made acquainted with the sacrifices which their fathers have made for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ." And I indulge the same hope with reference to this book that I did with respect to "The Missouri Persecutions," *viz.*, that by "becoming acquainted with the story of the sufferings of the early Saints, the faith of the Gospel will become all the more dear to the hearts of their immediate posterity, and all the youth of Zion, for many generations to come."*

THE AUTHOR.

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*See Preface to "The Missouri Persections."

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INTRODUCTION.

Once in an ancient city, * * *
Raised aloft on a column, a brazen statue of Justice
Stood in the public square, upholding the scales in its left hand,
And in its right hand a sword, as an emblem that justice presided
Over the laws of the land, and the hearts and the homes of the people.
But in the course of time the laws of the land were corrupted;
Might took the place of right, and the weak were oppressed, and the mighty—
Ruled with an iron rod.—*Evangeline.*

QUEEN ANNE'S war was brought to a close by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713. By this treaty the French province, Nova Scotia, was ceded by France to England; and, of course, the inhabitants, nearly exclusively French, and numbering some three thousand, became subjects of Great Britain. Less than half a century later, when the French and Indian war broke out, the French population had increased to eighteen thousand—outnumbering the English three to one. In fact the presence of the English amounted to nothing more than a military occupation of the peninsula. These French peasants, usually called Acadians, had brought under cultivation large tracts of land; owned about sixty thousand head of cattle; had built neat cottage homes, established peaceful hamlets, and lived in a state of

plenty, but great simplicity. They were reputed to be a peaceable, industrious, and amiable race; governed mostly by their pastors, who exercised a paternal authority over them.

Thus dwelt together in love these simple Acadian farmers—
Dwelt in the love of God and of man. Alike were they free from
Fear, that reigns with the tyrant, and envy, the vice of republics.
Neither locks had they to their doors, nor bars to their windows;
But their dwellings were open as day, and the hearts of their owners;
There the richest were poor, and the poorest lived in abundance.

When the French and Indian war broke out, these people were quietly cultivating their farms, and manifested no warlike disposition. Still, the deputy governor of the province, Lawrence by name, pretended to fear an insurrection, should the French in Canada attempt an invasion of Acadia. Therefore when General Braddock met in council with the colonial governors at Alexandria, Lawrence urged the assembly to do something to overawe the French, and strengthen the English authority. A plan to humiliate the Acadians was decided upon, and placed in the hands of the infamous deputy governor, Lawrence, and Colonel Monckton to execute.

A fleet of forty vessels with three thousand regular troops on board, left Boston in May, 1755, and after a successful voyage anchored in Chignecto Bay. Landing their troops, they besieged Fort Beau-Sejour, which had been erected by the French, on the isthmus connecting Nova Scotia with New Brunswick. After a feeble resistance the fort capitulated, and in less than a month, with the loss of only twenty men, the English had made themselves masters of the whole country. The inglorious campaign was ended, but the fact still existed that the obnox-

ious Acadians outnumbered the English; and the question remained as it was before the invasion. The deputy governor convened a council "to consider what disposal of the Acadians the security of the country required." The result of the deliberations was this: The security of the country required the banishment of the entire French population!

Lawrence and his associates soon invented a scheme which furnished an excuse for carrying into effect this infamous order. An oath of allegiance was formulated to which the Acadians as consistent Catholics could not subscribe, without doing violence to their consciences. They refused to take the oath, but declared their loyalty to the English government. This they were told was insufficient. At one fell stroke they were adjudged guilty of treason, and the surrender of their boats and firearms demanded. To these acts of tyranny the Acadians submitted. They even offered to take the oath first required of them, but the deputy governor said the day of grace was past; that once having refused to take it, they must now endure the consequences.

Their lands, houses and cattle were declared forfeited; their peaceful hamlets were laid waste; their houses given to the flames; the fruits of years of honest industry and strict economy were wantonly destroyed, and the people driven to the larger coast towns. In one district two hundred and thirty-six houses were burned to the ground at once. Part of the inhabitants who had escaped to the woods beheld all they possessed wickedly destroyed by bands of marauders, without making any resistance until their place of worship was wantonly set on fire. Exasperated by this unhallowed deed, they rushed from their

hiding places, killed about thirty of the incendiaries, and retreated to the woods.

To render this scheme of tyrannical banishment completely effective, further treachery was necessary. In each district the people were commanded to meet at a certain place and day on important business, the nature of which was carefully concealed from them, until they were assembled and surrounded by English troops; then the inhuman edict of banishment was announced to the heart-broken peasants. Very little time was allowed them for preparation. In mournful crowds they were driven to the beach. Women with white faces pressed their babes to their hearts; children dumb with terror clung to their parents; the aged and the infirm as well as the young and strong shared the common fate.

At the large village of Grand Pre, when the moment for embarkation arrived, the young men, who were placed in the front, refused to move; but files of troops with fixed bayonets forced obedience. As soon as they were on board the British shipping, heavy columns of black smoke ascending from Grand Pre announced to the wretched Acadians the destruction of their lovely village.

The embarkation of these peasants, and the burning of Grand Pre is thus described by Longfellow:

Thus to the Gaspereau's mouth moved on that mournful procession.
There disorder prevailed, and the tumult and stir of embarking.
Busily plied the freighted boats; and in the confusion
Wives were torn from their husbands, and mothers, too late, saw their children

Left on the land, extending their arms with wildest entreaties.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Suddenly rose from the South a light, as in Autumn the blood red
Moon climbs the crystal walls of heaven, and o'er the horizon
Titan-like, stretches its hundred hands upon mountain and meadow,
Seizing the rocks and the rivers, and piling huge shadows together;
Broader and ever broader it gleamed on the roofs of the village,
Gleamed on the sky and the sea, and the ships that lie in the road-
stead.
Columns of shining smoke uprose and flashes of flame were
Thrust through their folds and withdrawn, like the quivering hands
of a martyr.
Then as the winds seized the gleeds and the burning thatch, and,
uplifting,
Whirled them aloft through the air, at once from a hundred house-
tops
Started the sheeted smoke with flashes of flame intermingled.
These things beheld in dismay the crowd on the shore and on ship-
board.
Speechless at first they stood, then cried aloud in their anguish,
"*We shall behold no more our homes in the village of Grand Pre.*'

The property which had before escaped the hands of the spoilers was now laid waste on the plea of discouraging the return of the exiles, who, through their blinding tears, saw the land of their homes and their hopes fade from view.

No preparations had been made for their settlement elsewhere; nor did they receive any compensation for their property from which they were forced, or that had been wickedly destroyed. In a starving and penniless state, they were put ashore in small groups at different points along the coast of

New England, where many of them perished through the hardships they endured. A pathetic representation of their wrongs was addressed to the English government, and by reference to solemn treaties made between them and the provincial government, they proved their banishment to be "as faithless as it was cruel." "No attention, however," says Marcus Wilson, "was paid to this document, and so guarded a silence was preserved by the government of Nova Scotia upon the subject of the removal of the Acadians, that the records of the province make no allusion whatever to the event."

After the close of the French and Indian war, France ceded all her possessions in Canada to victorious England. The case of the Acadians was again brought before the English government, but no compensation was ever allowed them for the outrages committed against them. The property of which they were ruthlessly plundered was never restored. They were allowed to return to the province, and, on taking the customary oaths, could receive lands; but of the eighteen thousand that were banished, less than two thousand returned:

Still stands the forest primeval; but under the shade of its branches
Dwells another race, with other customs and language.
Only along the shore of the mournful and misty Atlantic
Linger a few Acadian peasants, whose fathers from exile
Wandered back to their native land to die in its bosom.

For such atrocious acts as these, we find no apologist among our historians. On every hand they meet with execration. Such wanton cruelty—such palpable violations of human

rights are stains upon the escutcheon of the nation that permits them to be perpetrated within her borders.

It is quite generally supposed that such atrocious crimes as this against the French peasants of Acadia are only to be met with in former ages or among non-Christian countries. But in writing the history of the Rise and Fall of Nauvoo—strange as it may appear, and almost past believing—it is my task to relate events which have taken place in the nineteenth century, in this age of boasted enlightenment and toleration, that shall make the expulsion of the French peasants from Acadia pale in comparison with them; events which have occurred in the United States, the boasted asylum for the oppressed of all nations; events which would be more in keeping with the intolerance of the dark ages and the cruelty of Spain, during the reign of the inquisition, than in this age and in this nation. What events are these that so thunder in the index? Such deeds as outrage humanity, and well-nigh destroy one's confidence in human governments; mock justice; deride the claims of mercy; and pull down the wrath of an offended God upon the people who perform them, and upon the government which allows them to go unwhipped of justice. Listen to the history of the Rise and Fall of Nauvoo.

THE RISE AND FALL OF NAUVOO.

CHAPTER I.

NAUVOO.

THE history of the Rise and Fall of Nauvoo is worthy the attention of the readers of this book because its story is connected with one of the most important religious movements of this or any other age; and with the life and death of one of the world's greatest and most unique characters, the Prophet Joseph Smith. It is worthy of the reader's attention because the religious institution founded under God by this man—the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—survives him, and presents to the world the greatest religious wonder of the age, a right conception of which cannot be formed without a knowledge of this Nauvoo period of the history of The Church; a period which is essentially a formative one, especially in regard to what may be considered the higher and more complex doctrines of Mormonism. It was in Nauvoo that Joseph Smith reached the summit of his remarkable career. It was in Nauvoo he grew bolder in the proclamation of those doctrines which stamp Mormonism as the great religion of the age. It was in Nauvoo that Joseph Smith's life expanded into that eloquent fullness which gives so much promise of what that man will be in eternity. It was in Nauvoo he contended against a world of opposition; against the power of falsehood and misrepresentation; against priestcraft;

against corruption in high places; from here he corresponded with statesmen, and rebuked demagogues; from here he went to martyrdom—to seal his testimony with his blood. And after his death, it was from here his people fled to the wilderness in the most remarkable exodus of modern times. The Church fled into the wilderness—not, however to be hidden from the world, but to be lifted up on high as an ensign to the nations, to be as a city sitting upon a hill that cannot be hid, but on the contrary, from its lofty eminence challenges the attention of the world. In Illinois, as in Missouri, the religious toleration guaranteed in the Constitutions of both the State of Illinois and of the United States—religious toleration, at once the boast and pride of Americans, and also the test of true enlightenment and the highest civilization—this vaunted toleration was in Nauvoo put to the test and found wanting. That is, before the exodus of The Church from Nauvoo, it became evident that a people accepting what to their neighbors was a singular faith, and one that was unpopular withal, could not live in peace among their fellow-citizens of other faiths, and hence the exodus, not only from Nauvoo but from the entire State of Illinois and also from the United States. The Latter-day Saints, in a word, were expatriated from the United States,* and sought an asylum in the wilderness, and among tribes of savages. From whence, after half a century, that same Church emerges, enlarged, prosperous, more firmly rooted in safety and in strength of faith than ever before—a greater enigma to the religious world than when it made its exodus from Illinois.

All these things have a relation to Nauvoo, for The Church had a sort of second birth there, which makes the Rise and Fall of Nauvoo a theme of peculiar interest to those interested

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* When the Mormon Pioneers arrived in the Salt Lake valley, that whole intermountain region still belonged to the republic of Mexico.

in what the world calls Mormonism. And who is not or should not be interested in a religious movement of such proportions, of such pretensions and of such achievements in the face of such opposition as it has met? * * * * * *

Nauvoo, then, its rise and its fall, is to be the subject of my discourse. The word Nauvoo comes from the Hebrew, and signifies beautiful situation; "carrying with it also," says the Prophet Joseph Smith, "the idea of rest." And, indeed, the location of the city is beautiful. No sooner does one come in view of it than he exclaims, "It is rightly named!" The city, or at least the marred remains of it, stands on a bold point around which sweeps the placid yet majestic "Father of Waters"—the Mississippi. The city is at least half encircled by that noble stream. From its banks the ground rises gradually for at least a mile where it reaches the common level of the prairie that stretches out to the eastward, farther than the eye can reach, in a beautifully undulating surface, once covered by a luxuriant growth of natural grasses and wild flowers, with here and there patches of timber; but now chequered with meadows, and, at the time of my visit, in 1885, with fields of waving corn.

Opposite Nauvoo, on the west bank of the river, the bluffs rise rather abruptly, almost from the water's edge, and are covered, for the most part, with a fine growth of timber. Nestling at the foot of one of the highest of these bluffs, and immediately on the bank of the river, is the little village of Montrose, to which I shall have occasion to refer in these pages. Back of these bluffs before mentioned, roll off the alternate prairie and woodlands of Iowa. Between Montrose and Nauvoo, and perhaps two thirds of the distance across the river from the Illinois side, is an island, from three-fourths of a mile to a mile in length, and from fifty to one or two hundred yards in width, having its greatest extent north and south.

Nauvoo is situated just at the head of what are usually called the Des Moines Rapids, about one hundred and ninety

miles above St. Louis. These rapids were a serious obstacle to the navigation of the Mississippi at this point, in an early day, as in the season of low water they could not be passed by the steamboats plying the river. This difficulty of late, however, has been obviated by the general government building a fine canal, running parallel with the west bank of the river, from Keokuk to Montrose, a distance of twelve or fifteen miles. I was unable to learn the cost of the construction, but judge it must have required at least several millions of dollars.

Such is the location of Nauvoo; such its immediate surroundings. It now remains for me to relate the events which led to the establishment of a thriving city on the site we have briefly described; how it was converted from a sickly wilderness to the most desirable section of the great State of Illinois; and then how, through acts of injustice and treachery, some of its principal founders were murdered and the rest of its inhabitants cruelly driven from the city by mob violence into the wilderness; and how the city sank from its prosperous condition, to become the semi-desolate place it is today; and, what is of more importance, to trace the development of that faith taught by Joseph Smith, which is destined to become, and indeed now is, one of the world's great religions.

CHAPTER II.

THE RECEPTION OF THE EXILES IN ILLINOIS.

IN what is properly a companion volume to this—"The Missouri Persecutions"—I have told how the Latter-day Saints were driven from Missouri under a threat of extermination from the executive of that State, Lilburn W. Boggs. When fleeing from Missouri, where they had suffered so much from mob violence, and from the State government officials, the Mormon exiles crossed the Mississippi into the State of Illinois, at the point near where the city of Quincy is located—in fact, at the Quincy Ferry. Their destitute condition, together with the injustice they had suffered in Missouri—the spectacle of a people in free America being driven from their homes and exiled from one of the States of the American Union because of religious beliefs—aroused the indignation and excited the sympathy of the people of Quincy and vicinity. A kind reception was given to the exiles by the people of this section of Illinois, one very similar to that given to many of the same people by the inhabitants of Clay County, when a cruel persecution had driven some twelve hundred of them from their homes in Jackson County, Missouri, five years before.* The Democratic Association of Quincy was especially active in the interests of the exiles. In the month of February a meeting was called by this association to inquire into the situation of the Mormon exiles. At this first meeting all that

* Missouri Persecutions, Chapter xiv.

was done was to pass a resolution, to the effect that the people called Latter-day Saints were in a situation requiring the aid of the people of Quincy. A committee of eight was appointed to call a general meeting of both citizens and Mormons, and to receive a statement from the latter of their condition, with a view to relieving their necessities. The committee was instructed to get the Congregational church in which to hold the next meeting, but the directors having in charge that building would not allow it to be used for that purpose. I speak of this to show the kind of charity existing in the breasts of some pretended followers of Him who taught that charity was the crowning virtue. Failing to secure the church, the second meeting was held in the courthouse.

At this meeting the special committee appointed at the first meeting reported its labors. The committee had received statements from Sidney Rigdon and others in relation to the expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri, and suggested a series of resolutions setting forth that the exiled strangers were entitled to the sympathy and aid of the people of Quincy;

That a numerous committee, composed of individuals from every part of the town, be appointed to allay the prejudices of the misguided citizens of Quincy, and explain that it was not the design of the exiled Saints to lower the wages of the laboring classes, but to secure something to save them from starvation;

That a standing committee be appointed to relieve, so far as in their power, the wants of the destitute and homeless; and to use their utmost endeavors to procure employment for those who were able and willing to labor.

The report closed by saying:—

We recommend to all the citizens of Quincy that in all their intercourse with the strangers, they use and observe a becoming decorum and delicacy, and be particularly careful not to indulge in

any conversation or expression calculated to wound their feelings, or in any way to reflect upon those who, by every law of humanity, are entitled to our sympathy and commiseration.

This good work begun by the Democratic Association was continued by them, and substantial assistance was given to the suffering Saints through their exertions. At a subsequent meeting of the association the following resolutions were adopted:

That we regard the right of conscience as natural and inalienable, and the most sacredly guaranteed by the Constitution of our free government;

That we regard the acts of all mobs in violation of law; and those who compose them individually responsible, both to the laws of God and man, for every depredation committed upon the property, rights, or life of any citizen;

That the inhabitants upon the western frontier of the State of Missouri, in their late persecution of the people denominated Mormons, have violated the sacred rights of conscience and every law of justice and humanity;

That the governor of Missouri, in refusing protection to this class of people, when pressed upon by a heartless mob, and turning upon them a band of unprincipled militia, with orders encouraging their extermination, has brought a lasting disgrace upon the State over which he presides.

Thus with expressions of sympathy and material aid did the people of Quincy assist the exiles and bid them hope for better days. Nor was this kindly feeling confined to the people of Quincy and vicinity; it extended throughout the State; and especially was it exhibited by some of the leading men thereof, including Governor Carlin, Stephen A. Douglas, Dr. Isaac Galland and many others.

CHAPTER III.

COMMERCE—LAND PURCHASES.

IN the fall of 1838 a brother by the name of Israel Barlow left the State of Missouri under the exterminating order of Governor Boggs. By missing his way, or, what is more likely, directed by the hand of a kind Providence, he did not leave the State by the same route as the great body of his people, but taking a northeasterly course, struck the Des Moines River a short distance above its mouth, in the Territory of Iowa. He was without food and destitute of clothing. Making his wants known to the people living in that locality, they kindly supplied him with food and raiment. To them he related the story of the persecution of the Latter-day Saints in Missouri, and how his people, poor and destitute as himself, were fleeing from the State *en masse*. His relation of the sufferings of the Saints, and the cruelties heaped upon them by their heartless persecutors, enlisted the sympathies of his hearers, and they gave him letters of introduction to several gentlemen, among which was one to Dr. Isaac Galland, a gentleman of some influence living at Commerce, a small settlement on the banks of the Mississippi, in Illinois, and which afterward became the site of Nauvoo.

Dr. Galland owned considerable land in Commerce, and he wrote the Saints located in Quincy that several farms could doubtless be rented in his locality, and that perhaps some fifty families could be accommodated at Commerce. In addition to this offer of lands made to The Church, another and a previous one had been made of twenty thousand acres, between the Des

Moines and the Mississippi rivers. This tract could have been purchased at two dollars per acre, to be paid in twenty annual payments without interest. A conference was convened at Quincy in February, and the advisability of making the purchase and settling the Saints in a body came up for consideration. It was decided by the conference that it was not advisable to locate lands at that time.

Subsequently, however, on the ninth day of March, the Saints having received further offers of land in Illinois and Iowa, called another public meeting and appointed a committee to go and examine the lands offered. In Iowa, the people and officers of the Territory expressed a kindly feeling toward the exiled Saints. The governor of Iowa—Robert Lucas—had known the Saints in Ohio, and testified to Dr. Galland that the Mormon people, when they were in Ohio, were good citizens, and he respected them as such now, and would treat them accordingly, should they, or any part of them, decide to settle in his Territory. The statement is made in answer to a letter of inquiry on the subject of the Mormons settling in Iowa. He wrote to Dr. Isaac Galland as follows:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, IOWA, BURLINGTON
March. 1839.

DEAR SIR —On my return to this city, after a few weeks' absence in the interior of the Territory, I received your letter of the 25th ultimo, in which you give a short account of the sufferings of the *people called Mormons*, and ask "whether they could be permitted to purchase lands, and settle upon them, in the Territory of Iowa, and there worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences, secure from oppression," etc.

In answer to your inquiry, I would say, that I know of no authority that can constitutionally deprive them of this right. They are citizens of the United States, and are entitled to all the rights and privileges of other citizens. The 2nd section of the 4th Article of the Constitution of the United States (which all are solemnly

bound to support), declares that the "citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States." This privilege extends in full force to the Territories of the United States. The first Amendment to the Constitution of the United States declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

The Ordinance of Congress of the 13th July, 1787, for the government of the Territory northwest of the river Ohio, secures to the citizens of said Territory, and the citizens of the States thereafter to be formed therein, certain privileges which were, by the late Act of Congress organizing the Territory of Iowa, extended to the citizens of this Territory.

The first fundamental Article in that Ordinance, which is declared to be forever unalterable, except by common consent, reads as follows, to-wit: "No person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship, or religious sentiments in said Territory."

These principles, I trust, will ever be adhered to in the Territory of Iowa. They make no distinction between religious sects. They extend equal privileges and protection to all; each must rest upon its own merits, and will prosper in proportion to the purity of its principles, and the fruit of holiness and piety produced thereby.

With regard to the peculiar people mentioned in your letter, I know but little. They had a community in the northern part of Ohio for several years; and I have no recollection of ever having heard in that State of any complaints against them from violating the laws of the country. Their religious opinions, I consider, has nothing to do with our political transactions. They are citizens of the United States, and are entitled to the same political rights and legal protection that other citizens are entitled to.

The foregoing are briefly my views on the subject of your inquiries.

With sincere respect,

I am your obedient servant,

ROBERT LUCAS.

To ISAAC GALLAND, Esq., Commerce, Illinois.

This communication Dr. Galland sent to the Quincy *Argus*, accompanied by the following note:

COMMERCE, ILLINOIS,
April 12, 1839.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—Enclosed I send you a communication from Governor Lucas of Iowa Territory. If you think the publication thereof will in any way promote the cause of justice, by vindicating the slandered reputation of the people called Mormons, from the ridiculous falsehoods which the malice, cupidity and envy of their murderers in Missouri have endeavored to heap upon them, you are respectfully solicited to publish it in the *Argus*. The testimony of Governor Lucas as to the good moral character of these people, I think will have its deserved influence upon the people of Illinois, in encouraging our citizens in their humane and benevolent exertions to relieve this distressed people, who are now wandering in our neighborhoods without comfortable food, raiment, or a shelter from the pelting storm.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
ISAAC GALLAND.

In conversation with Dr. Galland, Isaac Van Allen, Esq., attorney-general for the same Territory (Iowa), gave him to understand that he would, so far as within his power, protect the Mormon people from insult and injury. It was these assurances of sympathy and protection which led to a reconsideration of the conclusion of the former conference, and the appointment of a committee to examine the lands offered. But little or nothing was ever done by this committee.

On the twenty-second of April, 1839, the Prophet Joseph joined the exiled Saints at Quincy. After a cruel imprisonment of over five months, he had escaped from his persecutors while en route from Liberty prison, Clay County, to Columbia, Boone County, to which he and his companions in prison had taken a change of venue for trial. The guards got drunk and

were evidently willing for their prisoners to escape. At any rate, the Prophet, in stating the circumstance in his history, says: "We thought it a favorable opportunity to make our escape; knowing that the only object of our enemies was our destruction; and likewise knowing that a number of our brethren had been massacred by them on Shoal Creek, amongst whom were two children; and they had sought every opportunity to abuse others who were left in the State; and that they were never brought to an account for their barbarous proceedings, but were winked at and encouraged by those in authority. We thought that it was necessary for us, inasmuch as we loved our lives, and did not wish to die by the hand of murderers and assassins; and inasmuch as we loved our families and friends, to deliver ourselves from our enemies." And so the Prophet and his companions escaped and arrived in Quincy as already stated.

I need not stop to undertake a description of the scenes of this exiled people welcoming their youthful Prophet into their midst, after such trials as they had passed through, in which the strength of each man's soul and love for his brethren had been tested. The Saints had seen their Prophet and his fellow prisoners betrayed into the hands of a merciless enemy, and knew that a court-martial of the Missouri State militia had condemned him and his companions to be shot in the public square at Far West. They had seen him and his fellow-prisoners torn away from their parents and families, and their people, under circumstances the most distressing. They had been told by the haughty commander-in-chief of the mob militia forces which invested Far West—General Clark—that the doom of their leaders was sealed, and they need not expect, nor even let it enter into their hearts that they would be permitted to see them again. Many of them had seen him chained like a felon, standing before unjust judges, whose hearts were filled to overflowing with hatred towards him. Contrary to every principle

of justice, he had been sent to languish in prison in the midst of his enemies; while they themselves, with bursting hearts and blinding tears, were compelled to sign away their lands and homes at the muzzle of the musket and flee from the Christian State of Missouri, under the exterminating order issued by Governor Boggs. Yet in all these trials, from the dangers of the murderous militia camps, from the malice of corrupt courts, and the injustice of drunken juries, and at last from the prison's gloom, a kind Providence had delivered him, and he was again in their midst, again with them to still their fears and direct their movements.

His presence was the signal for action. He arrived in Quincy on the 22nd of April. The day following he spent in greeting his friends, and receiving visits from the brethren; but on the twenty-fourth he called and presided over a conference, at which, in connection with Bishop Knight and Alanson Ripley, he was appointed to go to Iowa to select a place for the gathering of the exiled Saints. The conference also advised the brethren, who could do so, to go to Commerce and locate in Dr. Galland's neighborhood.

On the first of May the committee purchased a farm of one hundred and thirty-five acres, for which they agreed to pay five thousand dollars; also another and a larger farm of Dr. Galland for nine thousand dollars. The committee desired that these farms should be deeded to Alanson Ripley, but Sidney Rigdon, manifesting a rather sour disposition, said that no committee should control any property that he had anything to do with. So the purchase made of Dr. Galland was deeded to Sidney Rigdon's son-in-law, G. W. Robinson, with the understanding that he should deed it to The Church as soon as it was paid for according to the contract. This was the first purchase of lands made in Commerce. The place is thus described by Joseph: "When I made the purchase of White and Galland,

there was one stone house, three frame houses, and two block-houses, which constituted the whole city of Commerce."

This small collection of houses was immediately on the banks of the river, and scattered between them and what afterwards became the south part of the city of Nauvoo, were one stone and three log houses. It was one of these humble dwellings that Joseph moved into on the tenth of May, 1839. Back some distance from the river, however, were other dwellings scattered over the country, one of which was the home of Daniel H. Wells, a justice of the peace for the district of Commerce, and who afterwards became a prominent Church leader, one of the counselors, in fact, in the First Presidency of The Church.

Later, when referring to the purchase of lands about Commerce, the Prophet Joseph said:

> The place was literally a wilderness. The land was mostly covered with trees and bushes, and much of it was so wet that it was with the utmost difficulty that a footman could get through, and totally impossible for teams. Commerce was unhealthy, very few could live there; but believing that it might become a healthy place by the blessing of heaven to the Saints, and no more eligible place presenting itself, I considered it wisdom to make an attempt to build up a city.

Having spoken of the first purchase of lands at Commerce, it may not be amiss here to say that subsequently more extensive purchases were made of Dr. Galland and Messrs. Hubbard, Wells, Hotchkiss and others. Considerable difficulty and embarrassment to Joseph personally and to The Church in general arose over misunderstandings about the Hotchkiss land purchase. Hotchkiss sold to Joseph for The Church upwards of five hundred acres of land in Commerce, for which he was to receive fifty-three thousand five hundred dollars, half to be paid in ten years, and the remainder in twenty years. This amount was secured to Hotchkiss & Company by two notes, one payable

in ten years and the other in twenty, signed by Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith and Sidney Rigdon. The difficulty connected with this extensive land purchase arose from some exchanges that were made of property in the east, by some of the Saints, for its equivalent in value in land out of the Hotchkiss purchase in Commerce; the matter, however, was finally amicably settled.

The terms on which Dr. Galland let The Church have lands were extremely advantageous to the Saints. He sold at a reasonable rate, and on long credit, that the people might not be distressed in paying for the inheritance they purchased. In addition to the first purchase, he exchanged lands with the Saints in the vicinity of Commerce for lands in Missouri, to the value of eighty thousand dollars. And he gave them a good title to the same. He is described as a man of literary attainments and extensive information and influence. All of which he used for the good of the exiled Saints in giving them a standing among his friends. Finally he joined The Church, thus casting his lot with the exiled people he had assisted, and from that time until his death, partook of their joys and their sorrows; shared their fortunes and reverses.

In addition to these land purchases, The Church made others; some of them even more extensive than those already mentioned. The village of Nashville, in Lee County, Iowa, and twenty thousand acres of land adjoining, was bought, though upon what terms the purchase was made cannot be learned. Another purchase also in Iowa was made by Bishop Knight, and a settlement was started there called Zarahemla, which was opposite Nauvoo. This place was organized into a stake* of

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* A stake of Zion is a territorial division of The Church that embraces several wards or branches. The stake is presided over by a president, who must be a High Priest, assisted by two counselors, also High Priests. There must also be in each stake of Zion a high council, consisting of twelve High Priests, over which council the presi-

Zion, but in January, 1842, the stake organization was discontinued; though Zarahemla continued as an organized branch of The Church.

Stakes of Zion in the following year were organized at Lima, in Illinois; also at Quincy, in Adams County, for the benefit of the Saints who continued there. Another stake was organized at Columbus, in Adams County, Illinois, known as Mount Hope stake; besides these stakes, branches of the Church were organized in various parts of Lee County, Iowa, and Adams and Hancock counties, Illinois. But as Nauvoo rose from the swamps and underbrush of Commerce, and, under the industry and enterprise of the Saints, and the blessings of a kindly disposed Providence, developed into a healthy, beautiful and prosperous commercial and manufacturing city, these stake organizations in the surrounding country were discontinued, and Nauvoo became the one great gathering place of the Saints.

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dency of the stake preside. This high council constitutes the judicial power (ecclesiastical) of the stake, to which appeals lie from the bishops' courts.

CHAPTER IV.

"AS FLIES IN THE OINTMENT."

HAVING described the site of Nauvoo, and related the circumstances connected with its establishment as a gathering place of the Saints, it is necessary to return to the consideration of some events which occurred at Quincy during the sojourn of the Saints at that place.

Paul, in his day, told the Hebrews that all were not Israel that were of Israel: so all were not Saints that flocked into Quincy with the exiles from Missouri; many of them were altogether unworthy of the association of the people of God. These preyed upon the hospitality of the people of Quincy to such an extent, that The Church by action of a conference authorized Elder John Taylor, then one of the Twelve Apostles, and who afterwards became President of the Church, to write the following letter, which was printed in the Quincy *Argus:*

In consequence of so great an influx of strangers, arriving in this place daily, owing to their late expulsion from the State of Missouri, there must of necessity be, and we wish to state to the citizens of Quincy and the vicinity, through the medium of your columns, that there are many individuals among the numbers who have already arrived, as well as among those who are now on their way here, who never did belong to our Church, and others who once did, but who, for various reasons, have been expelled from our fellowship. Among these are some who have contracted habits which are at variance with principles of moral rectitude (such as swearing, dram-drinking, etc.,) which immoralities the Church of Latter-day Saints is liable to be charged with, owing to our amalgamation under our late existing circumstances. And as we as a people do not wish to lay under any

such imputation, we would also state, that such individuals do not hold a name or a place amongst us; that we altogether discountenance everything of the kind, that every person once belonging to our community, contracting or persisting in such immoral habits, have hitherto been expelled from our society; and that such as we may hereafter be informed of, we will hold no communion with, but will withdraw our fellowship from them.

We wish further to state, that we feel laid under peculiar obligations to the citizens of this place for the patriotic feelings which have been manifested, and for the hand of liberality and friendship which was extended to us, in our late difficulties; and should feel sorry to see that philanthropy and benevolence abused by the wicked and designing people, who under pretense of poverty and distress, should try to work up the feelings of the charitable and humane, get into their debt without any prospect or intention of paying, and finally, perhaps, we as a people be charged with dishonesty.

We say that we altogether disapprove of such practices, and we warn the citizens of Quincy against such individuals who may pretend to belong to our community.

I have given this letter *in extenso*, because it bears upon its face the evidence of the honesty of The Church, and its disposition to treat the people of Illinois, who had so nobly and kindly received its members in the days of their distress, with candor. It also tells us of a class even then in The Church, who by the vileness of their lives gave some coloring to the charges subsequently so unjustly made against the whole Church; a class who brought upon The Church reproach; an unrighteous, apostate element, which lingered with The Church for the sake of advantage—the bane of the body religious.

CHAPTER V.

POLITICAL AGITATION.

ABOUT this time, too, the good feeling entertained toward the Saints by the people of Quincy and vicinity was not a little endangered through the unwise course of Lyman Wight. He began the publication of a series of letters in the Quincy *Whig*, in which he laid the responsibility of the outrages perpetrated against the Saints in Missouri upon the Democratic party, implicating not only the Democrats of Missouri, but indirectly the National Democratic party. This gave much dissatisfaction to members of that party in the vicinity of Quincy, a number of whom had been very active in assisting the Saints; and some of the leading men approached prominent brethren, who still remained in Quincy, and desired to know if The Church sustained the assertions of Lyman Wight. Elder R. B. Thompson wrote a letter to President Joseph Smith on the subject, in which he protested against the course taken by Lyman Wight, because of the influence it was having on many of those who had so nobly befriended the Saints in the day of their distress. Besides, it was altogether unjust, for no particular political party in Missouri was responsible for the cruelty practiced towards the Saints. Those who were in the mobs which robbed them of their homes, burned their houses, ran off their stock, and who whipped, murdered and finally drove the people from the State of Missouri, were made up of individuals of every shade of political faith, and of every religion, and many of no religion whatever. It was unfair, then, under these circumstances, that the responsibility

should be laid at the charge of any one party or sect of religion. So that Wight's course was not only doing much mischief, but was also unjust.

To counteract the evil effect of Lyman Wight's communication to the *Whig*, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Hyrum Smith, then the presiding quorum of the Church, published a letter in the *Whig*, from which I make the following quotation:

> We have not at any time thought there was any political party, as such, chargeable with the Missouri barbarities, neither any religious society, as such. They were committed by a mob, composed of all parties, regardless of difference of opinion, either political or religious.
>
> The determined stand in this State, and by the people of Quincy in particular, made against the lawless outrages of the Missouri mobbers by all parties in politics and religion, have entitled them equally to our thanks and our profoundest regards, and such, gentlemen, we hope they will always receive from us. * * * We wish to say to the public, through your paper, that we disclaim any intention of making a political question of our difficulties with Missouri, believing that we are not justified in so doing.

Lyman Wight was a bold, independent-spirited man; inclined to be self-willed and refractory. No one could control him; and even counsel or advice was usually disregarded —except it was from Joseph Smith. A few years subsequent to the time of which I am now writing, Lyman Wight himself said: "Joseph Smith is the only man who ever did control me; he is the only man who ever shall." But to Joseph's words Lyman Wight gave respectful attention, and bent his own strong will to comply with the wishes of the Prophet. He himself was a master spirit, and could apparently bring himself to acknowledge but one to whom he was willing to yield his own judgment and his own will, and that one was Joseph Smith. It is said by those acquainted with him, that in the Prophet's hands his spirit was as pliable as that of a child.

It was one of Joseph's peculiar characteristics to be able to control men—men, too, who were themselves master spirits; who were themselves naturally leaders; and it is seldom, indeed, that such characters are willing to take a second place. But in the presence of Joseph they seemed naturally to accord him the leadership. He was a leader even among master spirits; a leader of leaders; and it may not be amiss here to briefly inquire into the apparently mysterious influence which the Prophet exerted over the minds of others, by reason of which he controlled them, since this particular instance in which Lyman Wight figures, illustrates it.

In reply to the letter of R. B. Thompson, Joseph admitted that the course of Wight was unfair, and said: The Church was not willing to make of their troubles a political question; but he also said that he considered it to be "the indefeasible right of every free man to hold his own opinion in politics and religion;" and therefore would have it understood that, as an individual, Lyman Wight had the right to entertain and express whatever opinion he pleased in regard to their troubles in Missouri; only intimating that care should be taken not to set forth individual views as the views of The Church. In writing to Lyman Wight on the subject, Joseph did not upbraid him, nor peremptorily order him to discontinue the publication of his letters, or retract them, but he informed him that the matter had been considered in a council of The Church, and that the result was that his course was disapproved. But Joseph took occasion to express his confidence in Wight's good intentions, and said:

Knowing your integrity of principle, and steadfastness in the cause of Christ, I feel not to exercise even the privilege of counsel on the subject, save only to request that you will endeavor to bear in mind the importance of the subject, and how easy it might be to get a misunderstanding with the brethren concerning it; and though last, but not least, that whilst you continue to go upon your own

credit, you will steer clear of making The Church appearas either supporting or opposing you in your politics, lest such a course may have a tendency to bring about persecution on The Church, where a little wisdom and caution may avoid it. I do not know that there is any occasion for my thus cautioning you in this thing, but having done so, I hope it will be well taken, and that all things shall eventually be found to work together for the good of the Saints. * * * With every possible feeling of love and friendship for an old fellow-prisoner and brother in the Lord, I remain, sir, your sincere friend.

Throughout this whole affair it will be observed that Joseph starts out with the idea that every individual is absolutely free and independent as to entertaining views and in giving expression to them, both in politics and religion, so long as he makes no one else responsible for them; that in correcting Lyman Wight, he does it by appealing to the man's reason, and by pointing out the possible result of his course, which may be avoided by a little discretion; while the whole communication breathes such a spirit of confidence in the man he is correcting, and love for him as an "old fellow-prisoner," that it was altogether irresistible. And this is the secret of Joseph's power to control his brethren. There was no petty tyranny in his government. He was above that. Every right he claimed for himself, he accorded to others; while his mildness in correcting errors and his unbounded love for his brethren knit them to him in bands stronger than steel. It was ever his method to teach correct principles and allow men to govern themselves.

CHAPTER VI.

A DAY OF GOD'S POWER.

DURING the summer of 1839 the Saints who had been driven from Missouri continued to gather at Nauvoo and settle on the lands which had been purchased by The Church authorities. The violent persecution they had passed through in Missouri had well nigh wrecked the people. They had been stripped of their earthly possessions, until they were reduced to the most abject poverty. And the exposure and hardships endured made them an easy prey to the malaria that infected Nauvoo and vicinity. Another thing which doubtless contributed to make them unable to resist the ravages of disease, was the fact that a period of relaxation was following the intense excitement under which they had lived for more than two years.

The spirit has such power when it is once thoroughly aroused, that for a time it so braces up the body as to make it almost impregnable to disease and unconscious of fatigue. But this cannot continue long. It wears out the body; and as soon as the excitement is removed, then comes the period of relaxation and the body sinks down from sheer exhaustion.

Such was the condition of the exiled Saints who came flocking into Nauvoo, in the summer of 1839. They had reached a haven of rest. The fearful strain on the nervous system under which they had labored during the mobbings in Missouri and their flight from that State was removed; and they fell down in Nauvoo exhausted, to be a prey to the deadly malaria prevalent in that locality. Such was their condition on the morning of

the 22nd of July. Joseph's house was crowded with the sick whom he was trying to nurse back to health. In his door-yard were a number of people camped in tents, who had but newly arrived, but upon whom the fever had seized. Joseph himself was prostrate with sickness, and the general distress of the Saints weighed down his spirit with sadness. While still thinking of the trials of his people in the past, and the gloom that then overshadowed them, the purifying influence of God's Spirit rested upon him and he was immediately healed. He arose and began to administer to the sick in his house, all of whom immediately recovered. He then healed those encamped in his door-yard, and from thence went from house to house calling on the sick to arise from their beds of affliction, and they obeyed and were healed.

In company with P. P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, John Taylor, Heber C. Kimball, and John E. Page, he crossed the river to Montrose, and healed the sick there. One case is mentioned by all who have written on the subject as being very remarkable. This was the case of Elijah Fordham. He was almost unconscious and nearly dead. Bending over him, the Prophet asked the dying man if he knew him, and believed him to be a servant of God. In a whisper he replied that he did. Joseph then took him by the hand, and with an energy that would have awoke the dead, he commanded him in the name of Jesus Christ to arise from his bed and walk. Brother Fordham leaped from his bed, removed the bandages and mustard plasters from his feet, dressed himself, ate a bowl of bread and milk, and accompanied the Prophet to other houses on his mission of love.

All day the work continued; and to the Saints who witnessed the remarkable manifestation of God's power in behalf of the sick, the twenty-second day of July, 1839, is remembered with gratitude to Almighty God, who through the demonstration of His power that day, gave an indisputable witness to the world that He was with Joseph Smith, and had authorized him

to speak in the name of Jesus Christ. To the Saints it was a testimony that God was with them; for they witnessed a fulfillment of God's ancient promise to His people, viz.—

Is any sick among you? Let him call for the Elders of the Church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil, in the name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up.*

And again:

These signs shall follow them that believe: In My name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; * * * they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover.†

These ancient promises to God's people had also been renewed to the Latter-day Saints in modern revelations to the Church through the Prophet Joseph himself:

As I said unto mine apostles I say unto you again, that every soul who believeth on your words, and is baptized by water for the remission of sins, shall receive the Holy Ghost; and these signs shall follow them that believe. In my name they shall do many wonderful works:

In my name they shall cast out devils;

In my name they shall heal the sick;

In my name they shall open the eyes of the blind, and unstop the ears of the deaf; and the tongue of the dumb shall speak; and if any man shall administer poison unto them it shall not hurt them.

* * * But a commandment I give unto them, that they shall not boast themselves of these things, neither speak them before the world.‡

Again, I say, to the Saints who witnessed the demonstration of God's power on the 22nd of July, 1839, in the healing of the

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*James v: 14, 15.

†Mark xvi: 17.

‡Doc. & Cov., Sec. lxxxiv. The revelation was given in September, 1832.

sick in fulfillment of these promises ancient and modern, it was a witness to them that God was with them and with their Prophet.

CHAPTER VII.

DEPARTURE OF THE TWELVE FOR ENGLAND.

A REVELATION had been received by the Prophet Joseph on the eighth of July, 1838, in which a commandment was given to fill up the quorum of the Twelve Apostles by ordaining John Taylor, John E. Page, Wilford Woodruff, and Willard Richards to take the places of those who had fallen through apostasy. The following spring "let them depart," said the revelation, "to go over the great waters, and there promulgate my Gospel, the fullness thereof, and bear record of my mame. Let them take leave of my Saints in the city of Far West, on the twenty-sixth day of April next, on the building spot of my house." By the twenty-sixth of April, the day set for them to take leave of the Saints to start on their mission, nearly all the members of The Church had been driven from Far West. I have already related, however, in "The Missouri Persecutions" how five of the Apostles and several who were to be ordained returned by different routes to Far West, met with a few of the Saints there and fulfilled the mandates of this revelation, notwithstanding the boasts of the mob that it should fail.* For some time the Apostles who started from the public square at Far West for England were detained to aid in settling the Saints at Nauvoo, but the latter part of the summer of 1839 found them making every exertion to continue their journey.

Wilford Woodruff and John Taylor were the first of the quorum to leave Nauvoo for England. Elder Woodruff at this

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* Missouri Persecutions, Chapter XLVIII.

time was living at Montrose, and was rowed across the river in a canoe by Brigham Young. On landing, he lay down to rest on a side of sole leather, near the post office. While there Joseph came along and said: "Well, Brother Woodruff, you have started on your mission?"

"Yes, but I feel and look more like a subject for the dissecting room than a missionary," was the reply.

"What did you say that for?" asked Joseph. "Get up and go along, all will be well with you."

Shortly afterwards Elder Woodruff was joined by Elder Taylor, and together they started on their mission. On their way they passed Parley P. Pratt, stripped, bareheaded and barefooted, hewing some logs for a house. He hailed the brethren as they passed and gave them a purse, though he had nothing to put in it. Elder Heber C. Kimball, who was but a short distance away, stripped as Elder Pratt was, came up and said: "As Brother Parley has given you a purse, I have a dollar I will give you to put in it." And mutually blessing each other, they separated to meet again in foreign lands.

On the twenty-ninth of August, Parley P. Pratt and his brother Orson started for England, leaving Nauvoo in their own carriage.

On the fourteenth of the following month Brigham Young left his home at Montrose and started for England. He had been prostrated for some time by sickness, and at the time of starting on his mission was so feeble that he had to be assisted to the ferry, only some thirty rods from his house. All his children were sick, and he left his wife with a babe but ten days old, and in the poorest of circumstances, for the mobs of Missouri had robbed him of all he had. After crossing the river to the Nauvoo side, Israel Barlow took him on a horse behind him and carried him to the house of Elder Heber C. Kimball, where his strength altogether failed him, and he had to remain there for several days, nursed by his wife, who, hearing

that he was unable to get farther than Brother Kimball's, had crossed the river from Montrose to care for him.

On the eighteenth of the month, however, Brigham, in company with Heber C. Kimball, made another start. A brother by the name of Charles Hubbard sent a boy with a team to take them a day's journey on their way. Elder Kimball left his wife in bed shaking with ague, and all his children sick. It was only by the assistance of some of the brethren that Heber himself could climb into the wagon. "It seemed to me," he remarked afterwards in relating the circumstance, "as though my very inmost parts would melt within me at the thought of leaving my family in such a condition, as it were, almost in the arms of death. I felt as though I could scarcely endure it."

"Hold up!" said he to the teamster, who had just started. "Brother Brigham, this is pretty tough, but let us rise and give them a cheer." Brigham, with much difficulty, rose to his feet, and joined Elder Kimball in swinging his hat and shouting, "Hurrah, hurrah, hurrah for Israel!" The two sisters hearing the cheer came to the door—Sister Kimball with great difficulty—and waved a farewell; and the two Apostles continued on their journey without purse, without scrip, for England.

The departure of Elders George A. Smith, Reuben Hedlock, and Theodore Turley was but little less remarkable. They were feeble in health, in fact, down with the ague. Before they were out of sight of Nauvoo their wagon upset, and spilled them down the bank of the river. Elders Smith and Turley were unable to get up, not because of any injuries they had received, but because of their illness. Elder Hedlock helped them into their wagon and they resumed their journey. They had not proceeded far when they met some gentlemen who stopped their team and said to the driver: "Mr., what graveyard have you been robbing?" There mark being elicited by the ghostly appearance of the Elders *en route* for England.

Thus in sickness and poverty, without purse and without

scrip, leaving their families destitute of the comforts of life, with nothing but the assurances of the people, who were as poor as themselves, that they should be provided for, the Twelve turned their faces toward Europe, to preach the Gospel to the highly civilized peoples of the world. Shaking with the ague, and then burning up with the fever; now in the homes of the wealthy, then in the hovels of the poor; now derided by the learned and self-styled refined, and now welcomed by the poor of this world who rejoiced in the message they bore—they journeyed on, never looking back, nor complaining of the hardships through which they were called to pass for the Master's sake. They had ringing in their ears the words of Jesus:

"He that loveth father or mother, houses or lands, wives or children more than he loveth me is not worthy of me." And again they had the promise: "There is no man that hath left houses, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come life everlasting."

With this warning and this promise before them, they made their way by different routes, but at last met in England, where an effectual door was opened for the preaching of the Gospel, and thousands with joy embraced the truth.

These men went out weeping, bearing precious seed; they returned in time bringing their sheaves with them, and had joy in their harvest. And what shall separate these men who endured so much for the Gospel's sake, from the love of God? "Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?" "Nay, in all these things they shall be more than conquerors through Him that loved them."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE "TIMES AND SEASONS."

THE power of the press in sustaining the work he had begun, was early recognized by Joseph Smith and his associates; and it was this recognition of its powers which led him to establish, as early as possible, a paper that would be under the control of The Church, voice its sentiments and defend its principles. The Church had been organized but eighteen months, and its membership was very small when a conference held in Ohio authorized the purchase of a press, and instructed W. W. Phelps to begin the publication of a paper in Independence, Missouri. In June, 1832, the first number of that paper, the *Evening and Morning Star*, was published.

The following year the *Evening and Morning Star* press was broken and the type scattered by the mob, which collected at Independence to drive the Saints from Jackson County. The press and the book-binding property were never again restored to The Church, though the *Star* afterwards reappeared in Kirtland, edited by Oliver Cowdery.

Another periodical was also published in Kirtland called *The Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, the first number of which appeared in December, 1833. This periodical was superceded in a few years—1837—by the *Elders' Journal*. But when Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon had to flee from Kirtland for their lives, in the spring of 1838, the press and type on which the *Journal* was printed were removed to Far West. Here an effort was made to re-issue the *Journal*, Sidney Rigdon being appointed editor. But again the assembling of angry mobs hindered the work. And the night that General Lucas' mob-militia force sur-

rounded Far West, this press and type were buried in the door-yard of a brother by the name of Dawson. The form for a number of the *Elders' Journal* was buried, with the ink on it, in the hurry to get it safely hidden from the enemy. It remained in its grave until taken up by Elias Smith, Hyrum Clark and some others, and taken to Commerce, where, in the fall of 1839, it was set up in a cellar, through which a spring of water was running, and on it was published the *Times and Seasons.*

This periodical was issued first as a sixteen page monthly, but afterwards became semi-monthly. Its first editor and manager was Don Carlos Smith, the youngest brother of Joseph Smith, who learned the printer's art in the office of Oliver Cowdery, and at the time he took charge of the *Times and Seasons* was but twenty-four years of age. His associate was Ebenezer Robinson. The paper was first issued in November, 1839.

Don Carlos Smith continued to act as editor of this paper until his death, which occurred on the seventh of August, 1841. Ebenezer Robinson then became the editor and Elder Robert B. Thompson was appointed to assist him. The manner in which the paper was conducted was very unsatisfactory to The Church authorities, and the Twelve Apostles took charge of it with Elders John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff as its managers, and President Joseph Smith as editor-in-chief. It was conducted by these parties for about a year, when the Prophet Joseph resigned the editorial chair, and Elder John Taylor was assigned to the position of chief editor, and kept that place until the discontinuance of the publication, in consequence of the Saints being driven from Nauvoo. It was a valuable means of communication for The Church authorities, as they were enabled to reach the Saints through its columns notwithstanding their scattered condition; and in its pages are collected the principal historical events which occurred in the early days of The Church; which, in connection with the principles and doctrine expounded by its editors,

and the communications from the Prophet, make it of inestimable value to the student of Church history or the development of Church doctrine.

CHAPTER IX.

AN APPEAL TO THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT FOR REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES.

IT will be remembered by those who have read "The Missouri Persecutions," that Sidney Rigdon was released from prison in Liberty, Missouri, before Joseph and the other brethren escaped. On his arrival in Quincy, his position as one of the presidents of The Church, his education and eloquence, gave him the attention of the leading citizens of Quincy, and particularly enlisted the sympathy of Governor Carlin, of Illinois. By coming in contact with him, and relating the cruelties practiced against the Saints in Missouri, he conceived the altogether fanciful and utterly impracticable idea of impeaching the charter of Missouri on an item in the Constitution, viz: "that the general government shall give to each State a republican form of government." And it was his point to prove that such a government did not exist in Missouri. His plan was to present the story of the Saints' wrongs to the governors of the respective States, before the assembly of the several legislatures, and induce as many of them as possible to bring the case before the legislatures in their messages. Another part of the plan was to have a man at each State capital armed with affidavits that would give the necessary information to the legislatures. After the action of the State legislatures the case was to be presented to the national Congress for its consideration and action.

To carry out his plans George W. Robinson was appointed to take affidavits and collect general information bearing on the subject, and Sidney Rigdon himself secured letters of introduc-

tion to the governors of several States and to the President of the United States from Governor Carlin, of Illinois, and Governor Robert Lucas, of Iowa. On the fifth of May, 1839, however, at a conference of The Church held near Quincy, Joseph Smith presiding, the gigantic and fanciful scheme conceived by Sidney Rigdon was considered and somewhat reduced of its unwieldy proportions by the conference simply resolving:

> That this conference send a delegate to the city of Washington to lay our case before the general government; and that President Rigdon be the delegate: and that Colonel Lyman Wight be appointed to receive the affidavits which are to be sent to the city of Washington.

Here the matter rested for a time through the inactivity of President Rigdon, whose ardor in the work of God about this time began to wane.

In consequence of the inactivity and lack of interest manifested by Sidney Rigdon in going to Washington to present the case of the Latter-day Saints *vs.* the State of Missouri to the President and Congress of the United States, at a High Council meeting, held at Commerce on the twentieth of October, 1839, the Prophet Joseph was appointed to be the delegate to Washington, and a few days later Sidney Rigdon and Elias Higbee were appointed by the same council to assist him in this mission.

As a contrast between the two men, Sidney Rigdon and Joseph Smith, I call attention to the fact that after his appointment to go to Washington to petition the general government for a redress of grievances, in behalf of the Saints, Sidney Rigdon had allowed nearly six months to pass away without doing anything; but the ninth day after Joseph was appointed to this mission he was found leaving Commerce with a two-horse carriage, accompanied by Rigdon, Higbee and Orin P. Rockwell, *en-route* for Washington. The Prophet was always prompt in action. There were no tedious delays in anythinghe under took;

no letting "I dare not wait upon I would, like the old cat 'i the adage." His motto for the commencement of his career had been, "When the Lord commands, do it." And it was pretty much the same thing when a council of the Priesthood, or himself individually, had determined upon any particular course of action, he at once set himself about performing it.

The mission for the city of Washington passed through Springfield, the capital of the State of Illinois, on their journey, and here met with Dr. Robert D. Foster, who afterwards, as we shall see, became prominently connected with events at Nauvoo. Elder Rigdon being ill, Dr. Foster administered medicines to him, journeying with Joseph's party for several days for that purpose. At last, however, Elder Rigdon became so weak that it became necessary to leave him near Columbus, Ohio; and Orin P. Rockwell and Dr. Foster remained with him, while Joseph and Judge Higbee continued their journey to Washington.

It was during this journey, too, that Joseph met another man destined to perform a prominent part in the drama enacted at Nauvoo. This was William Law, whom Joseph's party met at Springfield, Illinois. He was then leading a small company of Saints from Canada to Nauvoo. Joseph's company remained several days at Springfield, and he preached there several times, staying at the home of James Adams, the probate judge of that county. Judge Adams treated the Prophet with the kindness of a father.

An incident occurred as the party approached Washington which borders on the domain of the romantic, or perhaps may be considered to enter directly into it. The coachman stopped his horses in front of one of the many public houses they passed *en route*, to get his grog, when the horses took fright, and dashed down the road at break-neck speed. The passengers, as might be expected, became terror-stricken, and one woman in her excitement tried to throw her babe out of the window; she was prevented, however, by Joseph, who calmed her fears, and per-

suaded the rest of the passengers to keep their seats. He then opened the door of the coach and succeeded in climbing up the side of the vehicle, and reaching the driver's seat. Gathering up the reins, he stopped the horses before any accident occurred either to coach or passengers.

It is needless to say that Joseph's heroism drew from his fellow-passengers their warmest expressions of admiration and gratitude. No terms were sufficiently strong to convey their admiration of his daring. Among the passengers were several members of Congress who proposed mentioning the incident to Congress, for they believed that body would reward Joseph's conduct by some public act. With this object in view they asked for his name, and were doubtless dumfounded to learn that they had been saved from their imminent peril by the courage of the Mormon Prophet. At any rate the profusion of thanks and admiration was stayed, "and," says Joseph, "I heard no more of their praise, gratitude or reward." Need one stop to moralize on the littleness of man when he allows prejudice to dictate his action instead of reason?

It was on the twenty-eighth of November, 1839, that Joseph and Judge Elias Higbee arrived in Washington, and took up their abode at an unpretentious boarding house, on the corner of Missouri and Third Streets. They were very much cramped on account of means, as the people they represented were poor in this world's goods, and unable to supply the means necessary to enable their delegates to indulge in the luxurious style of living usually adopted by those who go to the seat of government on special missions.

The day following his arrival, Joseph obtained an interview with President Martin Van Buren, who had been elected to the presidency by the Democratic party. I give Joseph's own account of this visit to President Van Buren, that our readers may judge of the impression he made upon the Prophet, and what the Prophet thought of Congress generally:

On Friday, the twenty-ninth, we proceeded to the house of the President. We found a very large and splendid palace, surrounded with a splendid enclosure, decorated with all the fineries and elegancies of the world. We went to the door and requested to see the President, when we were immediately introduced into an upper apartment, where we met the President, and were introduced into his parlor, where we presented him with our letters of introduction. As soon as he had read one of them, he looked upon us with a kind of half frown and said: "What can I do? I can do nothing for you! If I do anything, I shall come in contact with the whole State of Missouri."*

I cannot determine whether it was on the occasion of this visit that President Van Buren made use of the expression, "Your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you," or whether he so expressed himself at some subsequent meeting. But under date of February 6th, 1840, Joseph remarks, in speaking of his mission to Washington:

During my stay I had an interview with Martin Van Buren, the President, who treated me very insolently, and it was with great reluctance he listened to our message, which, when he heard, he said: "Gentlemen, your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you. If I take up for you, I shall lose the vote of Missouri." His whole course went to show that he was an office-seeker, that self-aggrandizement was his ruling passion, and that justice and righteousness were no part of his composition.

As this language is somewhat different to that reported by Joseph on the occasion of his first visit to the President, I am inclined to the opinion that the language attributed to him in the latter quotation was used at some subsequent meeting to the first. I again quote from Joseph's letter to Hyrum:

Now we shall endeavor to express our feelings and views con-

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*Letter to Hyrum Smith, Dec. 5, 1839.

cerning the President, as we have been eye-witness to his majesty. He is a small man, sandy complexion, and ordinary features, with frowning brow, and considerable body, but not well proportioned as to his arms and legs, * * * and in fine, to come directly to the point, he is so much of a fop or a fool (for he judged our cause before he knew it), we could find no place to put truth into him. We do not say the Saints shall not vote for him, but we do say boldly, that we do not intend he shall have our votes.

Joseph speaks very highly of the senators and representatives from Illinois, who rendered him some considerable assistance in getting a hearing before a congressional committee, but he was not favorably impressed with congressmen or their conduct on the whole. He says:

For a general thing there is but little solidity and honorable deportment among those who are sent here to represent the people, but a great deal of pomposity and show. * * * There is such an itching disposition to display their oratory on the most trivial occasions, and so much etiquette, bowing and scraping, twisting and turning, to make a display of their witticism, that it seems to us rather a display of folly and show, more than substance and gravity, such as becomes a great nation like ours. However, there are some exceptions.

After the meeting with the President, a meeting with the Illinois delegation in Congress was arranged, to take into consideration the best means of getting the wrongs of the Saints before Congress. This meeting took place on the sixth of December. A Mr. Robinson of that delegation, whether a member of the House or Senate I do not know, took a stand against the Saints presenting any claims to be liquidated by the United States; but Joseph contended against him, and presented the constitutional rights of the people, and Mr. Robinson promised to reconsider the subject, and at the meeting the next day it was decided that a memorial and petition be drawn in concise

form and presented by Judge Young, who had taken a lively interest in the cause of the Saints. At this stage of the proceedings, Joseph and Judge Higbee learned that it was necessary to have more positive testimony on the subject in hand, so that they sent to Nauvoo and a very large number of affidavits were taken and forwarded to Washington to sustain the statements to be presented to Congress.

The petition presented to Congress related the outrages committed against the Saints at considerable length, from the commencement of difficulties in Jackson County, in the autumn of 1833, until their final expulsion from the State in the winter of 1838-9; and made emphatic the infamy of Governor Boggs' exterminating orders, which gave the coloring of authority for the action of the State mob-militia. They said in their statement of wrongs that if given an opportunity they could prove every allegation they made against the State of Missouri. And that "neither the Mormons as a body, nor as individuals of that body, had been guilty of any offense against the laws of Missouri, or of the United States: but their only offense had been their religious opinions."

In conclusion the petition represents that for the wrongs endured—

> The Mormons ought to have some redress; yet how and where shall they seek and obtain it?
>
> Your Constitution guarantees to every citizen, even the humblest, the enjoyment of life, liberty and property. It promises to all their religious freedom, the right to worship God beneath their own vine and fig tree, according to their own conscience. It guarantees to all the citizens of the several States the right to become citizens of any one of the States, and to enjoy all the rights and immunities of the citizens of the State of his adoption. Yet of all these rights have the Mormons been deprived. They have, without a cause, without a trial, been deprived of life, liberty and property. They have been persecuted for their religious opinions. They have been driven from

the State of Missouri at the point of the bayonet, and prevented from enjoying and exercising the rights of citizens of the State of Missouri. It is the theory of our laws, that for the protection of every legal right, there is a legal remedy. What, then, we would ask, is the remedy for the Mormons? Shall they appeal to the legislature of the State of Missouri for redress? They have done so. They have petitioned, and these petitions have been treated with silence and contempt. Shall they apply to the federal courts? They were, at the time, citizens of the State of Missouri. Shall they apply to the courts of the State of Missouri? Whom shall they sue? The order for their destruction, their extermination, was granted by the executive of the State of Missouri. Is not this a plea of justification for the loss of individuals, done in pursuance of the order? If not, before whom shall the Mormons institute a trial? Shall they summon a jury of the individuals who composed the mob? An appeal to them were in vain. They dare not go to Missouri to institute a suit, their lives would be in danger.

For ourselves we see no redress, unless it be awarded by the Congress of the United States. And we here make our appeal as *American citizens*, as *Christians*, and as *men*—believing the high sense of justice which exists in your honorable bodies, will not allow such oppression to be practiced upon any portion of the citizens of this vast republic with impunity, but that some measure which your wisdom may dictate, may be taken, so that the great body of people who have been thus abused, may have redress for the wrongs which they have suffered.

The statement of wrongs and petition for their redress was introduced into the Senate by Judge Young, and referred to the committee on judiciary of which General Wall was chairman.

At this stage of the proceedings Joseph left Washington and went to Philadelphia, where he labored in the ministry among the Saints; but Judge Elias Higbee was left in Washington to look after the interest of the petitioners before the Senate committee. The subject was held under advisement and discussed

occasionally, until the fourth of March, 1840, when the committee reported. That report was of a character to crush forever the hopes of obtaining, at the hands of the general government, any redress for the outrages perpetrated against them in Missouri. The report said that after full examination and consideration, the committee unanimously concurred in the opinion: "That the case presented for their investigation is not such a one as will justify or authorize any interposition of this government."

They stated that the wrongs complained of were not alleged to have been committed by officers of the United States; that the charges were all against the citizens and authorities of the State of Missouri; that the petitioners were citizens or inhabitants of Missouri; that the grievances complained of were committed within the territory of Missouri; and for these reasons the Senate judiciary committee did "not consider themselves justified in inquiring into the truth or falsehood of facts charged in the petition." The committee represented that if the charges were true, then the petitioners must seek redress in the courts of judicature, either of Missouri or of the United States, whichever might have jurisdiction in the case. "Or," said the report, "the petitioners may, if they see proper, apply to the justice and magnanimity of the State of Missouri—an appeal which the committee feel justified in believing will never be made in vain by the injured or oppressed." The report said that it could not be presumed that a State wanted either the power or lacked the disposition to redress the wrongs of its own citizens, committed within its own territory, "whether they proceed from the lawless acts of her officers or any other person."

The report closed by asking the passage of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the committee on the judiciary be discharged from the further consideration of the memorial in this case; and that

the memorialists have leave to withdraw the papers which accompany their memorial.

The resolution was passed without dissent, and thus the appeal to Congress for redress of the outrages committed against the Saints by Missouri ended.

At a conference of The Church held in April following, a number of resolutions were adopted, regretting and condemning the action of the Senate judiciary committee, and approving the course pursued by their delegation to Congress, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Elias Higbee, and requesting them to continue their exertions to obtain redress for a suffering people as opportunities became more favorable for such efforts, and if at last all hopes of obtaining satisfaction for the injuries done us be entirely blasted, that they then "appeal our case to the Court of Heaven, believing that the Great Jehovah, who rules over the destiny of nations, and who notices the falling sparrows, will undoubtedly redress our wrongs, and ere long avenge us of our adversaries."

CHAPTER X.

ORSON HYDE'S MISSION TO JERUSALEM.

THOSE who have read "The Missouri Persecutions," will remember the disaffection of Orson Hyde at Far West, and the statements he made in connection with Thomas B. Marsh against The Church, in the autumn of 1838—that time when men's hearts were failing them for fear, and death and destruction were rife; when even strong hearts grew faint and brave cheeks were blanched. Well, as stated in the account of his disaffection, like Peter of old, this modern Apostle wept bitterly for his error, returned to The Church, was forgiven; and during the conference held at Commerce in April, 1840, he was called to go on a mission to Jerusalem.

It appears that Elder Hyde in a heavenly vision saw himself on the Mount of Olives blessing the land for the return of the people of Judah, hence, that he might be obedient to the vision, he was appointed to go to that land for the purpose mentioned. In the letter of appointment, which the Prophet gave him, occurs the following passage:

> The Jewish nation have been scattered abroad among the Gentiles for a long period; and in our estimation the time of the commencement of their return to the Holy Land has already arrived. * * * It is highly important, in our opinion, that the present views and movements of the Jewish people be sought after, and laid before the American people for their consideration, their profit and their learning.

On the 15th of the same month that Elder Hyde was called, he left his family at Nauvoo and started for Jerusalem without purse or scrip. The next day he met with John E. Page, who

subsequently to the conference at which Orson Hyde had been called, was appointed to go with him to the Holy Land.

They traveled through several States together, preaching as they went. In the city of Cincinnati they succeeded in raising up a large and prosperous branch of The Church; and while Elder Page remained in Cincinnati to strengthen the Saints, Elder Hyde made his way to New York.

These labors consumed the summer of 1840, and in January, 1841, the word of the Lord came to the Prophet Joseph saying that he was not well pleased with the long delays of his servants in starting on their mission to Jerusalem, and they were requested to hasten their departure. In the meantime, however, Elder Page had lost the spirit of his appointment and had no disposition to go, but Orson Hyde on the receipt of this reproof set sail at once from New York for England.

It is not our design to follow him through all his meanderings in Europe, or relate his trials or his perils in crossing the mighty seas, and passing through states in which war was raging. He succeeded in reaching the Holy City some time in October, and on the twenty-fourth of that month, 1841, early in the morning, was seated on the Mount of Olives, as he had seen himself in vision; and wrote the prayer he had to offer in behalf of the Jews and their city, which had been for so long a time trodden down of the Gentiles.

In that prayer he referred to the prophecies of God's servants in relation to the Jews and Jerusalem, and asked that all might be fulfilled. He called for the richest blessings of heaven upon the Jews; he blessed, by virtue of his Priesthood, the city, the land, and all the elements, to the end that Judah might be gathered, Jerusalem rebuilt, and become an holy city, that the Lord's name might be glorified in all the earth. At the conclusion of his prayer, he says:

On the top of the Mount of Olives, I erected a pile of stones, as a

witness according to ancient custom. On what was anciently called Mount Zion, where the temple stood, I erected another, and used the rod according to the prediction upon my head.

Just what he meant by saying that he had used the rod "according to prediction on his head," I have been unable to learn, except that it was a rod with which he had measured the city.

I have called the attention of my readers to this mission of Elder Hyde's to Jerusalem, because it doubtless has a greater significance than most people would be inclined to give it. The rebuilding of Jerusalem is regarded by Mormonism as of as much importance as the establishment of Zion; the gathering of the dispersed of Judah is as much a part of the great latter-day work as the reassembling of the other tribes of Israel; and the commencement of that work was made by Elder Hyde, when by the authority of his apostleship, he consecrated that land to the return of the house of Judah, to inhabit it, and rebuild their city according to the predictions of their prophets. It may be somewhat beyond the scope of this chapter to call attention to it, but surely it will be of interest to the reader to know that this apostolic mission and blessing upon the Holy Land has not been fruitless, but blessings as a result are flowing unto it, and the Jews are beginning to return to it. At the time of Apostle Hyde's visit and ceremonies on the Mount of Olives, but very few Jews were in the city or in Judea. As late as twenty years ago the consular reports show that there were not more than fifteen or twenty thousand Jews in all Jerusalem. But in a popular magazine for August, 1896, under the editorial caption—"The Plan for a Hebrew Nation"—the magazine said:

A movement of which Americans hear very little, but which may have an important effect upon the history of the coming century, is going forward upon the shores of the Mediterranean. This is the return of the Jews to their ancient home in Palestine—the Zionite movement it is called. For hundreds of years there has been talk of the Jew

returning to Jerusalem. Through all his years of oppression and wandering, this vision of his native land has been held before his eyes by certain of his teachers. But it is only in the last twelve years, since the renewal of persecution in Russia, that the idea has taken shape. There are now more than four thousand colonists in Palestine. At Jaffa the schools are Hebrew, the ancient language being spoken altogether, and a Hebrew literature is being developed. The works of the great English, French and German authors are being translated, and writers of their own race are being encouraged.

The Zionite movement is backed by the influence of the Rothschilds and other great Jewish families and societies, and as we see its stirring in every country, we can believe it only requires a great popular leader to make it one of the important movements in history. That it is not purely religious, but racial, is proven by the co-operation of Rabinowitz, the Christian Jew who became so well known here during the World's Fair Congress. There is already one Jewish Christian colony in Palestine. * * * As a Jewish state, Palestine might well become a country that would claim consideration among the family of nations. If the Zionite continues to grow, such a result is almost assured.

During the same month, namely, in its impression of August 11th, 1896, the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* published the following:

Only two decades ago there were not more than fifteen or twenty thousand Jews in Jerusalem. At that [time] no houses were to be found outside the walls of the city. Since then many changes have taken place and the Hebrew population—mainly on account of the increase of the Jewish immigration from Russia—now stands at between sixty and seventy thousand. Whole streets of houses have been built outside the walls on the site of the ancient suburban districts, which for hundreds of years have remained deserted. It is not, however, only in Jerusalem itself that the Jews abound, but throughout Palestine they are buying farms and establishing themselves in a surprisingly rapid manner. In Jerusalem they form at present a larger community than either the Christian or the Mohammedan.

CHAPTER XI.

DEATH'S HARVEST IN NAUVOO—RETURN OF PRODIGALS.

DURING the summer of 1840, death reaped a rich harvest in Nauvoo. Before his ruthless stroke fell many worthy Saints who had been connected with The Church from the time it was founded. Among the first to fall was Bishop Edward Partridge. He died on the twenty-seventh of May, in the forty-sixth year of his age. He was the first Bishop in The Church, and in that capacity had presided over the Saints who gathered to Zion, in Jackson County, Missouri, during the years 1831-33. Joseph described him as a "pattern of piety," and the Lord himself declared that he was like Nathaniel of old—his heart was pure before him, and he was without guile. His life was indeed an eventful one. He was called from his merchandizing, and became a preacher of righteousness. Much, in fact all, of his riches fell into the hands of the mobs of Jackson County, in the autumn of 1833, and upon his meek and uncovered head fell a double portion of their fury. Five years later, he passed through those trying times experienced by the Saints in their exodus from the State of Missouri, under the exterminating order of the infamous Governor Boggs; and at that time, he again saw the fruits of his industry fall a prey to the rapacity of his relentless enemies. Stripped of his earthly possessions and broken in health, he reached Commerce, but the trials through which he passed had proven too much for his constitution, which was never robust, and he passed away, a victim to the intolerance and religious bigotry of this generation.

In September of the same year Father Joseph Smith,

Patriarch to The Church, and father of the Prophet Joseph, was "gathered to his final home," in the sixty-ninth year of his age. He was baptized on the sixth day of April, 1830, and was one of the six who organized The Church on that date. Indeed he was the one who first received the testimony of his son after the angel Moroni visited him on that memorable night of September 21, 1823; and it was he who first exhorted his prophet son to be faithful and diligent to the message he had received. He endured many persecutions on account of the claims made by his son Joseph to being a prophet of God; for Joseph's declarations that he had received heavenly visions and revelations together with a divine commission to preach the Gospel of Christ, not only brought upon himself the wrath of the ungodly, but involved his whole family in the persecutions which followed him throughout his life. Of these things, however, his father never complained, but endured all things patiently, and with true heroism, and ever supported his son in carrying out the counsels of Heaven. He was born on the twelfth of July, 1771, in Topsfield, Massachusetts; and was the second of the seven sons of Asahel and Mary Smith; his forefathers being among those who early came from England to Massachusetts. He was a large man, ordinarily weighing two hundred pounds, was six feet two inches tall, and well proportioned, strong and active; and he stood unbowed beneath the accumulated sorrows and hardships he had experienced during his nearly three score and ten years of sojourn in this life. The exposures, however, that he suffered in the exodus from Missouri brought on him consumption, of which he died. His was an unassuming nature—noted mostly, perhaps, for its sincerity and unwavering integrity. He was a child of nature, and one of nature's noblest; his life had been spent in parts remote from the busy marts, where "wealth accumulates and men decay;" and he had passed through his probation on earth without being corrupted by the evil influences of luxury or

enervating civilization. He was a type of men, so well described by one of our poets, in the following lines:

Simple their lives—yet theirs the race
When liberty sent forth her cry,
Who crowded conflicts deadliest place,
To fight—to bleed—to die;
Who stood on Bunker's heights of red,
By hope through years were led—
And witnessed Yorktown's sun
Shine on a nation's banner spread,
A nation's freedom won!

Such was the character of the first Patriarch of The Church in this dispensation.

Another circumstance of interest in Nauvoo during this eventful summer of 1840 was the return of a number of prodigals to The Church. I have already stated the case of Orson Hyde. Frederick G. Williams was dropped from his position as counselor to the Prophet in November, 1837, and in March, 1839, was excommunicated at a conference in Quincy, Illinois. At the April conference in 1840, however, he came before the assembled Church and "humbly asked forgiveness, and expressed his determination to do the will of God for the future." He was forgiven by the Saints but was never restored to his former position in the First Presidency.

About the time Thomas B. Marsh and Orson Hyde fell during the trying scenes in Missouri, W. W. Phelps and Oliver Cowdery left The Church. Elder Phelps was a man who had been of great service to The Church and to the Prophet in a literary way, though some of his work in that line was marred by pedantic verbosity, and pretension to a knowledge of ancient languages which was not justified by any extended acquaintance he had of them. Still, he it was who in the early rise of The Church gave the cast to very much of The Church literature,

and, as I remarked, he had been useful to The Church and the Prophet in the capacity of an editor and writer.

During the summer of 1840 he began to feel his way back from his apostasy into The Church. He had seen his folly and began to tremble at the gulf which opened at his very feet to devour him. He felt debased and humbled, and most piteously begged to be forgiven and taken back in the confidence of his brethren and the Saints. So interesting are the circumstances connected with his return that I give *in extenso* the letters which passed between himself and the Prophet.

W. W. PHELPS' LETTER TO JOSEPH SMITH.

DAYTON, OHIO, June 29, 1840.

BROTHER JOSEPH—I am alive, and with the help of God I mean to live still. I am as a prodigal son, though I never doubt or disbelieve the fullness of the Gospel. I have been greatly abused and humbled, and I blessed the God of Israel when I lately read your prophetic blessing on my head, as follows:

"The Lord will chasten him because he taketh honor to himself, and when his soul is greatly humbled he will forsake the evil. Then shall the light of the Lord break upon him as at noonday, and in him shall be no darkness," etc.

I have seen the folly of my way, and I tremble at the gulf I have passed. So it is, and why I know not. I prayed and God answered, but what could I do? Says I, "I will repent and live, and ask my old brethren to forgive me, and though they chasten me to death, yet *I will die* with them, for their God is my God. The *least place with them* is enough for me, yea it is bigger and better than all Babylon." Then I dreamed that I was in a large house with many mansions, with you and Hyrum and Sidney, and when it was said, "Supper must be made ready," by one of the cooks, I saw no meat, but you said there was plenty, and showed me much, and as good as I ever saw; and while cutting to cook, your heart and mine beat within us, and we took each other's hand and cried for joy, and I awoke and took courage.

I know my situation, you know it, and God knows it, and I want to be saved if my friends will help me. Like the captain that was

cast away on a desert island; when he got off, he went to sea again, and made his fortune the next time—so let my lot be. I have done wrong, and am sorry. The beam is in my own eye. I have not walked with my friends according to my holy anointing. I ask forgiveness in the name of Jesus Christ of all the Saints, for I will do right, God helping me. I want your fellowship; if you cannot grant that, grant me your peace and friendship, for we are brethren, and our communion used to be sweet, and whenever the Lord brings us together again, *I will make all the satisfaction on every point that Saints or God can require.* Amen.

W. W. PHELPS.

Elders Hyde and Page, *en route* for the east on their mission to Jesusalem, met with Phelps at Dayton, and at his request these brethren added the following to his communication:

Brother Phelps requests us to write a few lines in his letter, and we cheerfully embrace the opportunity. Brother Phelps says he wants to live; but we do not feel ourselves authorized to act upon his case, but have recommended him to you; but he says his poverty will not allow him to visit you in person at this time, and we think he tells the truth. We therefore advise him to write, which he has done.

He tells us verbally, that he is willing to make any sacrifice to procure your fellowship, life not excepted, yet reposing that confidence in your magnanimity that you will take no advantage of this open letter and frank confession. If he can obtain your fellowship, he wants to come to Commerce as soon as he can. But if he cannot be received into the fellowship of The Church, he must do the best he can in banishment and exile.

Brethren, with you are the keys of the Kingdom; to you is power given to "exert your clemency, or display your vengeance." By the former you will save a soul from death, and hide a multitude of sins: by the latter you will forever discourage a returning prodigal, cause sorrow without benefit, pain without pleasure, ending in wretchedness and despair. But former experience teaches that you are workmen in the art of saving souls; therefore with the greater confidence do we recommend to your clemency and favorable considera-

tion, the author and subject of this communication. "Whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely." Brother Phelps says he will, and so far as we are concerned, we say he may.

In the bonds of the covenant,

ORSON HYDE,
JOHN E. PAGE.

To this piteous appeal from one who had wandered far from the fold, and who had been torn by the thorns, the Prophet wrote a most worthy reply—a reply which clearly indicates that the spirit of the Master burned brightly in the breast of the servant.

JOSEPH SMITH'S LETTER TO W. W. PHELPS.

NAUVOO, HANCOCK CO., ILLINOIS, July 22, 1840.

DEAR BROTHER PHELPS—I must say that it is with no ordinary feelings I endeavor to write a few lines to you in answer to yours of the 29th ultimo; at the same time I am rejoiced at the privilege granted me.

You may in some measure realize what my feelings, as well as Elder Rigdon's and Brother Hyrum's were, when we read your letter—truly our hearts were melted into tenderness and compassion when we ascertained your resolves, etc. I can assure you I feel a disposition to act on your case in a manner that will meet the approbation of Jehovah, (whose servant I am) and agreeably to the principles of truth and righteousness which have been revealed; and inasmuch as long-suffering, patience and mercy have ever characterized the dealings of our Heavenly Father towards the humble and penitent, I feel disposed to copy the example, cherish the same principles, and by so doing be a savior of my fellow men.

It is true, that we have suffered much in consequence of your behavior—*the cup of gall, already full enough* for mortals to drink, was indeed *filled to overflowing* when *you* turned against us. One with whom we had oft taken sweet counsel together, and enjoyed many refreshing seasons from the Lord—"had it been an enemy, we could have borne it." "In the day that thou stoodest on the other side, in the day when strangers carried away captive his forces, and foreigners entered into

his gates, and cast lots upor Far West, even thou wast as one of them; but thou shouldest not have looked on the day of thy brother, in the day that he became a stranger, neither shouldest thou have spoken proudly in the day of distress."

However, the cup has been drunk, the will of our Father has been done, and we are yet alive, for which we thank the Lord. And having been delivered from the hands of wicked men by the mercy of our God, we say it is your privilege to be delivered from the powers of the adversary, be brought into the liberty of God's dear children, and again take your stand among the Saints of the Most High, and by diligence, humility, and love unfeigned, commend yourself to our God, and your God, and to The Church of Jesus Christ.

Believing your confession to be real, and your repentance genuine, I shall be happy once again to give you the right hand of fellowship, and rejoice over the returning prodigal.

Your letter was read to the Saints last Sunday, and an expression was taken, when it was unanimously—

Resolved, That W. W. Phelps should be received into fellowship.

"Come on, dear brother, since the war is past,
For friends at first are friends again at last."

Yours as ever,

JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

Some time after this, when laying out work for the brethren to do, in a sudden burst of kindness he said to his secretary:

Write Oliver Cowdery, and ask him if he has not eaten husks long enough. If he is not almost ready to return, be clothed with robes of righteousness, and go up to Jerusalem. Orson Hyde hath need of him.

A letter was written accordingly, but the Prophet's generous tender of forgiveness and fellowship called forth no response from Oliver Cowdery, once the second Elder of The Church, and the first to make public proclamation of the Gospel to the world. Subsequently, however, he did return, namely in 1848.

It may not be amiss here to call the attention of the reader to a peculiarity of Mormonism, which is illustrated, not only by this case of Phelps, but by a multitude of other cases of the same character; and that is: whenever the religion of the Latter-day Saints—the Gospel of Jesus Christ—takes hold of men, and conviction of its truth has struck deep into the human soul, they may through transgression lose the fellowship of the Saints and of The Church; they may wander out upon the hills and through the deserts, away from the fold, but they can never forget the sweet communion of the Spirit of God, which they enjoyed before their fall; nor can they forget the fact that they once knew that Mormonism was true. The recollection of those things operates upon the mind, and not unfrequently leads to a sincere repentance; and it has often happened, in the experience of The Church, that men who through transgression turned away from the truth, after thorns have torn their flesh, and the wild briar stripped them of their covering, they return and humbly beg to be re-admitted into their Father's house. Lucifer-like, they cannot forget the heights from which they fell, they cannot all forget the splendor of that glory and the happiness of that peace they enjoyed in God's Kingdom, and wicked indeed must that heart become, that these recollections will not lead to repentance. May not they have so far transgressed that they cannot repent, and are beyond even the desire for forgiveness? Are they not the sons of perdition? Thank God, their numbers are few!

Again, those who fall away from Mormonism carry with them the evidences of that fall. Unbelievers say to Mormons, "Come out of the darkness of your superstitions into God's sunlight of freedom"—but when one looks upon the fate, the condition and experience of those who have denied the faith, he receives small encouragement to obey the summons. Seldom indeed are they prospered even in the affairs of this world, and the canker-worm gnawing within, writes upon their faces the

anguish of heart which their lying lips deny. They smile, but smiling suffer; the heart still beats, but brokenly lives on; and who so blind that he would exchange the peace, the joy, the holy aspirations and assurances which the Gospel brings, for the unrest, the gloom, darkness, uncertainty and fearfulness, which forever haunt the mind of the apostate? Only those who would exchange the glorious light of heaven for the murky blackness of hell.

CHAPTER XII.

JOHN C. BENNETT.

ABOUT this time, there were other characters which had become attracted to The Church, and who became prominent in the events which occurred at Nauvoo. Among them was Dr. John C. Bennett, described as "a man of enterprise, extensive acquirements, and of independent mind, one calculated to be of great benefit to The Church." His attention had been attracted to the Mormon people during their persecutions in Missouri. At that time he was brigadier-general of the "Invincible Dragoons" of Illinois, and wrote to the leaders of The Church in the hours of their deepest distress, proffering to go to their assistance with all the forces he could raise in Illinois, as his bosom swelled with indignation at the treatment the Saints received at the hands of the cruel but cowardly Missourians. That proffered service, however, was not accepted; doubtless because the Saints depended for vindication of their reputation, and redress of their wrongs, upon the officers of the State and Nation, rather than upon adventurers who offered their service to wage war upon their enemies. But after the Saints began gathering at Commerce, he again expressed a desire to connect his fortunes with theirs.

As this man may properly be regarded as the "Benedict Arnold" of The Church at Nauvoo, I shall take the liberty of now noting a few expressions in his first letters to Joseph the Prophet, which, if they fail to adorn a tale, they will at least point a moral.

When he contemplated joining his fortunes with The

Church at Commerce, he held the position of quartermaster-general in the militia of the State of Illinois, a position he did not wish to resign. Indeed he expressed a desire to hold the position for a number of years. He was also a physician with an extensive practice, and sent extracts from the Louisville *Courier-Journal* which gave evidence of high standing in his profession. Writing of these things to Joseph, he said:

I do not expect to resign my office of quartermaster-general of the State of Illinois, in the event of my removal to Commerce, unless you advise otherwise. I shall likewise expect to practice my profession, but at the same time your people shall have all the benefit of my speaking power, and my untiring energies in behalf of the good and holy faith.

In a communication following the one from which I make the above quotation he said:

You are aware that at the time of your most bitter persecution, I was with you in feeling, and proffered you my military knowledge and powers.

The egotism of the man plainly appears in these expressions, and manifests a spirit that is altogether at variance with the humility required by the Gospel, and doubtless that self-importance laid the foundation of his subsequent fall. While Joseph extended a hearty welcome to the doctor to come to Nauvoo, he by no means held out very flattering inducements to him, as may be seen by Joseph's letters to him in answer to those of Bennett's, expressing his determination to join the Saints at Commerce. He said:

I have no doubt that you would be of great service to this community in practicing your profession, as well as those other abilities of which you are in possession. Though to devote your time and abilities in the cause of truth and a suffering people, may not be the means of exalting you in the eyes of this generation, or securing you

the riches of this world, yet by so doing you may rely on the approval of Jehovah, "that blessing which maketh rich and addeth no sorrow." * * * Therefore, my general invitation is, let all who will come, come and partake of the poverty of Nauvoo, freely.

I should be disposed to give you a special invitation to come as early as possible, believing you will be of great service to us. However, you must make your own arrangements according to your circumstances. Were it possible for you to come here this season to suffer affliction with the people of God, no one will be more pleased to give you a cordial welcome than myself.

Surely this was frank enough, and ought to have dispelled from the doctor's mind, if at that time such ideas lurked there, all thoughts of winning worldly fame, or gratifying vain ambition, by linking his fortunes with those of The Church of Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER XIII.

RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES BY MISSOURI.

IT would appear that Hatred's hunger is never fed; it seems to possess an appetite which is insatiable, and can never feel at ease so long as the object of its detestation remains within its reach; and even when that object is removed beyond the immediate power of Hatred to do it harm, as the dragon of the apocalypse when he could not follow the woman he had persecuted into the wilderness, cast out of his mouth a flood of water after her to destroy her—even so Hatred, when baffled in his efforts to destroy his victims, sends out floods of falsehood to overwhelm them by infusing his own venom into the breasts of others; that that destruction which he could not bring to pass himself, might be brought about by another.

Such was the course of hate-blinded Missouri towards the Saints of God, whom she had driven beyond her borders. Seeing that she had not destroyed them, but that they were now upon the eve of enjoying an era of prosperity such as they had never enjoyed while within her borders, she employed all her cunning to incite the hatred of the citizens of Illinois against them. But this was not easy of accomplishment; and at first, the misrepresentations of a State that had been guilty of such outrages as those committed by Missouri against the Latter-day Saints, had but little weight in Illinois.

Finding that their accusations against the people whom they had so wronged had little or no effect, an effort was made to give coloring to their statements; and stolen goods were conveyed from Missouri to the vicinity of Commerce, so that when

they were found, suspicion might rest upon the people in whose neighborhood the stolen articles were discovered.

Nor did their outrages stop at this. But doubtless being emboldened by reason of the general government's refusing to make any effort to redress the wrongs of the Saints, a company of men led by William Allensworth, H. M. Woodyard, Wm. Martin, J. H. Owsely, John Bain, Light T. Lait and Halsay White, crossed over the Mississippi to Illinois, at a point a few miles above Quincy, and kidnapped Alanson Brown, James Allred, Benjamin Boyce and Noah Rogers; and without any writ or warrant of any character whatever, they dragged them over to Missouri, to a neighborhood called Tully, in Lewis County. These unfortunate men were imprisoned for a day or two in an old log cabin, during which time their lives were repeatedly threatened. At one time Brown was taken out, a rope placed around his neck, and he was hung up to a tree until he was nearly strangled to death. Boyce at the same time was tied to a tree, stripped of his clothing and inhumanly beaten. Rogers was also beaten, and Allred was stripped of every particle of clothing, and tied up to a tree for the greater part of the night, and threatened frequently by a man named Monday, exclaiming: "G—d d—n you, I'll cut you to the hollow." He was finally, however, released without being whipped.

After they had received this inhuman treatment, their captors performed an act purely Missourian in its character, that is, they gave them the following note of acquittal:

TULLY, MISSOURI, July 12, 1840.

The people of Tully, having taken up Mr. Allred, with some others, and having examined into the offenses committed, find nothing to justify his detention any longer, and have released him.

By order of the committee.

H. M. WOODYARD.

As soon as the people of Commerce and vicinity were in-

formed of this outrage, Gentiles as well as Mormons were loud in their condemnation of it, and at once a mass meeting was called, and resolutions were adopted, expressing their unqualified indignation, and calling upon the governor of Illinois to take the necessary steps to punish those who had committed this outrage, and by vindicating the law, give the Missourians to understand there was a limit beyond which their deeds of violence must not pass.

D. H. Wells, not then a member of The Church, and George Miller were appointed a committee to wait upon Governor Carlin, and lay the case before him. For this purpose they repaired to Quincy, and at the recital of the cruelties practiced upon the men who were the victims of the Missourians, the governor's wife, who was present at the interview, was moved to tears, and the governor himself was greatly agitated. He promised to counsel with the State attorney, who by law was made his adviser, and promised to take such steps as the case seemed to require, and the law to justify. Just what was done by Governor Carlin, however, I am unable to learn; but one thing is certain, and that is, the guilty parties were never brought to justice, nor even to a trial—indeed it may be that even then the love which Governor Carlin once had for the Saints, and which at last became dead, had begun to grow cold.

Scarcely had the excitement occasioned by the kidnapping of Allred and his associates subsided, when Governor Boggs of Missouri made a requisition on Governor Carlin, of Illinois, for the persons of Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, P. P. Pratt, Caleb Baldwin and Alanson Brown, as fugitives from justice. Governor Carlin granted the requisition—was it another case of Herod and Pilate being made friends over the surrender of God's Prophet? But fortunately when the sheriff went to Commerce with his requisition, Joseph and his brethren were not at home, and could not be found; so that the officers returned without them. These men were not fugitives from justice, no

process had ever been found against them, the governor himself had connived at their escape from the hands of the officers charged with the duty of conducting them from Liberty, Clay County, to Boone County;* and these men did not feel disposed to try again "the solemn realities of mob law in Missouri."

These circumstances gave the Saints to understand that their peace in their beautiful situation on the banks of the placid, grand, old Mississippi was not to be without alloy; the goal of their final triumph and rest had not been reached. These incidents were a premonition of danger; they were indeed the few drops of rain which sometimes precede the storm, but a kind Providence shut out from their vision how fierce that storm would be, or how would they have had the courage to meet it?

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* Missouri Persecutions, Chapter XLVII.

CHAPTER XIV.

FOUNDING A CITY.

MEANTIME Commerce had become Nauvoo. The city of Nauvoo was incorporated by act of the legislature of Illinois, on the fourteenth of December, 1840. The charter granted on that date described the boundaries of the city, but gave to the citizens—whom it erected a body corporate and politic—the right to extend the area of the city whenever any tract of land adjoining should have been laid out into town lots and recorded according to law. The city council was to consist of a mayor, four aldermen and nine councilors to be elected by the qualified voters of the city. The first Monday in February was appointed for the first election of officers.

The charter granted to the citizens of Nauvoo the most plenary powers in the management of their local affairs. Indeed, about the only limit placed upon their powers was, that they do nothing inconsistent with the constitution of the United States, and the State constitution of Illinois. But inside of those lines they were all powerful to make and execute such ordinances as in the wisdom of the city council were necessary for the peace, good order, and general welfare of the city. It afterwards became a question in the State as to whether or not powers too great had not been granted the city government—but of that I shall have occasion to speak further on.

The leading men of the State appeared not only willing but anxious to grant the privileges of this city government to the Saints. S. H. Little, of the upper house of the State legislature, especially stood by the Saints, and pleaded for their rights;

together with Messrs. Snyder, Ralston, Moore, Ross and Stapp; while Mr. John F. Charles, the representative to the lower house from the district in which Nauvoo was located, manfully discharged his duties to the Nauvoo portion of his constituents, by using all his energy to secure them their city government.

An incident connecting Abraham Lincoln with the passage of this charter may not be without interest. The State of Illinois was at that time divided into two political parties, Whigs and Democrats. Both parties were friendly to the Saints, who considered themselves equally bound to both parties for acts of kindness. Lincoln was a Whig, and in the November election his name was on the State electoral ticket as a Whig candidate for the State legislature. But many of the people of Nauvoo, wishing to divide their vote, and to show a kindness to the Democrats, erased the name of Lincoln, and substituted that of Ralston, a Democrat. It was with no ill feeling, however, towards Mr. Lincoln that this was done, and when the vote was called on the final passage of the Nauvoo charter, he had the magnanimity to vote for it; and congratulated John C. Bennett on his success in securing its enactment.

The Saints rejoiced in the prospects of liberty secured to them by their city government, and of it Joseph said:

> I concocted it for the salvation of The Church, and on principles so broad, that every honest man might dwell secure under its protecting influences, without distinction of sect or party.

An inspection of the charter will bear out this opinion of it, for while it was "concocted for the salvation of The Church," it by no means secured that salvation by trespassing upon the rights of others, but by recognizing the rights of the Saints to be equal to the rights of other citizens. Nor was it intended that Nauvoo should be an exclusive city for people of the Mormon faith; on the contrary, all worthy people were invited to

come and assist to build it up and partake of its liberty and anticipated prosperity. An official proclamation, issued over the signatures of Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Hyrum Smith, who then constituted the First Presidency of The Church, contains the following passage:

We wish it likewise to be distinctly understood, that we claim no privileges but what we feel cheerfully disposed to share with our fellow-citizens of every denomination, and every sentiment of religion; and therefore say, that so far from being restricted to our own faith, let all those who desire to locate in this place (Nauvoo) or the vicinity, come, and we will hail them as citizens and friends, and shall feel it not only a duty, but a privilege to reciprocate the kindness we have received from the benevolent and kind-hearted citizens of the State of Illinois.

And as an earnest of the intention, so far as the Saints were concerned, of carrying out in practice these liberal sentiments and extending equal rights to people of all religious persuasions, among the first acts of the city council was the passage of the following ordinance, introduced by Joseph Smith:

SECTION I. Be it ordained by the city council of the city of Nauvoo that the Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Latter-day Saints, Quakers, Episcopalians, Universalists, Unitarians, Mohammedans, and all other religious sects and denominations, whatever, shall have free toleration and equal privileges in this city; and should any person be guilty of ridiculing and abusing, or otherwise deprecating another, in consequence of his religion, or of disturbing or interrupting any religious meeting within the limits of this city, he shall, on conviction before the mayor or municipal court, be considered a disturber of the public peace, and fined in any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, or imprisoned not exceeding six months, or both, at the discretion of said mayor and court.

The second section made it the duty of all municipal officers to notice and report any violation of the law—and in fact,

of any other law of the city—to the mayor; and the municipal officers were authorized to arrest all violators of this law, either with or without process; so that the fullest religious liberty was secured to all sects, and all religions, and to people of no religion at all if any such there should be. Under such an ordinance, people could worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their consciences, without fear of molestation from any one; but they were restrained from interfering with the religion or mode of worship of their fellows—they were told, in a manner, that their liberties ended where those of other people commenced.

On the first of February, 1841, the first election for members of the city council took place, as provided by the city charter. John C. Bennett was chosen mayor; William Marks, Samuel H. Smith, D. H. Wells, and N. K. Whitney, aldermen; Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Chas. C. Rich, John T. Barnett, Wilson Law, Don C. Smith, J. P. Greene and Vinson Knight, councilors. On the third of the month the city council was organized, by appointing the following officers: marshal, H. G. Sherwood; recorder, James Sloan; treasurer, R. B. Thompson; assessor, James Robinson; supervisor of streets, Austin Cowles.

Mayor Bennett, the same day, delivered his inaugural address. After making several recommendations to the council relative to the establishment of an educational institution, a militia, the enactment of a temperance ordinance, and other measures affecting the manufacturing and commercial interests of the city; and further recommending that the protecting ægis of the corporation be thrown around every moral and religious institution of the day, which was in any way calculated to ennoble or ameliorate the condition of the citizens, he concluded his speech in these words:

As the chief magistrate of your city, I am determined to execute all State laws, and city ordinances passed in pursuance of law, to the

very letter, should it require the strong arm of military power to enable me to do so. As an officer, I know no man; the peaceful, unoffending citizen shall be protected in the full exercise of all his civil, political and religious rights, and the guilty violator of the law shall be punished without respect to persons.

The first act of the city council, after its organization, was to express its gratitude for its privileges and powers conferred upon the city by its charter. For this purpose the following resolution was introduced by Joseph Smith, and adopted:

Resolved, by the city council of the city of Nauvoo, that the unfeigned thanks of this community be respectfully tendered to the governor, council of revision, and legislature of the State of Illinois, as a feeble testimonial of their respect and esteem of noble, high-minded, and patriotic statesmen; and as an evidence of gratitude for the signal powers recently conferred—and that the citizens of Quincy be held in everlasting remembrance for their unparalleled liberality and marked kindness to our people, when in their greatest state of suffering and want.

The next move was to pass a temperance ordinance, which practically made Nauvoo a prohibition city—that is, so far as prohibitory ordinances prohibit.

CHAPTER XV.

THE NAUVOO LEGION.

THE Nauvoo charter proper really contained two other charters, viz: One for the establishment of a university within the limits of the city "for the teaching of the arts and sciences, and learned professions," and another for the organization of an independent military body to be called the "Nauvoo Legion."

An ordinance was passed on the third of February, in relation to the university, appointing a chancellor and board of regents. A site for a building was selected, and plans of the structure were drawn, but that was as far as the matter went, as the city had no funds with which to proceed with the work of construction.

An ordinance was also passed on the above date authorizing the organization of the Nauvoo Legion. The original provision in the Nauvoo charter establishing this military body provided that the city council might organize the inhabitants of the city, subject to military duty under the laws of the State, into an independent body of militia; and a subsequent amendment to the charter extended the privilege of joining the Legion to any citizen of Hancock County, who might by voluntary enrollment desire to do so; and in that event he was to have all the privileges to be enjoyed by members of that organization. The charter provided that the officers of the Legion should be commissioned by the governor; and that the members thereof be required to perform the same amount of military duty as the regular militia of the State; they were to

be at the disposal of the mayor inexecuting the laws and ordinances of the city, and the laws of the State; and also at the disposal of the governor for the public defense, and the execution of the laws of the State and of the United States; and were entitled to their proportion of the public arms; but were exempt from all military duty not specified in these provisions.

The commissioned officers of the Legion were constituted its court-martial, which was its law-making department; but no law inconsistent with either the Constitution of the United States or the State of Illinois was to be enacted by this court. The privilege of organizing the citizens of Nauvoo, and as many of the citizens of Hancock County as might desire to unite with them, into an independent military body, was highly gratifying to the people of Nauvoo, but more especially so to Joseph Smith, who, in speaking of it, in a proclamation to the Saints scattered abroad, said:

The Nauvoo Legion embraces all our military power, and will enable us to perform our military duty by ourselves, and thus afford us the power and privileges of avoiding one of the most fruitful sources of strife, oppression and collision with the world. It will enable us to show our attachment to the State and Nation, as a people, whenever the public service requires our aid, thus proving ourselves obedient to the paramount laws of the land, and ready at all times to sustain and execute them.

The city ordinance provided that the Legion should be divided into two cohorts, the horse troops to constitute the first cohort, and the infantry the second. The commander-in-chief of the Legion was to be known as the lieutenant-general, who was also made the reviewing officer and president of the court-martial and Legion. His staff was to consist of two principal aides-de-camp with the rank of colonel of cavalry; and a guard of twelve aides-de-camp with the rank of captain of infantry; and a drill officer, with the rank of colonel of dragoons, to be the chief officer of the guard.

The second officer was a major-general, to act as the secretary of the court-martial and Legion. His staff consisted of an adjutant; surgeon-in-chief, a cornet, quartermaster, paymaster, commissary, and chaplain; all to hold the rank of colonel of cavalry; besides these, there were to be in his staff, a surgeon for each cohort, quartermaster sergeant, sergeant-major, and a chief musician—with the rank of captain of light infantry; and two musicians with the rank of captain of infantry. Besides these officers there were created by the ordinance an adjutant and inspector-general; and a brigadier-general to command each cohort. The staff of each brigadier-general consisted of an aide-de-camp with the rank of lieutenant-colonel of infantry, and when not otherwise in service, these brigadiers had access to the staff of the major-general.

The ordinance organizing this body of militia provided that the court-martial should adopt for the Legion, so far as practicable, the discipline, drill, uniform, rules and regulations of the United States army. And a law passed by the court-martial shortly after its organization, required all male citizens within the limits of Nauvoo, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, excepting such as were exempted from service under the laws of the United States, to perform military duty under the penalty of being fined for absence from general parades, as follows: generals, twenty-five dollars; colonels, twenty dollars; captains, fifteen dollars; lieutenants, ten dollars; and musicians and privates, five dollars. For absence from company parades—of course without good reason for the absence—the fines were fixed at these rates: commissioned officers, five dollars; non-commissioned officers, three dollars; and musicians and privates, two dollars.

The first election of officers of the Legion took place on the fourth of February, 1841; and resulted in Joseph Smith being unanimously chosen lieutenant-general; John C. Bennett, major-general; Wilson Law, brigadier-general of the first cohort;

and Don Carlos Smith, brigadier-general of the second cohort. The staffs of the respective generals were chosen from the leading citizens of Nauvoo, some of whom were not members of the Mormon Church. There were but six companies at the time the Legion was organized, in February, 1841, but in September following, the number of men had increased to one thousand four hundred and ninety; and at the time of the Prophet Joseph's death, some three years later, the Legion numbered about five thousand.

With such strict regulations, accompanied by a natural enthusiasm for military display, and drilled by competent military officers, it is not to be wondered at if the Legion became the best body of militia in the State of Illinois. It excited the jealousy and envy of the rest of the militia in the surrounding counties, and all the laudable efforts of the Legion to become an efficient body of militia, with a view of assisting in the execution of the State and National laws, if occasion should require, were construed by their enemies to mean a preparation for rebellion, and the establishment and spread of the Mormon religion by conquests of the sword, as, it is alleged, Mohammed established his religion. Thus the forming of an independent body of militia, enabling the Saints to perform their military duty by themselves, which the Prophet fondly hoped would remove "one of the most fruitful sources of strife, oppression and collision with the world," and which he further hoped would give the Saints, as a people, an opportunity of showing their attachment to the State and Nation, whenever the public service required their aid—by the misrepresentation of their enemies, was made one of the principal rocks of offense, and was used to excite the apprehensions and prejudices of the good people of Illinois.

The people of the United States have always been jealous of military power, and hence have been careful in forming their political institutions to subordinate the military to the civil authority, except in times of actual war; and, therefore, not-

withstanding the very good intentions of the Saints at Nauvoo, it was a very easy matter for their enemies to excite the prejudice and awaken the fears of the people of Illinois by pointing to the existence of this elaborate and efficient military organization with its frequent musters and parades, and captained by a great religious leader, whom, notwithstanding his virtues and the uprightness of his intentions—they had come to regard as a wild, religious fanatic, prepared to go to what lengths they knew not in the promulgation of his religion. Hence that which was to be a bulwark to the city, and a protection to the Saints, was transformed by their enemies into an occasion of offense, and an excuse for assailing them.

CHAPTER XVI.

RECONSTRUCTION OF QUORUMS—THE NAUVOO HOUSE AND THE TEMPLE.

IN the meantime important changes in The Church organization were pending. An important revelation was received on the nineteenth of January, 1841,* which provided for filling the vacancies in the several quorums and a reconfirmation of all the authorities of the Church. Hyrum Smith, who had stood in the position of counselor to his brother Joseph, since the apostasy of F. G. Williams and his expulsion from The Church, on the seventh of November, 1837—was appointed to succeed his father as Patriarch to The Church; to hold the sealing blessings of The Church, even the Holy Spirit of promise, whereby the Saints are sealed up unto the day of redemption, that they may not fall, notwithstanding the day of temptation that might come upon them. He was also appointed a prophet, seer, and revelator, as well as Joseph with whom he was to act in concert, and from whom he was to receive counsel. The Prophet was to show unto him the keys whereby he might ask and receive, "and be crowned with the same blessing and glory and honor and priesthood, and gifts of the priesthood that once were put upon him that was my servant Oliver Cowdery."

Joseph Smith was given, as the presiding Elder of The Church, to be a translator, a revelator, a seer and prophet. Sidney Rigdon was admonished of his neglect of duty, and of his lack of faith; he was told, however, if he would repent of his

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* Doctrine and Covenants, Section 124.

sins, and stand in his place and calling, he might continue to act as counselor to Joseph, and the Lord promised to heal him, and make him powerful in testimony. The reason for this admonition, as one may judge from the spirit of it, was that he to whom it was given had become sour in his feelings toward the work of God. His ardor was cooling, and his zeal, which at times had been inordinate, seemed now to be oozing out of his disposition.

William Law, whom, it will be remembered, Joseph first met when *en route* for Washington—Law then leading a small company of Saints to Nauvoo from Canada—was appointed to fill the vacancy in the First Presidency made by the appointment of Hyrum Smith to the office of Patriarch. And such blessings and spiritual powers were pronounced upon him by the Lord, as seldom falls to the lot of man. On condition of his faithfulness he was to have power to heal the sick, cast out devils, be delivered from those who administered unto him poison, and the serpent that might lay hold upon his heel; "And what if I will," said the Lord, "that he should raise the dead, let him not hold his voice."

Brigham Young was appointed the president of the Twelve Apostles, and liberty was given to appoint another man to fill the vacancy made in the quorum through the death of David W. Patten, who was killed by the mob, at the battle of Crooked River, in Missouri. The High Council for Nauvoo was named, and a presidency given to the High Priests; the seven presidents of the Seventies were appointed; and all the quorums of the Priesthood both in the Melchisedek and Aaronic divisions were set in order, so far as the appointment of presidents was concerned.

Besides setting the Priesthood in order, the Lord in this revelation required that a house should be built to His name; "a house worthy of all acceptation; that the weary traveler may find health and safety while he contemplates the word of the

Lord;" and the Prophet Joseph and his family were to have a right of permanent residence in it. It was to be known as the "Nauvoo House," and built unto the name of the Lord. The possession of individual stock was to range from fifty dollars to fifteen thousand dollars; no person being allowed to put in less than fifty, nor more than fifteen thousand. And it was specially provided that none but those who believed in the Book of Mormon and the revelations of God were to be permitted to hold stock in the house.

In addition to this commandment to build the Nauvoo House, the Lord told the Saints that there was not a place found on the earth to which He might come and restore that which was lost, or which he had taken away, even the fullness of the Priesthood; nor was there a baptismal font upon the earth where the Saints might be baptized for the dead.

The doctrine of baptism for the dead had been made known to the Saints some time previous to this, and the ordinance had been performed in the Mississippi and other convenient places; but this is an ordinance of God's house, and cannot be acceptable to Him when performed elsewhere, only in the days of the poverty of His people. And as more prosperous times had dawned upon The Church, the Saints were required to build a temple to the name of the Most High; and they were further told that they were granted sufficient time to build a temple, and if they failed to build it at the expiration of that appointed time, they should be rejected as a Church together with their dead. To show to The Church the importance of erecting this temple, the Lord reminded them how He had commanded Moses to build a tabernacle, that the children of Israel could bear with them into the wilderness, that those ordinances might be revealed which had been hidden from before the foundation of the world. Therefore said the Lord—

Let this house be built unto my name that I may reveal mine

ordinances therein, unto my people. For I design to reveal unto my Church things which have been kept hid from before the foundation of the world, things that pertain to the dispensation of the fullness of times; and I will show unto my servant Joseph all things pertaining to this house, and the Priesthood thereof. * * * And ye shall build it on the place where you have contemplated building it, for that is the spot which I have chosen for you to build it.

The location which the Saints had contemplated as the site for the temple was on a bold eminence overlooking the river, the landscape on the Iowa side, and all the surrounding country for miles around. It was not only by far the noblest site in Nauvoo for a temple, but ideal in its fitness.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CONFERENCE OF APRIL 6TH, 1841.

THE sixth of April, 1841, was a memorable day in the history of Nauvoo. That day the corner stones of the great temple which God by revelation had commanded His people to build were to be laid. To the Prophet Joseph the day must have been a veritable gleam of sunshine amid the constantly renewing storms of his eventful career. It was a beautiful day, clear and balmy—propitious for the exercises to take place.

Early in the morning there was a hurrying to and fro in the streets of militiamen, for the presence of sixteen uniformed companies of the Nauvoo Legion was to add brightness and interest to the imposing ceremonies. A great procession was formed and marched to the temple site. Here the Legion was formed in a hollow square surrounding the excavations made for the foundation of the temple and enclosing the officers of the Legion, choir, citizens and prominent Elders of The Church who were to lay the corner stones of that structure. Sidney Rigdon was the orator of the occasion; and, doubtless owing to the recent admonition he had received in the revelation from the Lord—to which reference has been made—he was aroused from his lethargy for the time. At any rate, on this occasion he spoke with his old fervor and eloquence. He reviewed the trials of the past, the blessings they then enjoyed, the brightening prospects of the future, and dwelt at some length upon the importance of building temples, and the labor to be performed in them.

At the conclusion of the oration, at the direction of the

First Presidency, the architects lowered the southeast corner-stone to its place, and Joseph Smith said:

This principal corner-stone in representation of the First Presidency, is now duly laid in honor of the great God; and may it there remain until the whole fabric is completed; and may the same be accomplished speedily; that the Saints may have a place in which to worship God, and the Son of Man have where to lay His head.

To which Sidney Rigdon added:

May the persons employed in the erection of this house be preserved from all harm while engaged in its construction, till the whole is completed, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Even so, amen.

Thus were laid the corner-stones of the Nauvoo Temple, amid the rejoicing of the Saints; and even strangers forgot their prejudices and joined with hearty good will, as interested spectators of the proceedings. "Such an almost countless multitude of people," says one enthusiastic account of the scenes of the day, written at the time, "moving in harmony, in friendship, in dignity, told with a voice not easily misunderstood, that they were a people of intelligence, and virtue, and order; in short, that they were Saints; and that the God of love, purity and light, was their God, their exemplar and director; and that they were blessed and happy."

While on this subject, I quote the instructions on temple building from the history of the Prophet:

If the strict order of the Priesthood were carried out in the building of temples, the first stone will be laid at the southeast corner, by the First Presidency of The Church. The southwest corner should be laid next. The third, or northwest corner next; and the fourth or northeast corner the last.

The First Presidency should lay the southeast corner-stone, and dictate who are the proper persons to lay the other corner-stones.

If a temple is built at a distance, and the First Presidency are not present, then the quorum of the Twelve Apostles are the proper persons to dictate the order for that temple; and in the absence of the Twelve Apostles, then the presidency of the stake will lay the southeast corner-stone. The Melchisedek Priesthood laying the corner-stones on the east side of the temple, and the Lesser Priesthood those on the west side.

During the remaining days of the conference, opened with such splendid ceremonies, the Saints were instructed in principle and doctrine, the quorums of the Priesthood were arranged in their proper order and the important questions of business put to each quorum separately and voted upon; especially the names of those whom God had appointed and reappointed to fill the respective positions alluded to in the revelation above quoted.

Besides this, the several charters of Nauvoo, the Legion, University, Agricultural and Manufacturing Association, Nauvoo House Association, etc., were read and accepted by the people. Lyman Wight was sustained to fill the vacancy in the quorum of the Twelve. John C. Bennett was presented in connection with the First Presidency as assistant President until Sidney Rigdon's health should be restored. Everything necessary for the welfare, happiness and prosperity of the Saints was considered, and preparations made to push the work of God forward in all its departments. The conference lasted from Wednesday morning until Sunday night; and is one of the most important ever held by The Church.

Indeed the circumstances surrounding the Saints at the time were of a character to bid them hope that Nauvoo would be to them "a safe retreat." The friendship of nearly all of the leading men of the State; the universal sympathy felt by the people of Illinois for the victims of Missouri's fury; the action of the State legislature in granting the several charters noted in chapter fifteen—all supported the hopes entertained.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PROPHET'S TRIAL AT MONMOUTH.

EARLY in the summer of 1841, an event happened which threatened the peace of the inhabitants of Nauvoo. When busily intent in the performance of some labor, or duty, or even when in pursuit of pleasure, how often it happens that we work on, or enjoy our pleasure in the bright sunshine, without ever thinking of storms, until a sudden clap of thunder startles us, and looking up we see that dark clouds have arisen above the horizon; the bright skies are rapidly becoming overcast—a storm is impending! So it was with the Saints at Nauvoo concerning the matter of which we speak. It fell upon them as unexpectedly as falls a thunderbolt from a cloudless sky.

It occurred in this manner: When Hyrum Smith and William Law started on the mission to the Eastern States, to which they were appointed by the revelation of January 19, 1841, Joseph accompanied them as far as Quincy; and when returning to Nauvoo he stopped at Heberlin's hotel, on Bear Creek, some twenty-eight miles south of that city. While here a sheriff's posse under the direction of Thomas King, sheriff of Adams County, accompanied by an officer from Missouri, arrested him on a requisition from the governor of the State of Missouri. The warrant upon which the arrest was made was the one issued by the authorities of Missouri early in September, 1840; an effort to serve which was made on the fifteenth of that month, but the officers failed in their errand, as the brethren wanted, viz: Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, P. P. Pratt, Caleb

Baldwin and A. Brown were not in Nauvoo, that is, they evaded arrest, as already related in a former chapter.

The complaint on which the requisition of the governor of Illinois was based charged that these men were fugitives from justice; and they were wanted in Missouri to answer to the old charges of "theft, arson and murder," supposed to have been committed in Caldwell and Daviess counties in the summer and fall of 1838.

What made Joseph's arrest more a matter of surprise to him was, that only a few hours previous to its being made, he had been in company with Governor Carlin at the latter's residence, and was treated with the greatest respect and kindness; yet not one word was said by the governor about the requisition made by Missouri for his arrest.

Joseph returned to Quincy in company with the sheriff's posse and secured a writ of *habeas corpus* from Charles A. Warren, master in chancery. The same evening, Saturday, June 5th, Judge Stephen A. Douglass arrived in Quincy, and appointed the hearing on the writ to take place the following Tuesday, at Monmouth, Warren County.

In the meantime the news of Joseph's arrest reached Nauvoo and created no little excitement. A party of seven men, under the leadership of Hosea Stout, left Nauvoo for Quincy, Sunday morning, in a skiff, to render the Prophet any assistance in their power, and prevent if possible his enemies taking him to Missouri. They struggled against a head-wind all day, but reached Quincy at dusk, only to learn that Joseph had gone to Nauvoo in charge of Sheriff King and another officer; there was nothing for them to do but to return.

Sheriff King was taken sick at Nauvoo, but Joseph nursed him with all the tenderness of a brother, and the day following Monday, started for Monmouth, accompanied by a large number of the leading men of Nauvoo, and the sheriff, whom Joseph cared for personally during the journey of seventy-five miles. The

party arrived at Monmouth on Tuesday, but at the request of the State attorney, who claimed he was not prepared on the case, the hearing was postponed until the next day.

The appearance of Joseph in Monmouth caused considerable excitement. He was invited to preach, but thought it best, as he was a prisoner, not to do so; but he appointed Amasa Lyman to preach in the court room on Wednesday evening.

The prejudice of the people of Monmouth was as excessive as it was blind. They employed at their own expense several attorneys to assist the prosecution, and declared that if there were any lawyers in the district who would even undertake the defense of the Prophet, they never need look to the people of that county again for political favors. But there were strong men in attendance at the court, men not to be frightened by such threats, and whose souls despised the petty minds that could frame them; Joseph, therefore, was ably defended by Messrs. Charles A. Warren, Sidney H. Little, O. H. Browning, James H. Ralston, Cyrus Walker, and Archibald Williams.

The pleadings of the lawyers for the defense were peculiarly affecting, since all of them were more or less acquainted with the condition of the Saints when they fled from the violence of Missourians to Illinois. O. H. Browning had seen several of these companies of Saints in their flight and could trace them by the blood left in their footprints on the snow; his recital of their sufferings moved Judge Douglass, most of the officers of the court and the spectators to tears. One of the brethren present who wrote an account of the trial for the Nauvoo papers says:

He [Mr. Browning] concluded his remarks by saying, To tell the prisoner to go to Missouri for a trial was adding insult to injury, and then said: "Great God! Have I not seen it? Yes, my eyes have beheld the blood-stained traces of innocent women and children, in the dreary winter, who had traveled hundreds of miles barefoot, through frost and snow, to seek a refuge from their savage pursuers. 'Twas

a scene of horror, sufficient to have enlisted the sympathy of an adamantine heart. And shall this unfortunate man, whom their fury has seen proper to select for sacrifice, be driven into such a savage land, where none dare to enlist in the cause of justice? If there was no other voice under heaven ever to be heard in this cause, gladly would I stand alone, and proudly spend my latest breath in defense of an American citizen."

The lawyers for the prosecution, according to Joseph's own account, acted honorably and confined themselves to the merits of the case, excepting two—Messrs. Knowlton and Jennings. They made an appeal both to the passions and prejudices of the people, and sought to create an excitement over the matter. Judge Douglass, however, was impartial in his rulings, and doubtless one officer of the court -the sheriff of Warren County—thought him severe in his efforts to protect the prisoner. The court room was densely packed and the judge ordered the sheriff to keep the spectators back; but this he neglected and the judge fined him ten dollars. In a few minutes the order to keep the spectators from crowding the prisoner and witnesses was repeated, and the sheriff told the court that he had ordered a constable to do it. "Clerk," said Judge Douglass, "add ten dollars more to that fine." This was effectual, the sheriff after that did his duty.

Joseph claimed in this case that he was unlawfully held a prisoner, and he could prove that the indictment upon which he was arrested had been obtained by fraud, bribery and duress. This line of defense, however, raised the question as to whether the court had the right to inquire into the merits of the case. A long debate between opposing counsel followed. But it will be remembered that an attempt to arrest Joseph on the requisition from the governor of Missouri had been made in September previous; and it appears that after the fruitless effort to make the arrest, the sheriff of Hancock County returned the writ; and the defense claimed that after the return of the writ to the execu-

tive, the defendant could not be again legally arrested upon it. It was upon this point that the court set Joseph at liberty. Following is Judge Douglass' decision on this point:

The writ being once returned to the executive by the sheriff of Hancock County was dead, and stood in the same relationship as any other writ which might issue from the circuit court, and consequently the defendant cannot be held in custody on that writ.

On the other point in the case—as to whether evidence in the case was admissible—the judge withheld his opinion for further consideration, as the question was a grave one, involving the future conduct of the States in their relationship with each other; but on the ground that the writ was void, dead by reason of a former return being made on it by the sheriff of Hancock County, he ordered the discharge of the prisoner. And Missouri was again foiled in her designs upon the life of the Prophet.

At the conclusion of the trial Joseph ordered dinner for his company, which numbered by that time some sixty men. "And when I called for the tavern bill," says Joseph, "the unconscientious fellow replied, 'only one hundred and sixty dollars.'" Some time after this, in September following, Joseph sent the costs of this trial to the sheriff of Adams County, of which the following is a copy:

NAUVOO, September 30, 1841.

To the Deputy Sheriff of Adams County:

The following is a statement of my expenses, costs and liabilities, consequent upon my arrest and trial while in your custody, to-wit:

To amount of fees to Esquires Ralston, Warren & Co.....	$250 00
To Esquires Little, Williams, Walker and Browning.....	100 00
To seven days for self, horse and carriage, @ $5.00 per day.....	35 00

To money spent during that time consequent upon arrest	60 00
To twelve witnesses	240 00
	$685 00

To which was added this note:

DEAR SIR —You will please take such measures as to put me in possession of the above amount, which is justly due me as above stated; to say nothing of false imprisonment and other expenses.
* * *

Receive my respects, etc.

JOSEPH SMITH.

With the exception of the difficulty just considered, the summer of 1841 glided pleasantly by, bringing to the busy inhabitants of Nauvoo many occasions of social and spiritual enjoyment.

CHAPTER XIX.

EVENTS OF THE SUMMER OF 1841.

NAUVOO was the most promising and thrifty city in Illinois, and the fame thereof extended throughout the nation, due, in part, of course, to the peculiar religion of its inhabitants. Strangers from far and near made it a point to visit Nauvoo, and the peace, sobriety, industry and public spirit of the citizens challenged their admiration, whatever views they might entertain respecting their religion. A large bowery was constructed just west of the temple site where the people assembled for worship. Here the Prophet Joseph preached some of his most powerful discourses, and taught his people in the doctrine of the heavenly kingdom; and not unfrequently it happened that

Fools who came to mock, remained to pray.

The Saints never intended to make either their city or the Nauvoo Legion exclusively Mormon.* On the contrary, the peo-

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* The Legion is not, as has been falsely represented by its enemies, exclusively a Mormon military association, but a body of citizen soldiers organized (without regard to political preferences or religious sentiments) for the public defense, the general good, and the preservation of law and order—to save the innocent, unoffending citizens from the iron grasp of the oppressor, and perpetuate and sustain our free institutions against misrule, anarchy and mob violence; no other views are entertained or tolerated.—*Joseph Smith.* From an official letter published May 4, 1841.

ple at Nauvoo expressed a willingness to unite with their fellow-citizens in every good work and enterprise, and tolerate religious differences. Indeed, repeated invitations were sent out to the honorable men, not only of the State of Illinois, but of the United States, to men of capital and of influence and of integrity, asking them to come to Nauvoo, and assist in building up a glorious city.

In July, Sidney H. Little, of the State senate, was killed by leaping from his carriage, while his horse was unmanageable; and that the "Saints might mourn with those who are called to mourn," the eighteenth day of July was set apart as a day of fasting among the people of Nauvoo. By thus manifesting a feeling of sympathy and interest, they sought to cultivate peace and good-will among their fellow-citizens, and a number of honorable, and some of them influential men, while not accepting the faith of the Saints, became friendly disposed towards them, and associated with them in various business transactions.

But the good-will of the Saints was not very generally reciprocated by the people of Illinois; and there were, even at that early date, envyings and bitterness manifested by those who were jealous of the prosperity and increasing power of the Mormons in Nauvoo and vicinity. The same spirit existed to some extent in Iowa as will be seen by the following occurrence: General Swazey, in command of the militia of Iowa, Territory, invited Joseph and Hyrum Smith and General Bennett to attend the parade of the militia of that Territory at Montrose. The invitation was accepted, and General Swazey received his visitors courteously, and so did the militia. But during a recess in the exercises taken at noon, a Mr. D. W. Kilburn tried to create a disturbance by circulating the following note among the troops:

Citizens of Iowa—The laws of Iowa do not require you to muster or be reviewed by Joe Smith or General Bennett; and should they

have the impudence to attempt it, it is hoped that every person having a proper respect for himself, will at once leave the ranks.

The facts are that these militia companies were not mustered by Joseph's order, nor did he expect to review them. He had simply accepted General Swazey's invitation to witness the movements of the troops as other spectators were doing, and neither Joseph nor Hyrum was in uniform. General Swazey had been several times invited to attend the drills and reviews of the Legion at Nauvoo, and he had simply returned the courtesy to the officers of the Legion. Kilburn's effort, however, to create a disturbance was not successful, though the papers of the State commented upon it, and some of them began to whisper that it was Joseph's ambition to build up a military church and extend his faith, "Mohammed-like," by the sword.

Early in the summer of 1841, in fact in the month of May, Joseph called upon the Saints everywhere to come into Hancock County, that there might be a concentration of effort to build up Nauvoo. The proclamation closed with these words:

> Let it therefore be understood that all the stakes excepting those in this county (Hancock) and in Lee County, Iowa, are discontinued; and the Saints instructed to settle in this county as soon as circumstances will permit.

The Twelve Apostles, whose departure from Nauvoo on their missions to England under very tryingcir cumstances, was related in a former chapter, returned during the summer, after accomplishing one of the most successful and remarkable missions in modern times. They were a tower of strength to Joseph, and he was not long in availing himself of their valuable support. At a special conference convened in Nauvoo on the sixteenth of August, 1841, Joseph said:

> The time had come when the Twelve should be called upon to

stand in their place next to the First Presidency; and attend to the settling of emigrants and the business of The Church at the stakes, and assist to bear off the kingdom victoriously to the nations.*

And he at once turned over to their management many of the temporal affairs, with which he had been perplexed, and devoted himself more exclusively to spiritual labors.

One of the most pleasing events that happened, during the summer of which I write, was the visit of the Indian chief Keokuk to Nauvoo. He was accompanied by Kiskukosh, Appenoose and about one hundred chiefs and braves of the Sac and Fox tribes, together with their families. They were brought over from the Iowa side on the ferry and two large flat boats. The band and a detachment of the Legion met them at the landing, but as soon as Keokuk failed to recognize Joseph among those who had come to bid him welcome, he refused to land or allow any of his party to go ashore until Joseph made his appearance. The arrangement had been made for the band and the detachment of the Legion to lead the dusky visitors to the grove where the Saints held their meetings; and there Joseph would have joined them. But Keokuk seemed to have his own ideas in relation to the etiquette to be observed at his reception, and waited until the Prophet met him at the landing and bade him welcome to Nauvoo.

At the grove Joseph addressed the Indians at some length, upon what the Lord had revealed to him concerning their forefathers, and recited to them the glorious promises contained in the Book of Mormon respecting themselves, the despised remnants of a once splendid race. How their hearts must have glowed and their eyes brightened as they listened to the young Prophet relate the story of their forefathers' rise and fall, and the bright promises held out to them of redemption from their

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*Minutes of special conference, Aug. 16, 1841. Millennial Star, Vol. xviii, page 630.

fallen state! In conclusion Joseph counseled them to cease killing each other, and warring with other tribes or with the whites. To Joseph's speech Keokuk replied:

I have a Book of Mormon at my wigwam that you gave me a number of moons ago. I believe you are a great and good man. Keokuk looks rough, but I am a son of the Great Spirit. I have heard your advice. We intend to quit fighting, and follow the good talk you have given us.

After the "talk," they were feasted by the Saints with good food and dainties and melons. At the conclusion of the feast, they gave a specimen of their war dance to entertain the spectators, and then returned to the Iowa side of the river to their encampment.

Thus passed away the summer of 1841; and by the first of October—the date fixed for the semi-annual conference—the early autumn frosts had tinged the forest leaves with purple and gold, giving to the splendid scenery about Nauvoo an additional charm. President Joseph Smith was not present at the opening of the conference. He had that morning gone to assist in laying the corner-stone of the Nauvoo House which the Saints by revelation had been commanded to build;* and the conference was opened by President Brigham Young.

The principal subject brought before the people at this conference was the redemption of the dead, and building the temple. This matter appeared to impress itself upon the mind of Joseph with great force, and nothing, apparently, gave him more delight than to explain its importance to his people. Up to this time many baptisms for the dead had been performed in the river, but it was now announced that no more baptisms for the dead should be attended to, until it could be done in the

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* Doctrine and Covenants, Section 124.

font of the Lord's house, for thus had the Lord commanded. The Saints, however, were not long denied the privilege of performing this work of baptism for their dead, as on the eighth of November, following the conference, a temporary baptismal font had been completed and dedicated in the basement of the temple.*

On the occasion of the angel Moroni's first appearance to Joseph Smith, in 1823, he repeated to the young Prophet the words of Malachi, recorded in the fourth chapter of the Book of Malachi, the fifth and sixth verses, though quoting somewhat differently from the language of King James' translation, as follows:

Behold, I will reveal unto you the Priesthood, by the hand of Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of

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* The font was constructed of pine timber, and put together of staves tongued and grooved, oval shaped, sixteen feet long east and west, and twelve feet wide, seven feet high from the foundation, the basin four feet deep; the moulding of the cap or base was formed of beautiful carved wood in antique style, and the sides were finished with panel work. There were steps leading up and down into the basin in the north and south sides, guarded by side railings. The font stood upon twelve oxen, four on each side and two at each end, their heads, shoulders and forelegs projecting out from under the font. They were carved out of pine plank, glued together, and copied after the most beautiful five-year-old steer that could be found in the country. * * * The oxen and ornamental mouldings of the font were carved by Elder Elijah Fordham, from New York. * * * The font was inclosed by a temporary frame building sided up with split oak clap-boards, with a roof of the same material, but was so low that the timbers of the first story of the temple were laid above it. The water was supplied from a well thirty feet deep in the east end of the basement. This font was built for the baptism for the dead until the temple could be completed, when a more durable one was to take its place.—*Millennial Star*, Volume XVIII, 744.

the Lord; and he will plant in the hearts of the children the promises made to the fathers, and the hearts of the children shall turn to their fathers; if it were not so, the whole earth would be utterly wasted at his coming.

In fulfillment of this promised visitation, in April, 1836, Elijah the prophet appeared to Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery and said:

Behold, the time has fully come, which was spoken by the mouth of Malachi, testifying that he (Elijah) should be sent before the great and dreadful day of the Lord come, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the children to the fathers, lest the whole earth be smitten with a curse. Therefore the keys of this dispensation are committed into your hands, and by this ye may know that the great and dreadful day of the Lord is near, even at the doors.

And now when something like peace had come to The Church, and settled conditions obtained, the Prophet of God began to unfold the doctrine of salvation for the dead—the application of those principles of salvation to past generations who had lived upon the earth when neither the Gospel nor divine authority to administer its ordinances were among men.

In addition to the main idea of this doctrine which he taught with such great power, the following gems are gathered from his teachings at this conference, chiefly relating to the same subject:

The proclamation of the first principles of the Gospel, was a means of salvation to men individually, and it was the truth and not men that saved them; but men by actively engaging in rites of salvation substantially became instruments in bringing multitudes of their kindred into the Kingdom of God. [And hence] he presented baptism for the dead as the only way by which men can appear as saviors on Mount Zion.

* * *

The difference between an angel and a ministering spirit: the one

[the first] is a resurrected or translated body with its spirit ministering to embodied spirits; the other a disembodied spirit visiting and ministering to disembodied spirits.

* * *

Jesus Christ became a ministering spirit (while his body was laying in the sepulchre) to the spirits in prison, to fulfill an important part of his mission, without which he could not have perfected his work or entered into his rest. After his resurrection he appeared as an angel to his disciples.

* * *

Translated bodies cannot enter into rest until they have undergone a change equivalent to death.

* * *

Translated bodies are designed for future missions.

* * *

The angel which appeared to John on the Isle of Patmos was a translated or resurrected body.

* * *

Jesus Christ went in body after his resurrection to minister to translated and resurrected bodies.

* * *

It is no more incredible that God should *save* the dead than that he should raise the dead.

* * *

There is never a time when the spirit is too old to approach God.

* * *

All are within the reach of pardoning mercy, who have not committed the unpardonable sin, which hath no forgiveness, neither in this world, nor in the world to come. There is a way to release the spirit of the dead; that is by the power and authority of the Priesthood—by binding and loosing on earth. This doctrine appears glorious, inasmuch as it exhibits the greatness of divine compassion and benevolence in the extent of the plan of human salvation.

This glorious truth is well calculated to enlarge the understanding, and to sustain the soul under troubles, difficulties, and distresses.

For illustration, suppose the case of two men, brothers, equally intelligent, learned, virtuous and lovely, walking in uprightness and in all good conscience, so far as they had been able to discern duty from the muddy stream of tradition, or from the blotted page of the book of nature. One dies and is buried, having never heard the Gospel of reconciliation; to the other the message of salvation is sent, he hears and embraces it, and is made the heir of eternal life. Shall the one become a partaker of glory, and the other consigned to hopeless perdition? Is there no chance for his escape? Sectarianism answers, none! none!! none!!! Such an idea is worse than atheism. The truth shall break down and dash in pieces all such bigoted Pharisaism; the sects shall be sifted, the honest in heart brought out, and their priests left in the midst of their corruption.

* * *

This doctrine presents in a clear light the wisdom and mercy of God in preparing an ordinance for the salvation of the dead, being baptized by proxy, their names recorded in heaven, and they judged according to the deeds done in the body. This doctrine was the burden of the Scriptures. Those Saints who neglect it, in behalf of their deceased relatives, do it at the peril of their own salvation. The dispensation of the fullness of times will bring to light the things that have been revealed in all former dispensations; also other things that have not been before revealed.

* * *

Another interesting feature of the conference was the report made by the Prophet of The Church property in his charge as trustee-in-trust for The Church. He also took occasion to report the amount of his own earthly possessions, of which the following is a copy:

Old Charley, a horse given to him several years before in Kirtland; two pet deers; two old turkeys and four young ones; an old cow given to him by a brother in Missouri; old Major, a dog; his wife, children, and a little household furniture!

Surely his earthly possessions did not far exceed those of Him who had not where to lay His head!

CHAPTER XX.

INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW MARRIAGE SYSTEM.

ANOTHER matter of very great importance, and one which has exercised a great influence upon the course of events in the history of The Church—and especially upon the events of this Nauvoo period—belongs to the spring and summer of 1841; and many things of our history will be all the plainer if the matter referred to be considered now. I refer to the introduction, in practice, of the marriage system which afterwards obtained in The Church. The chief and greatest feature of this marriage system—celestial marriage it is called by The Church, because it is the marriage system that obtains in celestial worlds—is the eternity of the marriage covenant. "Until death us do part" is usually the mutual covenant of man and woman in the orthodox "Christian" marriage ceremony.* That is, the marriage covenant is understood among "Christians" generally as being a matter that pertains to time only, the contract obligations ending with death. But this celestial marriage system of The Church regards the incident of death not at all, but makes the covenant of marriage for time and for all eternity; a covenant which is sealed and ratified by that power of the Priesthood in the administrator which binds on earth and it is bound in heaven.† That is, the covenant of

* See The Book of Common Prayer, Church of England, article, Solemnization of Matrimony.

† Jesus said unto Peter: I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.—Matt. xvi: 19.

marriage holds good through time and will be in effect and of binding force in and after the resurrection. In other words this marriage system regards man as enduring eternally, and formulates his marriage covenants in harmony with that view of him. Of course this contemplates the continuation of the marriage state in eternity. Not only the spiritual and intellectual companionship, but all the relations of the wedded state, with the joys of parentage—the power of endless lives being among the means of man's exaltation and glory. That this is a view of marriage quite distinct from the usual "Christian" view, goes without saying. It throws a new light upon man's future existence. It destroys the vagueness which through nearly all ages like a mystic pall has hidden the glory and exaltation destined for man in the future eternities of God. It should be said, in this connection, that the revelations of God to Joseph Smith even before this marriage system was made known, held out to man the hope of a tangible future existence in a resurrected, immortal body of flesh and bones quickened by the spirit, and clothed with the glory of immortal youth. The future life was to be a reality, not a land of shadows; his heavenly home was to be upon the earth, after it had become sanctified and made a celestial sphere. His relations with his kindred and friends were to be of a nature to satisfy the longings of the human heart for society, for fellowship; and needed only the revelation of this marriage system to complete the circle of his promised future felicity. For grant to man in his resurrected state a real, tangible existence; an immortal youth that knows no pain or sickness or disease; the power to "hive" knowledge and wisdom as the centuries, the millenniums and eternities roll by; grant him the power to build and inhabit; to love and be loved; and add to that the power of endless lives—the power and privilege to perpetuate his race under an eternal marriage covenant—grant this, and the future happiness, exaltation and glory of man stands revealed as being absolutely

without limitations, and far greater and beyond in majesty anything within our power to conceive in our present state of semi-dullness.

I say that the primary principle of the marriage system of The Church is the eternity of the marriage covenant; but owing to the fact that the system also includes the doctrine of a plurality of wives, the importance and grandeur of the doctrine of the eternity of the marriage covenant to a very great extent has been lost sight of in the discussion of and the popular clamor concerning the plurality feature of this new marriage system. The revelation making known this marriage doctrine came about in this way: First it should be stated—and it is evident from the written revelation itself, which bears the date of July 12th, 1843,*—that the doctrine was revealed and the practice of it began before the partial† revelation now in the Doctrine and Covenants was written. As early as 1831 the rightfulness of a plurality of wives under certain conditions was made known to Joseph Smith. In the latter part of that year, especially from November 1831, and through the early months of 1832, the Prophet with Sidney Rigdon as his assistant was earnestly engaged at Hiram, a village in Portage County, near Kirtland, Ohio, in translating the Jewish scripture.‡ It must have been while engaged in that work that the evident approval of God to the plural marriage system of the ancient patriarchs attracted the Prophet's attention and led him to make those inquiries of the Lord to which the opening paragraphs of the written revelation refer, viz:—

Verily, thus saith the Lord unto you, my servant Joseph, that in-

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* See Doc. and Cov. Sec. 132: 52.

† *Ibid*, verse 66.

‡ See Millennial Star, Vol. XIV. (Supplement) pp 80,83; also pp. 114 and 116 same volume. Doc. and Cov. Sec. 76: 11-16.

asmuch as you have inquired of my hand, to know and understand wherein I, the Lord, justified my servants Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; as also Moses, David and Solomon, my servants, as touching the principle and doctrine of their having many wives and concubines: behold! and lo, I am the Lord thy God, and will answer thee as touching this matter.

The doctrine revealed at that time to the Prophet, however, was not to be made known to the world; but Joseph did make known what had been revealed to him to a few trusted friends, among whom were Oliver Cowdery and Lyman E. Johnson, the latter confiding what the Prophet had taught him to Orson Pratt, his missionary companion. With these and a few other exceptions, perhaps, the knowledge of the truth and righteousness of this principle of the future marriage system of The Church was locked up in the bosom of the Prophet of God.

About 1840, however, the Prophet began to be moved upon to make known the doctrine to others. He taught the principle to Joseph Bates Noble for one, as early as the fall of 1840. According to the affidavit of Noble, given before James Jack, a notary public, in and for the county of Salt Lake, Utah, in June, 1869, Joseph Smith declared to Noble that "he had received a revelation from God on the subject, and that an angel of the Lord had commanded him (Joseph Smith) to move forward in the said order of marriage; and further, that the said Joseph Smith requested him (Joseph B. Noble) to step forward and assist him in carrying out the said principle." This same man Noble gives the following affidavit with reference to the introduction of the practice of this principle by Joseph Smith, the Prophet:

Territory of Utah, }
County of Salt Lake, } ss

Be it remembered that on this 26th day of June, A. D. 1869, personally appeared before me, James Jack, a Notary Public in and for said county, Joseph Bates Noble, who was by me sworn in due

form of law, and upon his oath saith, that on the fifth day of April, A. D., 1841, at the City of Nauvoo, County of Hancock, State of Illinois, he married or sealed Louisa Beaman, to Joseph Smith, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, according to the order of celestial marriage revealed to the said Joseph Smith.

(Signed) JOSEPH B. NOBLE.

Subscribed and sworn to by the said Joseph Bates Noble the day and year first above written.

JAMES JACK, Notary Public.

The introduction of the practice of plural marriage by the Prophet then began even before the return of the Twelve from England. On their return Joseph soon began to teach the principle to them, and urged upon them the importance of putting it into practice. The dread with which the doctrine was regarded, the prejudices against it in the hearts of those faithful men who accepted it as a revelation from God through the Prophet, are all illustrated in the reflections and testimony of Elder John Taylor, one of the Twelve at that time, and subsequently the President of the Church. And here let me repeat what I said in his biography some years ago: "The world never made a greater mistake than when it supposed that plural marriage was hailed with delight by the Elders who were commanded of the Lord to introduce its practice in this generation. They saw clearly that it would bring additional reproach upon them from the world; that it would run counter to the traditions and prejudices of society, as, indeed, it was contrary to their own traditions; that their motives would be misunderstood or misconstrued. All this they saw, and naturally shrunk from the undertaking required of them by the revelation of God." And now Elder Taylor:—

Joseph Smith told the Twelve that if this law was not practiced, if they would not enter into this covenant, then the Kingdom of God could not go one step further. Now, we did not feel like preventing the Kingdom of God from going forward. We professed to be the

Apostles of the Lord, and did not feel like putting ourselves in a position to retard the progress of the Kingdom of God. The revelation says that "All those who have this law revealed unto them must obey the same." Now, that is not my word. I did not make it. It was the Prophet of God who revealed that to us in Nauvoo, and I bear witness of this solemn fact before God, that he did reveal this sacred principle to me and others of the Twelve, and in this revelation it is stated that it is the will and law of God that "all those who have this law revealed unto them must obey the same."

I had always entertained strict ideas of virtue, and I felt as a married man that this was to me, outside of this principle, an appalling thing to do. The idea of going and asking a young lady to be married to me when I had already a wife! It was a thing calculated to stir up feelings from the innermost depths of the human soul. I had always entertained the strictest regard of chastity. I had never in my life seen the time when I have known of a man deceiving a woman—and it is often done in the world, where, notwithstanding the crime, the man is received into society and the poor woman is looked upon as a pariah and an outcast—I have always looked upon such a thing as infamous, and upon such a man as a villain. * * * Hence, with the feelings I had entertained, nothing but a knowledge of God, and the revelations of God, and the truth of them, could have induced me to embrace such a principle as this.

We [the Twelve] seemed to put off, as far as we could, what might be termed the evil day.

Some time after these things were made known unto us, I was riding out of Nauvoo on horseback, and met Joseph Smith coming in, he, too, being on horseback. * * * I bowed to Joseph, and having done the same to me, he said: "Stop;" and he looked at me very intently. "Look here," said he, "those things that have been spoken of must be fulfilled, and if they are not entered into right away the keys will be turned."

Well, what did I do? Did I feel to stand in the way of this great, eternal principle, and treat lightly the things of God? No. I replied: "Brother Joseph, I will try and carry these things out."

So indeed he did, for within two years, in Nauvoo, he

married Elizabeth Haigham, Jane Ballantyne and Mary A. Oakley.

After this the testimony is abundant that plural marriage as well as marriage for eternity was abundantly practiced in Nauvoo,* though the revelation which made its rightfulness known was not written until July 12th, 1843.

I have remarked in the opening of this chapter that the consideration of this subject at this period of Nauvoo's history would aid the reader to understand more clearly many things in the subsequent events we have to relate. It is to be observed first of all that this principle of plural marriage had to be introduced secretly; first, because of the traditions and prejudices of the Saints themselves; and, secondly, because of the advantage that their enemies surrounding them would have when once the doctrine was publicly proclaimed. This enforced secrecy, then, which a reasonable prudence demanded, gave rise to apparent contradictions between the public utterances of leading brethren in The Church and their practice. Wicked men took advantage of the situation and brought sorrow to the hearts of the innocent and reproach upon The Church. Some, possessed of a zeal without wisdom, knowing of this doctrine, hastened without authority to make public proclamation of it and had to be silenced, as, for instance, a number of Elders who were reproved by Hyrum Smith for preaching this doctrine at a branch of The Church at China Creek, near Nauvoo;† and later one Hiram Brown who did the same thing in Lapeer County, Michigan; for which he was disfellowshiped from The Church and notified by Joseph and Hyrum to attend the con-

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* See a collection of affidavits on this subject in the Historical Record, Andrew Jenson, compiler; and also affidavits in Succession in Presidency, 2nd edition.

† See Times and Seasons for March, 1844.

ference in April of that year to give a further account of his proceedings.*

Then again there were others who falsely taught that the Prophet approved of promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, and that there was no sin in such relations so long as they were kept secret and brought no scandal upon the community. This afforded villains their opportunity, and such men as John C. Bennett; the Laws, Wilson and William; Dr. Foster; the young Higbees, Chancy L., and Francis M.; and others, to reap their harvest of wickedness. There was necessarily enough of mystery in the movements of the Prophet and his faithful brethren connected with the matter of plural marriage to give something of color to the false statements of these wretches, and hence many otherwise good people were deceived. The duty of the Prophet and his associates, however, to denounce this wickedness that had crept into The Church was not shirked by the leading Elders of The Church. The Prophet was bold in his denunciation of the evil and snatched the masks from the faces of corrupt men, and did all in his power to protect the innocent from the deceptions of the vicious, though it pluck down upon his own head the vengeful wrath of the ungodly. With this situation in mind I am sure the reader will better appreciate the many complications which follow.

In order that the reader who is a stranger to Mormonism may see how far the principle of the eternity of the marriage covenant and the plural marriage system of The Church is removed from the sensuality that is often attributed to it, I quote *in extenso*, in concluding this chapter, the revelation which justifies and authorized it:

Verily, thus saith the Lord unto you, my servant Joseph, that inasmuch as you have inquired of my hand, to know and understand

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*See Times and Seasons for February 1st, 1844.

wherein I, the Lord, justified my servants Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; as also Moses, David and Solomon, my servants, as touching the principle and doctrine of their having many wives and concubines:

Behold! and lo, I am the Lord thy God, and will answer thee as touching this matter:

Therefore, prepare thy heart to receive and obey the instructions which I am about to give unto you; for all those who have this law revealed unto them must obey the same;

For behold! I reveal unto you a new and everlasting covenant; and if ye abide not that covenant, then are ye damned; for no one can reject this covenant, and be permitted to enter into my glory;

For all who will have a blessing at my hands, shall abide the law which was appointed for that blessing, and the conditions thereof, as were instituted from before the foundation of the world;

And as pertaining to the new and everlasting covenant, it was instituted for the fullness of my glory; and he that receiveth a fullness thereof, must and shall abide the law, or he shall be damned, saith the Lord God.

And verily I say unto you, that the conditions of this law are these:—All covenants, contracts, bonds, obligations, oaths, vows, performances, connections, associations, or expectations, that are not made, and entered into, and sealed, by the Holy Spirit of promise, of him who is anointed, both as well for time and for all eternity, and that too most holy, by revelation and commandment through the medium of mine anointed, whom I have appointed on the earth to hold this power, (and I have appointed unto my servant Joseph to hold this power in the last days, and there is never but one on the earth at a time, on whom this power and the keys of this Priesthood are conferred,) are of no efficacy, virtue or force, in and after the resurrection from the dead; for all contracts that are not made unto this end, have an end when men are dead.

Behold! mine house is a house of order, saith the Lord God, and not a house of confusion.

Will I accept of an offering, saith the Lord, that is not made in my name!

Or, will I receive at your hands that which I have not appointed!

And will I appoint unto you, saith the Lord, except it be by law,

even as I and my Father ordained unto you, before the world was!

I am the Lord thy God, and I give unto you this commandment, that no man shall come unto the Father but by me, or by my word, which is my law, saith the Lord;

And everything that is in the world, whether it be ordained of men, by thrones, or principalities, or powers, or things of name, whatsoever they may be, that are not by me, or by my word, saith the Lord, shall be thrown down, and shall not remain after men are dead, neither in nor after the resurrection, saith the Lord your God;

For whatsoever things remain, are by me; and whatsoever things are not by me, shall be shaken and destroyed.

Therefore, if a man marry him a wife in the world, and he marry her not by me, nor by my word; and he covenant with her so long as he is in the world, and she with him, their covenant and marriage are not of force when they are dead, and when they are out of the world; therefore, they are not bound by any law when they are out of the world;

Therefore, when they are out of the world, they neither marry nor are given in marriage; but are appointed angels in heaven, which angels are ministering servants, to minister for those who are worthy of a far more, and an exceeding, and an eternal weight of glory;

For these angels did not abide my law, therefore they cannot be enlarged, but remain separately and singly, without exaltation, in their saved condition, to all eternity, and from henceforth are not Gods, but are angels of God, for ever and ever.

And again, verily I say unto you, if a man marry a wife, and make a covenant with her for time and for all eternity, if that covenant is not by me, or by my word, which is my law, and is not sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise, through him whom I have anointed and appointed unto this power—then it is not valid, neither of force when they are out of the world, because they are not joined by me, saith the Lord, neither by my word; when they are out of the world, it cannot be received there, because the angels and the Gods are appointed there, by whom they cannot pass; they cannot, therefore, inherit my glory, for my house is a house of order, saith the Lord God.

And again, verily I say unto you, if a man marry a wife by my

word, which is my law, and by the new and everlasting covenant, and it is sealed unto them by the Holy Spirit of promise, by him who is anointed, unto whom I have appointed this power, and the keys of this Priesthood; and it shall be said unto them, ye shall come forth in the first resurrection; and if it be after the first resurrection, in the next resurrection; and shall inherit thrones, kingdoms, principalities, and powers, dominions, all heights and depths—then shall it be written in the Lamb's Book of Life, that he shall commit no murder whereby to shed innocent blood, and if ye abide in my covenant, and commit no murder whereby to shed innocent blood, it shall be done unto them in all things whatsoever my servant hath put upon them, in time, and through all eternity, and shall be of full force when they are out of the world; and they shall pass by the angels, and the Gods, which are set there, to their exaltation and glory in all things, as hath been sealed upon their heads, which glory shall be a fullness and a continuation of the seeds for ever and ever.

Then shall they be Gods, because they have no end; therefore shall they be from everlasting to everlasting, because they continue; then shall they be above all, because all things are subject unto them. Then shall they be Gods, because they have all power, and the angels are subject unto them.

Verily, verily I say unto you, except ye abide my law, ye cannot attain to this glory;

For straight is the gate, and narrow the way that leadeth unto the exaltation and continuation of the lives, and few there be that find it, because ye receive me not in the world, neither do ye know me.

But if ye receive me in the world, then shall ye know me, and shall receive your exaltation, that where I am, ye shall be also.

This is eternal lives, to know the only wise and true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent. I am he. Receive ye, therefore, my law.

Broad is the gate, and wide the way that leadeth to the deaths, and many there are that go in thereat; because they receive me not, neither do they abide in my law.

Verily, verily I say unto you, if a man marry a wife according to my word, and they are sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise, ac-

cording to mine appointment, and he or she shall commit any sin or transgression of the new and everlasting covenant whatever, and all manner of blasphemies, and if they commit no murder, wherein they shed innocent blood—yet they shall come forth in the first resurrection, and enter into their exaltation; but they shall be destroyed in the flesh, and shall be delivered unto the buffetings of Satan unto the day of redemption, saith the Lord God.

The blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, which shall not be forgiven in the world, nor out of the world, is in that ye commit murder, wherein ye shed innocent blood, and assent unto my death, after ye have received my new and everlasting covenant, saith the Lord God; and he that abideth not this law, can in no wise enter into my glory, but shall be damned, saith the Lord.

I am the Lord thy God, and will give unto thee the law of my Holy Priesthood, as was ordained by me, and my Father, before the world was.

Abraham received all things, whatsoever he received, by revelation and commandment, by my word, saith the Lord, and hath entered into his exaltation, and sitteth upon his throne.

Abraham received promises concerning his seed, and of the fruit of his loins,—from whose loins ye are, namely, my servant Joseph,—which were to continue so long as they were in the world; and as touching Abraham and his seed, out of the world they should continue; both in the world and out of the world should they continue as innumerable as the stars; or, if ye were to count the sand upon the sea shore, ye could not number them.

This promise is yours, also, because ye are of Abraham, and the promise was made unto Abraham; and by this law are the continuation of the works of my Father, wherein he glorifieth himself.

Go ye, therefore, and do the works of Abraham; enter ye into my law, and ye shall be saved.

But if ye enter not into my law ye cannot receive the promise of my Father, which he made unto Abraham.

God commanded Abraham, and Sarah gave Hagar to Abraham to wife. And why did she do it? Because this was the law, and from Hagar sprang many people. This, therefore, was fulfilling among other things, the promises.

Was Abraham, therefore, under condemnation? Verily, I say unto you, Nay; for I, the Lord, commanded it.

Abraham was commanded to offer his son Isaac; nevertheless, it was written, thou shalt not kill. Abraham, however, did not refuse, and it was accounted unto him for righteousness.

Abraham received concubines, and they bear him children, and it was accounted unto him for righteousness, because they were given unto him, and he abode in my law, as Isaac also, and Jacob did none other things than that which they were commanded; and because they did none other things than that which they were commanded, they have entered into their exaltation, according to the promises, and sit upon thrones, and are not angels, but are Gods.

David also received many wives and concubines, as also Solomon and Moses my servants; as also many others of my servants, from the beginning of creation until this time; and in nothing did they sin, save in those things which they received not of me.

David's wives and concubines were given unto him, of me, by the hand of Nathan, my servant, and others of the prophets who had the keys of this power; and in none of these things did he sin against me, save in the case of Uriah and his wife; and, therefore he hath fallen from his exaltation, and received his portion; and he shall not inherit them out of the world; for I gave them unto another, saith the Lord.

I am the Lord thy God, and I gave unto thee, my servant Joseph, an appointment, and restore all things; ask what ye will, and it shall be given unto you according to my word:

And as ye have asked concerning adultery—verily, verily I say unto you, if a man receiveth a wife in the new and everlasting covenant, and if she be with another man, and I have not appointed unto her by the holy anointing, she hath committed adultery, and shall be destroyed.

If she be not in the new and everlasting covenant, and she be with another man, she has committed adultery;

And if her husband be with another woman, and he was under a vow, he hath broken his vow, and hath committed adultery,

And if she hath not committed adultery, but is innocent, and hath not broken her vow, and she knoweth it, and I reveal it unto you,

my servant Joseph, then shall you have power, by the power of my Holy Priesthood, to take her, and give her unto him that hath not committed adultery, but hath been faithful; for he shall be made ruler over many;

For I have conferred upon you the keys and power of the Priesthood, wherein I restore all things, and make known unto you all things in due time.

And verily, verily I say unto you, that whatsoever you seal on earth, shall be sealed in heaven; and whatsoever you bind on earth, in my name, and by my word, saith the Lord, it shall be eternally bound in the heavens; and whosesoever sins you remit on earth shall be remitted eternally in the heavens; and whosesoever sins you retain on earth, shall be retained in heaven.

And again, verily I say, whomsoever you bless, I will bless, and whomsoever you curse, I will curse, saith the Lord; for I, the Lord, am thy God.

And again, verily I say unto you, my servant Joseph, that whatsoever you give on earth, and to whomsoever you give anyone on earth, by my word, and according to my law, it shall be visited with blessings, and not cursings, and with my power, saith the Lord, and shall be without condemnation on earth, and in heaven;

For I am the Lord thy God, and will be with thee even unto the end of the world, and through all eternity; for verily, I seal upon you your exaltation, and prepare a throne for you in the kingdom of my Father, with Abraham your father.

Behold, I have seen your sacrifices, and will forgive all your sins; I have seen your sacrifices, in obedience to that which I have told you; go, therefore, and I make a way for your escape, as I accepted the offering of Abraham, of his son Isaac.

Verily, I say unto you, a commandment I give unto mine handmaid, Emma Smith, your wife, whom I have given unto you, that she stay herself, and partake not of that which I commanded you to offer unto her; for I did it, saith the Lord, to prove you all, as I did Abraham; and that I might require an offering at your hand, by covenant and sacrifice;

And let mine handmaid, Emma Smith, receive all those that have been given to my servant Joseph, and who are virtuous and pure be-

fore me; and those who are not pure, and have said they were pure, shall be destroyed, saith the Lord God;

For I am the Lord thy God, and ye shall obey my voice; and I give unto you my servant Joseph, that he shall be made ruler over many things, for he hath been faithful over a few things, and from henceforth I will strengthen him.

And I command mine handmaid, Emma Smith, to abide and cleave unto my servant Joseph, and to none else. But if she will not abide this commandment, she shall be destroyed, saith the Lord; for I am the Lord thy God, and will destroy her, if she abide not in my law;

But if she will not abide this commandment, then shall my servant Joseph do all things for her, even as he hath said; and I will bless him and multiply him and give unto him an hundred-fold in this world, of fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, houses and lands, wives and children, and crowns of eternal lives in the eternal worlds.

And again, verily I say, let mine handmaid forgive my servant Joseph his trespasses; and then shall she be forgiven her trespasses, wherein she has trespassed against me; and I, the Lord thy God, will bless her, and multiply her, and make her heart to rejoice.

And again, I say, let not my servant Joseph put his property out of his hands, lest an enemy come and destroy him; for Satan seeketh to destroy; for I am the Lord thy God, and he is my servant; and behold! and lo, I am with him, as I was with Abraham, thy father, even unto his exaltation and glory.

Now, as touching the law of the Priesthood, there are many things pertaining thereunto.

Verily, if a man be called of my Father, as was Aaron, by mine own voice, and by the voice of him that sent me: and I have endowed him with the keys of the power of this Priesthood, if he do anything in my name, and according to my law, and by my word, he will not commit sin, and I will justify him.

Let no one, therefore, set on my servant Joseph; for I will justify him; for he shall do the sacrifice which I require at his hands, for his transgressions, saith the Lord your God.

And again, as pertaining to the law of the Priesthood: If any man espouse a virgin, and desire to espouse another, and the first give her consent; and if he espouse the second, and they are virgins, and have

vowed to no other man, then he is justified; he cannot commit adultery, for they are given unto him; for he cannot commit adultery with that that belongeth unto him and to no one else;

And if he have ten virgins given unto him by this law, he cannot commit adultery, for they belong to him, and they are given unto him, therefore is he justified.

But if one or either of the ten virgins, after she is espoused, shall be with another man; she has committed adultery, and shall be destroyed; for they are given unto him to multiply and replenish the earth, according to my commandment, and to fulfill the promise which was given by my Father before the foundation of the world; and for their exaltation in the eternal worlds, that they may bear the souls of men; for herein is the work of my Father continued, that he may be glorified.

And again, verily, verily I say unto you, if any man have a wife, who holds the keys of this power, and he teaches unto her the law of my Priesthood, as pertaining to these things, then shall she believe, and administer unto him, or she shall be destroyed, saith the Lord your God, for I will destroy her; for I will magnify my name upon all those who receive and abide in my law.

Therefore, it shall be lawful in me, if she receive not this law, for him to receive all things, whatsoever I, the Lord his God, will give unto him, because she did not administer unto him according to my word; and she then becomes the transgressor; and he is exempt from the law of Sarah, who administered unto Abraham according to the law, when I commanded Abraham to take Hagar to wife.

And now, as pertaining to this law, verily, verily I say unto you, I will reveal more unto you, hereafter; therefore, let this suffice for the present. Behold, I am Alpha and Omega. Amen.

CHAPTER XXI.

CAMP FOLLOWERS.—BANKRUPTCY.

AMONG the most despicable occupations that men engage in, that of camp follower holds a front rank. By plundering the dead, by the practice of extortion upon the living, by taking advantage of the license and reign of terror that follows in the wake of an army, the camp follower plunders the terrified people, not unfrequently claiming to be authorized by the commanders of the army, in order to be more successful in his rapine. Thus he seeks to enrich himself upon the misfortunes and terrors of others and at the expense of the reputation of armies and their commanders. More loathsome are such characters than the vultures that hover about the fields made red by human gore, to glut themselves upon the festering, swollen bodies of the dead. Yet more to be despised than the camp follower is that man who will attach himself to a religious association with a view of profiting in schemes of villainy; and when discovered in his crimes throws the responsibility of his evil doing upon the leaders of said association, claiming that his crimes have been taught to him as a part of his religion! Such men are wholesale character assassins, for by their deeds virtuous communities are brought into disrepute, and reproach is cast upon their religion.

Some such characters had attached themselves to the Saints in Nauvoo and vicinity, and gave a coloring to the charges that were made against The Church, to the effect that the leaders thereof sanctioned stealing, so long as it was practiced on the Gentiles—those not belonging to The Church. Such

were the rumors given out by some members of The Church engaged in this infamous business. On the eighteenth of November a nest of such vipers was uncovered at Ramus, near Nauvoo; and they were promptly excommunicated from The Church by the Apostles, who were holding a conference at the place on the date above mentioned. Both Joseph and Hyrum took advantage of the occasion to make affidavits before proper officers of the law to the effect that they had never given their sanction to such infamous doctrine as that attributed to them;* and the Twelve Apostles in an epistle to the public disavowed ever sanctioning the crime of theft.

Hyrum in his affidavit says:

> I hereby disavow any sanction, or approbation by me of the crime of theft, or any other evil practice in any person or persons whatever, whereby either the lives or property of our fellow-men may be unlawfully taken or molested; neither are such doings sanctioned or approbated by the First Presidency or any other persons in authority or good standing in The Church, but such acts are altogether in violation of the rules, order and regulations of The Church, contrary to the teachings given in said Church, and the laws of both God and man.

In a public declaration to which Joseph appended his affidavit, the Prophet said:

> It has been proclaimed upon the housetops and in the secret chamber, in the public walks and private circles throughout the length and breadth of this vast continent, that stealing by the Latter-day Saints has received my approval; nay, that I have taught them the doctrine, encouraged them in plunder, and led on the van—than which nothing is more foreign from my heart. I disfellowship the perpetrators of all such abominations; they are devils and not Saints, totally unfit for the society of Christians or men. It is true that

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*Times and Seasons for December, 1841.

some professing to be Latter-day Saints have taught such vile heresies, but all are not Israel that are of Israel; and I want it distinctly understood in all coming time, that The Church over which I have the honor of presiding, will ever set its brows like brass, and its face like steel, against all such abominable acts of villainy and crime.

Nor were the Twelve less forcible in denouncing this iniquity. In an epistle printed at the same time with the above they said:

We know not how to express our abhorrence of such an idea, and can only say it is engendered in hell, founded in falsehood, and is the offspring of the devil; that it is at variance with every principle of righteousness and truth, and will damn all that are connected with it. * * * We further call upon The Church to bring all such characters before the authorities, that they may be tried and dealt with according to the law of God and delivered up to the laws of the land.

About this time, too, there were gangs of robbers operating up and down the Mississippi river from which the Saints suffered, as many of their horses and cattle were stolen; but more serious injury arose from the fact that the acts of these robbers were attributed to the Saints themselves, and did much to prejudice the minds of the public against them.

In the month of December the attempt to build up the town of Warren, located one mile south of Warsaw, was abandoned. As early as the fall of 1839 Daniel S. Witter, a man owning a sawmill at Warsaw, held out inducements to the First Presidency of The Church to settle at or in the vicinity of Warsaw, but the location where the Saints built up Nauvoo was considered preferable. Still Witter, Aldrich, Warren, and others continued to solicit the authorities of The Church to make an attempt to build up a city near Warsaw; and finally, in the spring of 1841, an agreement was entered into between The Church authorities and Witter, Warren and Aldrich—owners of the school section

located just south of Warsaw—by which any of the Saints settling on this school section, already surveyed into town lots and called Warren, were to have certain privileges granted them.

In September, Willard Richards was located at Warsaw and made what preparations he could to receive settlers. Some few families of Saints gathered there, and in November two hundred and four emigrants from England were counseled to locate in that vicinity. But no sooner had preparations to build up the place been made than the citizens of Warsaw attempted to form an anti-Mormon association, and manifested other symptoms of an unfriendly character. They raised the rents—Mr. Witter himself raised one dollar per barrel on flour, while Aldrich forbade the people using the old wood on the school section. These unfriendly demonstrations led to the abandonment of the enterprise of building up Warren, and the Church authorities promptly advised the Saints who had located there to remove to Nauvoo.

The winter of 1841-2 was a busy one for Joseph and those who labored with him as his scribes. He read the proof-sheets of the Book of Mormon previous to its being stereotyped; and prepared that concise yet admirable historical sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Church, together with a summary of the principles it teaches—now known as the Articles of Faith —for Mr. Wentworth of Chicago, who was writing a history of Illinois. He also prepared for publication his translation of the Book of Abraham from Egyptian papyrus, and which in its importance as a record of the ancient saints brought to light in this age, stands only second to the Book of Mormon.

The Egyptian papyrus came into the possession of the Prophet through one Michael H. Chandler, who was traveling through Ohio exhibiting several Egyptian mummies and rolls of papyrus that were found in the coffin containing the mummies. Chandler claimed to have obtained the Egyptian treasures as a bequest from an uncle who had traveled in Egypt. But it mat-

ters little how Chandler came into possession of the mummies; the Saints in Kirtland purchased them, and the two rolls of papyrus proved to be the writings of Abraham and of Joseph who was sold into Egypt; and the record of Abraham, at least in part, was translated and published by the Prophet. Its importance is of the character above stated.*

These labors, together with instructing the Saints, attending debating schools, laboring in the city council, and organizing and instructing women's Relief Societies, occupied the attention of the Prophet until the opening of spring.

Meantime Nauvoo had been rapidly building up. Work on the temple and Nauvoo House was being pushed with considerable vigor; and many neat cottages had taken the place of the rude temporary cabins that had been constructed to shelter the people until their industry could win better homes. The population in the spring of 1842 was between eight and ten thousand. The stream of emigration from the British mission by that time had commenced to flow in and the new citizens assisted in no small degree to increase the prosperity of this central gathering place of the Saints.

But The Church had passed through a long period of disaster. Time and again the early members of The Church had been driven away from their homes, and while their faith in their religion remained unshaken, these frequent drivings and mobbings stripped them of their property and of course ruined their financial schemes; and though their prospects at Nauvoo began to brighten, the people were constantly plagued by the presentation of old claims upon them, their creditors making

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*Those who would know more of this ancient record are referred to the Pearl of Great Price where they will find the translation of it; and for a pretty full consideration of its claims to being a genuine ancient record, and an inspired book, the reader is referred to "The Divine Authenticity of the Book of Abraham," by Elder George Reynolds.

small or no allowance for the disasters which had overtaken them. This was a constant draft upon their resources and a great hindrance to the growth of Nauvoo. Finally, as a means of protection against unreasonable, importunate creditors, a number of the leading brethren, among them the Prophet Joseph, took advantage of the bankrupt law. Under this law any one owing a certain amount more than he was able to pay, made out a schedule of his property and likewise of his debts, and placed both in the hands of an assignee, who paid his creditors whatever percentage of his debts his property amounted to; and the assignor could start again without being compelled to pay any of the old claims held against him previous to his declared insolvency. In whatever light this action on the part of the brethren may appear at first sight, an examination into all the circumstances will reveal the fact that as a means of self-protection it became absolutely necessary. They were financially down, and before they could rise to their feet, inexorable creditors were upon them to take away their substance. If it is possible for an individual or a company to be justified in taking advantage of the bankrupt law, then the Mormon leaders were. There was no effort on the part of those who took advantage of the bankrupt law to defraud their creditors. To parties with whom Joseph had contracted for lands, he wrote that he still considered his contracts with them as good; and in the case of the Hotchkiss purchase he proposed to renew the contract. This step placed the brethren beyond the power of their unjust creditors, and necessity compelled the action

CHAPTER XXII.

SUSPICIONS OF TREACHERY.

AS early as January, 1842, Joseph, as lieutenant-general of the Legion, issued orders for a general military parade and review of the Legion to take place on the seventh of May following. A subsequent order, issued in April, marking out the programme for the day's exercises, contained the following clause:

> At three o'clock p. m. the cohorts will separate and form in line of battle, the brigadiers assume their respective commands, and General Law's command [cavalry] will make a descent upon that of General Rich's [cohort C, infantry] in order of sham battle.

The lieutenant-general had invited the consolidated staff of the Legion to partake of a *repast militaire* on the occasion, at his house.

On the morning of the day appointed for the drill and review two thousand troops were in the field; and an immense concourse of spectators, both of Saints and strangers. Such was the interests taken in the movement of the people of Nauvoo, that a number of the prominent men of the State within reach of the city attended the review. Judge Stephen A. Douglass adjourned the circuit court, then in session at the county seat, Carthage, in order to attend. As soon as the lieutenant-general heard of the presence of Judge Douglass, he sent him an invitation to attend the military dinner given at his house, which the judge accepted.

It was a glorious day, passing off without noise or disorder;

and even the strangers expressed themselves as highly satisfied with what they had witnessed. But even during the brightest days clouds will sometimes drift across the sun's disc: so in the moments of man's supreme happiness, it often occurs that shadows arise to alarm his fears, and remind him how fleeting are the joys of this life—

> Some drops of joy with draughts of ill between;
> Some gleams of sunshine 'mid renewing storms,

are all that he may hope for. So was it with the principal founder of Nauvoo on the day of the sham battle. When the respective cohorts were drawn up in line of battle, facing each other, Major-General John C. Bennett rode up to General Smith and asked him to lead the charge of the first cohort, but Joseph declined. He next asked him to take a position in the rear of the cavalry without his staff during the engagement, but against this Captain A. P. Rockwood, the commander of Joseph's life guard, objected, and Joseph with his staff chose his own position.

Of this incident—and it is for this reason that I have referred to this parade and sham battle—Joseph remarks:

> If General Bennett's true feelings towards me are not made manifest to the world in a very short time then it may be possible that the gentle breathings of that Spirit which whispered to me on parade that there was mischief in that sham battle, were false; a short time will determine the point. Let John C. Bennett answer at the day of judgment, Why did you request me to command one of the cohorts, and also to take my position without my staff, during the sham battle on the seventh of May, 1842, where my life might have been forfeited and no man have known who did the deed?

This is about the first intimation that we have in any of The Church records of John C. Bennett's disaffection towards Joseph or The Church. Two years before he had come to Nauvoo

—then Commerce—filled with that fiery zeal "for the holy faith" which is only known to the newly-made convert. He was a man of considerable learning and ability, and devoted himself assiduously to bring to pass the prosperity of Nauvoo. He was of great service to Joseph as a lieutenant, and the Prophet was wont to say of him that he was about the first man he had about him who could do exactly what he wanted done, the way it should be done, and who would do it at once. In training the Legion and assisting in the drafting of the Nauvoo and other charters, he had rendered invaluable service; and had he possessed qualities of heart equal to those of his mind, he was calculated to have been a valuable acquisition to the city of Nauvoo. Nor am I willing to believe that his motives in uniting himself with The Church were altogether evil, notwithstanding his life previous to his joining The Church was immoral. I am quite willing to believe that when he came to the Saints it was his determination to reform and win for himself an honorable standing among his fellow-men; but the evil habits he had contracted were too strong for his will, and he sought the gratification of his lusts which led to his fall.

Soon after he settled at Nauvoo, he paid his addresses to a respectable young lady of the city, and she, believing him to be an honorable man, accepted them, and he promised to marry her. In the meantime, however, Joseph had received information from the vicinity of Bennett's former residence to the effect that the doctor was a wicked man, and that he had a wife and several children in McConnellsville, Morgan County, Ohio—a thing the doctor had kept concealed. Learning this, Joseph persuaded him to discontinue his attentions to the young lady; but he soon renewed them; whereupon Joseph threatened to expose him if he did not desist, which, to all appearances, had the desired effect.

Being foiled in his advances toward this young lady, and finding that Joseph stood like a lion in his path to prevent the

accomplishment of his evil designs and protect the unsuspecting, he drew around him a covering of hypocrisy, carefully concealed his movements from the Prophet, and proceeded to teach some women, who only knew him as an honorable man, that promiscuous intercourse of the sexes was a doctrine believed in by the Latter-day Saints, and that there was no harm in it. In his first efforts he was unsuccessful; but in his subsequent advice, in the same line, he told them that Joseph and others of The Church authorities both sanctioned and practiced this wickedness, saying that the Prophet only denounced such things so vehemently in public, because of the prejudice of the people and the trouble it might create in his own house. In this manner he succeeded in overcoming the scruples of some of his dupes, and seduced several females. Nor did the evil end here. Bennett induced other men to adopt his evil practices; among them Francis M. and Chauncy L. Higbee. These men repeated the assertions made by the doctor, and thus the evil spread, and the reputation of the Prophet was being undermined.

But evils of this character cannot long be practiced without coming to light, and Doctor Bennett, finding that his corruption was about to be uncovered, began to prepare for the shock. When confronted with positive evidence that it was known that he had a wife and family, and that his seductions were also known, he attempted suicide by taking poison, and resisted the administration of antidotes, but he was rescued from this fate in spite of himself.

Before his evil course was known, arrangements were made to run the doctor for representative from the district in which Nauvoo was included, to the State legislature. But one day Joseph met the doctor in the presence of Squire Wells, and addressed him in substance as follows: "Doctor, I can sustain you no longer. Hyrum is against you, the Twelve are against you, and if I do not come out against sin and iniquity I shall myself be trodden under foot as a Prophet of God." That sen-

tence sounded the death knell to the standing of Dr. Bennett in Nauvoo. Joseph had clung to him in the hope of reforming him, but that could no longer be expected; and when the Prophet let go his hold upon him, there was nothing could avert his downfall.

On the nineteenth of May Bennett resigned his position as mayor and Joseph was elected to that office. On this occasion, and before the whole city council, Joseph asked Doctor Bennett if he had anything against him, to which the doctor replied:

I know what I am about, and the heads of The Church know what they are about, I expect; I have no difficulty with the heads of The Church. I publicly avow that if any one has said that I have stated that General Joseph Smith has given me authority to hold illicit intercourse with women he is a liar in the face of God. Those who have said it are damned liars; they are infernal liars. He never either in public or private gave me any such authority or license, and any person who states it is a scoundrel and a liar. * * * I intend to continue with you, and hope the time may come when I may be restored to full confidence and fellowship, and my former standing in The Church, and that my conduct may be such as to warrant my restoration, and should the time ever come that I may have the opportunity to test my faith, it will then be known whether I am a traitor or a true man.

Joseph—Will you please state definitely whether you know anything against my character, either in public or private.

Doctor Bennett—I do not. In all my intercourse with General Smith in public and in private he has been strictly virtuous.

In addition to this statement before the city council, Doctor Bennett made affidavit before Squire Wells to the same effect as the above.

On the twenty-sixth of May, the case of Bennett came up in the Masonic lodge, of which the doctor was a member, as were also nearly all the principal men of Nauvoo. In the presence of one hundred of the fraternity, he confessed his licen-

tious practices, and acknowledged that he was worthy of the severest chastisement, yet he pleaded for mercy, and especially that he might not be published in the papers. So deep, apparently, was his sorrow, that Joseph pleaded for mercy in his behalf, and he was forgiven as a Mason; but previous to this, the First Presidency of The Church, the Twelve and the Bishop had sent a formal notice to him that they could not fellowship him as a member of The Church, but they withheld the matter from publication, at his earnest solicitation, because of his mother.

John C. Bennett, however, had fallen too far to recover from the effects of his deep transgression. He suddenly left Nauvoo, and soon afterward was found plotting with the enemies of the Saints for the destruction of The Church. By this time the Masonic lodge found that he was an expelled Mason, and had palmed himself off on the Nauvoo lodge as a Mason in regular standing, consequently he was disfellowshiped from the Nauvoo lodge, and was also cashiered by the court-martial of the Nauvoo Legion; and thus plucked of all his glory, he was left to wander as a vagabond and an outcast among men.

After he so suddenly left Nauvoo, he again said that the Prophet Joseph had authorized and encouraged sexual wickedness, and when confronted with his own affidavit, which declared Joseph to be a virtuous man, and a teacher of righteousness, and upright both in his public and private character, he claimed that he was under duress when he made that affidavit. But Squire Wells, before whom he had qualified to make his sworn statement, went before a justice of the peace, and made affidavit that during the time that this development of his wickedness was going on, and he making statements favorable to Joseph and The Church, that—

During all this time, if he (Doctor Bennett) was under duress or fear, he must have had a good faculty of concealing it; for he was at

liberty to go and come when and where he pleased, so far as I am capable of judging.

Squire Wells further testifies in the same statement:

I was always personally friendly with him, after I became acquainted with him. I never heard him say anything derogatory to the character of Joseph Smith, until after he had been exposed by said Smith on the public stand in Nauvoo.

So soon as it was learned that the doctor had left Nauvoo, and was operating for the destruction of The Church, the whole case was published in the Nauvoo papers, and his corruption made known to the world. Those whom he had involved in his vile snares, both men and women, were brought before the proper tribunals of The Church; some of them were disfellowshiped, and others who sincerely repented were forgiven.

The only description I have seen of Doctor Bennett is given in the Essex County *Washingtonian*, published in Salem, Massachusetts, and that is contained in the issue of the fifteenth of September, 1842. According to that description he was a man five feet nine inches high, well formed, black hair sprinkled with grey, dark complexion, a rather thin face, and black, restless eyes.

The fall of Doctor Bennett added another evidence to the fact that neither natural nor acquired attainments, however brilliant they may be, can secure one a safe standing in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, when not accompanied with righteousness of life. Moreover, experience has proven that to brilliancy of intellect highly cultivated, may be added inspired dreams, visions, the revelations of God, and the visitation of angels—and yet, if the daily life and conversation runs not hand in hand with righteousness, these things furnish at best but an insecure foundation on which to stand.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF GOVERNOR BOGGS.

IT was rumored in Nauvoo about the middle of the month of May, 1842, that ex-Governor Boggs, of Missouri, had been assassinated by an unknown hand, at his residence in Independence, Jackson County, Missouri. The ex-governor, however, did not die from the wounds he received, but recovered in the course of several days. The assault made upon him by his enemy, whoever he might be, occurred on the sixth of May, in the year above named. He was seated in a room by himself, when some person discharged a pistol loaded with buckshot, through the adjoining window. Three of the shot took effect in his head—one of which, it was said, penetrated his brain. His son, hearing the shot, burst into the room and found him in a helpless condition. The pistol from which the shot was fired was found under the window, and there, too, were the footprints of the would-be assassin.

No sooner was the news of the affair heard than speculation was rife as to the parties who had perpetrated the deed; and in consequence of the infamous part taken by Boggs in driving the Saints from the State of Missouri, during the period that he was governor, it was not long before "Joe Smith and the Mormons" were accused of the deed. The Quincy *Whig*, in its issue of May 21st, said:

> There are several rumors in circulation in regard to the horrid affair; one of which throws the crime upon the Mormons, from the fact, we suppose, that Mr. Boggs was governor at the time, and in no small degree instrumental in driving them from the State. Smith, too,

the Mormon Prophet, as we understand, prophesied a year or so ago, his death by violent means. Hence, there is plenty of foundation for rumor.

To this statement the Prophet Joseph wrote a reply and sent it to the editor of the *Whig*, Mr. Bartlett:

DEAR SIR—In your paper of the 21st inst.,[May] you have done me manifest injustice, in ascribing to me a prediction of the demise of Lilburn W. Boggs, Esq., ex-governor of Missouri, by violent hands. Boggs was a candidate for the State senate, and, I presume, fell by the hand of a political opponent, with his hands and face yet dripping with the blood of murder; but he died* not through my instrumentality. My hands are clean and my heart pure, from the blood of all men.

As soon as Boggs recovered sufficiently, he went before Samuel Weston, a justice of the peace at Independence, and one of the characters that some of my readers of "The Missouri Persecutions" will remember as taking part in driving the Saints from their homes in Jackson County—before him Boggs made affidavit that he had reason to believe, from evidence and information then in his possession, that "Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet, was accessory before the fact of the intended murder;" and therefore applied to Thomas Reynolds, governor of Missouri, to make a demand on the governor of Illinois, to deliver Joseph Smith up to some person authorized to receive him on behalf of the State of Missouri, to be dealt with according to law.

Governor Reynolds promptly granted the request and made the demand on the governor of Illinois for the surrender of Joseph to one E. R. Ford, who was appointed the agent of

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* It was then supposed that Boggs was dead. It was not until several days later that the news of his recovery reached Nauvoo or Quincy.

Missouri to receive him. In making the demand, Governor Reynolds said:

> Whereas it appears * * * that one Joseph Smith is a fugitive from justice, charged with being accessory before the fact, to an assault with intent to kill, made by one O. P. Rockwell, on Lilburn W. Boggs, in this State [Missouri]; and is represented to the executive department of this State as having fled to the State of Illinois; Now, therefore, I, * * * do by these presents demand the surrender and delivering of the said Joseph Smith, etc., etc.

We have given this extract for the requisition *verbatim*, because, in the first place, the affidavit of Boggs, upon the strength of which Governor Reynolds made his demand for the surrender of Joseph Smith, does not claim that he was a fugitive from justice, or that he had fled from the State of Missouri to Illinois; but on the contrary, the affidavit says that he was a "citizen or resident of Illinois," hence the statement of fact in the affidavit was not sufficient to justify the demand for Joseph Smith to be surrendered to Missouri. A person resident in a State may not be delivered up to the authorities of another State for alleged offenses, unless it is represented that he has fled from the State making the demand for his surrender, to escape from justice. This charge was not made by Boggs in his affidavit, which was Governor Reynolds' only authority for making the demand. But in what Boggs failed, Governor Reynolds made up; and upon his own responsibility, charged in his demand on Illinois that Joseph Smith was "a fugitive from justice," and had "fled to Illinois;" a statement that was at once untrue, and wholly gratuitous on the part of the executive of Missouri, and proves him to be a willing persecutor of the innocent. Secondly, it was this assumption on the part of Reynolds that did much towards making the demand on Illinois void. But more of this anon.

Governor Carlin, of Illinois, respected the demand of Mis-

souri, and issued a warrant for the arrest of O. P. Rockwell as principal and Joseph Smith as accessory before the fact, in an assault with intent to kill, upon ex-Governor Boggs. The papers were placed in the hands of the deputy sheriff of Adams County, who, with two assistants, at once repaired to Nauvoo, and on the eighth of August, 1842, arrested the above named parties. There was no evasion of the officers, but the municipal court of Nauvoo, at once, on the application of the parties arrested, issued a writ of *habeas corpus*, requiring the officers having the prisoners in charge, to bring them before that tribunal, in order that the legality of the warrant under which they were arrested might be tested. This the sheriff refused to do, as he claimed that the municipal court had no jurisdiction in the case, but he left the prisoners in the care of the city marshal, without, however, leaving the original writ upon which alone they could be held; and the deputy sheriff and his assistants returned to Quincy; the prisoners being turned loose to go about their business.

During the absence of the deputy sheriff, Joseph had secured a writ of *habeas corpus* from the master in chancery, as it was questionable if the municipal court of Nauvoo had the authority to issue such writs in cases arising under the laws of the State or the United States.* The officers returned from Quincy on the tenth, but in the interim it had been decided by Joseph and his friends, that the best thing for himself and Rockwell to do under the excitement of public sentiment then exist-

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* I say "questionable" as representing the views of the Prophet's friends. As a matter of fact, in my judgment, there could be no question about the municipal court having no such power. And if the letter of the Nauvoo charter justified the idea that the municipal court possessed any such power to interrupt the process of the State and United States courts, it was a manifest defect in the wording of the charter, a solecism that would render that part of the charter void.

ing was to keep out of the way for a season; so that the officers were unable to find them on their return.

Joseph crossed the river and stayed at his uncle John's house for a few days, in the settlement called Zarahemla; but on the night of the eleventh of August, he met by appointment his brother Hyrum, Rockwell, his wife Emma and several other friends at the south point of the island that stands midway in the river between Nauvoo and Montrose.

It had been rumored that the governor of Iowa had also issued a warrant for the arrest of Joseph and Rockwell, whereupon it was decided that it would be better for them to remain on the Illinois side of the river. Subsequent events, however, proved that this rumor was a false one. Joseph was rowed up the river by a Brother Dunham to a point near the home of a Brother Derby. Rockwell had been set ashore and had proceeded to the same point on foot, where he built a fire on the bank of the river, that Dunham might know where to land. At Derby's, the Prophet remained in hiding for some time, and Rockwell went east, remaining for several months in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

From his place of concealment, Joseph directed the movements of the people at Nauvoo, and managed his own business through faithful agents, who met with him occasionally. Emma spent considerable of her time with him, and beguiled the loneliness of those weary hours of inactivity that he, whose life is the synonym for activity, had to endure.

During those days of exile, one gets a glimpse of the Prophet's private life and character, that in part explains the mystery of his power and influence over his friends and his people: —it was his unbounded love for them. Speaking of the meeting with his friends in the night at the island, in the account he gives of it in the Book of the Law of the Lord, he says:

How glorious were my feelings when I met that faithful and friendly band, on the night of the eleventh [of August], on the island

at the mouth of the slough between Zarahemla and Nauvoo. With what unspeakable delight, and what transports of joy swelled my bosom, when I took by the hand, on that night, my beloved Emma—she that was my wife, even the wife of my youth, and choice of my heart. Many were the vibrations of my mind when I contemplated for a moment the many scenes we had been called to pass through, the fatigues and the toils, the sorrows and sufferings, and the joys and the consolations, from time to time, which had strewed our paths and crowned our board. Oh, what a commingling of thoughts filled my mind for the moment!—and again she is here, even in the seventh trouble—undaunted, firm and unwavering—unchangeable, affectionate Emma!

Of his brother Hyrum on the same occasion he says:

There was Brother Hyrum, who next took me by the hand—a natural brother. Thought I to myself, Brother Hyrum, what a faithful heart you have got! Oh, may the Eternal Jehovah crown eternal blessings upon your head, as a reward for the care you have had for my soul! Oh, how many are the sorrows we have shared together! and again we find ourselves shackled by the unrelenting hand of oppression. Hyrum, thy name shall be written in the Book of the Law of the Lord, for those who come after to look upon, that they may pattern after thy works.*

So he goes on to call the faithful by their names and record their deeds of love manifested towards himself, and pronounces his blessings upon them; and if, as one of old said, "We know that we have passed from death unto life because we love the brethren"—surely Joseph Smith possessed that witness—he loved his brethren better than his life!

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* Some years before this, in December, 1835, Joseph said of Hyrum: "I could pray in my heart that all men were like my brother Hyrum, who possesses the mildness of a lamb, and the integrity of a Job, and in short, the meekness and humility of Christ; and I love him with that love that is stronger than death, for I never had occasion to rebuke him, nor he me."—Mill. Star, vol. vx. p. 521.

Some of the brethren proposed that Joseph should go up to the pine woods of Wisconsin, where a number of the brethren were engaged in getting out timber for the Temple and Nauvoo House, until the excitement should subside in Illinois. Of this proposition, Joseph said in a letter to Emma:

> My mind will eternally revolt at every suggestion of that kind. * * * My safety is with you if you want to have it so. * * * If I go to the pine country, you shall go along with me, and the children; and if you and the children go not with me, I don't go. I do not wish to exile myself for the sake of my own life. I would rather fight it out. It is for your sakes therefore that I would do such a thing.

This plan, however, was abandoned.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE PROPHET'S TRIAL AT SPRINGFIELD—MISSOURI AGAIN THWARTED.

IT appears that Joseph had resolved to submit no longer to the injustice he had suffered from the hands of the people of Missouri. It was rumored that the officers on leaving Nauvoo, breathed out threats of returning with sufficient force to search every house in the city and vicinity; and Sheriff Ford, the agent of Missouri, threatened to bring a mob against the Mormons, if necessary to arrest the Prophet. Hearing these rumors, Joseph exchanged several letters with William Law, who had been recently elected major-general of the Legion, *vice* John C. Bennett, cashiered; in which he admonished him to have all things in readiness to protect the people in their rights, and not for one moment to submit to the outrages that were threatened.

"You will see, therefore," said he, in a letter written on the fourteenth of August, to Law, "that the peace of the city of Nauvoo is kept, let who will, endeavor to disturb it. You will also see that whenever any mob force or violence is used, on any citizen thereof, or that belongeth thereunto, you will see that force or violence is immediately dispersed, and brought to punishment, or meet it, and contest it at the point of the sword, with firm, undaunted and unyielding valor; and let them know that the spirit of old Seventy-six, and of George Washington yet lives, and is contained in the bosoms and blood of the children of the fathers thereof. If there are any threats in the city, let legal steps be taken against them; and let no man, woman or child be intimidated, nor suffer it to be done. Nevertheless, as I said in the

first place, we will take every measure that lays in our power, and make every sacrifice that God or man could require at our hands, to preserve the peace and safety of the people without collision."

To these sentiments there was a willing response of acquiescence on the part of the major-general, and he pledged himself to faithfully carry out Joseph's orders, provided the emergency for doing so should arise. After a little, however, the excitement began to subside; and as Joseph's hiding place at Derby's was discovered by a young man who suddenly came upon him and his kind host while they were walking out in the woods for exercise, the Prophet moved quietly into the city, staying first at the house of one friend a day or two, and then removing to that of another.

In the meantime the case was plainly placed before Governor Carlin; and the course that Joseph had taken fully vindicated by letters written to him by Emma his wife, who displayed no mean ability in the correspondence she opened up with the governor, which so nearly concerned the peace of her family. She directed the attention of the governor to the fact that Joseph had not been in the State of Missouri for some three or four years—that if her husband had been accessory before the fact, to the assault upon ex-Governor Boggs, the crime, if committed at all—which she stoutly averred was not the case—was done in Illinois, and there was no law to drag a man from a State where the crime was committed, into a State where it had not been committed, for trial; and as her husband had not been in the State of Missouri for several years previous to the assault on Boggs, he could not have fled from the justice of that State, and therefore ought not to be given up under the fugitive-from-justice law.

Letters from many prominent citizens of Nauvoo were also sent to the governor; and the Female Relief Society called his attention to the threat of mob violence and invasion from Mis-

souri, and asked that sufficient military protection might be given to insure the peace and safety of Nauvoo. All these things the governor treated lightly, and claimed that the only excitement that existed was with the Mormon people at Nauvoo, and nowhere else; and there was no need, he insisted, of taking the precautions hinted at by the people; though when talking on another subject he unwittingly remarked that persons were offering their services every day either in person or by letter, and held themselves in readiness to go against the Saints whenever he should call upon them; but he never had the least idea of calling on the militia, neither had he thought it necessary. He maintained that the proper thing for Joseph to do was to give himself up to the authorities of Missouri for trial, and he had no doubt that he would be acquitted. Judge Ralston asked him how he thought Mr. Smith would go through the midst of his enemies without being subject to violence; and how after his acquittal, he would be able to return to Illinois. To that proposition the governor could give no satisfactory answer, but made light of the whole matter. And in spite of all the protests sent in by the people of Nauvoo, he made a proclamation that as Joseph Smith and O. P. Rockwell had resisted the laws, by refusing to go with the officers who had them in custody, and had made their escape, he offered a reward of two hundred dollars for each or either of those "fugitives from justice." Governor Reynolds also offered a reward for their arrest, three hundred dollars for each one or either of them.

Joseph continued to remain in the city and moved about cautiously, attending to his business. A tide of popular prejudice had set in of such proportions that it seemed that it would overwhelm the Saints. It had been created largely through the misrepresentations of John C. Bennett, and Joseph at once determined to counteract it if possible. He ordered that a special conference be called to meet on the 29th of August, to appoint Elders of The Church to go through the State of Illinois and the

east to flood the country with the truth in relation to Bennett's character. The conference was called, and in the interim documents and affidavits were prepared that the brethren might be armed with proofs in relation to the facts respecting Bennett and his misrepresentations.

The conference convened on the day appointed and Hyrum Smith addressed them on the mission that many of them were expected to take. At the conclusion of his remarks, Joseph suddenly stepped into the stand to the great joy of his people, many of whom thought he had gone to Washington, and others to Europe. His appearance created great cheerfulness and animation among the people. Joseph, naturally impulsive, was overjoyed to again stand before the Saints. He addressed them in more than his usual spirited manner and called upon the brethren to go through the States taking documents with them, "to show to the world the corrupt and oppressive conduct of Boggs, Carlin and others, that the public might have the truth laid before them." In response to this call to sustain the Prophet's character, three hundred and eighty Elders volunteered their services, and announced their willingness to go immediately.

For several days after the conference the Prophet continued about home, but it being revealed to him that his enemies were again on the move to take him, he found it necessary to drop out of sight. It was during this time of hiding that he wrote those instructions respecting baptism for the dead, contained in the 127th and 128th sections of the Book of Doctrine and Covenants.

But notwithstanding his enemies were on the watch for him, he now and then visited his home; and on the occasion of paying one of these visits to his family he nearly fell into the hands of the officers. He was at dinner with his family at the "Mansion," when Deputy Sheriff Pitman, of Adams County, and an assistant suddenly presented themselves at the door. Fortunately John Boynton, who was present, saw them first and

went to the door to meet them. They asked him if Joseph Smith was present, to which he gave an evasive answer, saying that he had seen Joseph that morning, but did not say he had seen him since. During this conversation the Prophet stepped out of the back door, ran through the corn in his garden and so to the house of Bishop N. K. Whitney. Emma now engaged the sheriff in conversation. He said he wanted to search the house. She asked if he had a search warrant, to which he answered in the negative; but insisted on searching the house nevertheless, and as she knew that Joseph had escaped, she did not refuse. Of course the search was fruitless.

It was reported that a party of fifteen left Quincy with the sheriff the day before, and that they rode all night expecting to reach Nauvoo before daylight, surround the "Mansion," and capture Joseph. But in the night they got scattered and did not meet again, nor did Sheriff Pitman reach Nauvoo until about noon, when he made the effort above detailed.

About the first of October, Elder Rigdon and Elias Higbee were in Carthage, and from a conversation with Judge Douglass, they learned that Governor Carlin had purposely issued an illegal writ for the arrest of Joseph, thinking he would go to Carthage to be acquitted on *habeas corpus* proceedings before Judge Douglass; when an officer of the State would be present with a legal writ and serve it upon him immediately, and thus drag him to Missouri. The plot, however, was discovered in time to thwart it, and Joseph, in company with Elder John Taylor, Wilson Law and John D. Parker, left Nauvoo for the home of Elder Taylor's father, about a day and a half's ride from Nauvoo, and there the Prophet remained for about a week.

Meantime, through Major Warren, master in chancery, Joseph's case was presented to Justice Butterfield, of Chicago, and United States attorney for the district of Illinois. He wrote out an elaborate review of the case in which he claimed that Joseph could be released on a writ of *habeas corpus;* that he

would have the right to prove that he was not in Missouri at the time the alleged crime was committed—that of necessity, if he was guilty of the crime with which he was charged, he must have committed it in Illinois, and therefore was not a fugitive from justice—and the governor of Illinois had no right to surrender him to the authorities of Missouri as such. Mr. Butterfield contended that a warrant for the action of the governor of a State, in delivering up a person to the authorities of another State, was found in that clause of the Constitution which says:

A person charged in any State with treason, felony or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime. (Constitution, Article 4; Section 2.)

Mr. Butterfield insisted that it was unnecessary to inquire into the laws that had been enacted by Congress on the subject, since:

Congress has just so much power and no more than is expressly given by the said clause in the Constitution.

"What persons, then," he inquires, "can be surrendered up by the governor of one State to the governor of another?"

First: He must be a person charged with treason, felony or other crime. It is sufficient if he be charged with the commission of crime, either by indictment found or by affidavit. Second: He must be a person who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State. It is not sufficient to satisfy this branch of the Constitution, that he should be "charged" with having fled from justice. Unless he has actually fled from the State, where the offense was committed, into another State, the governor of this State has no jurisdiction over his person and cannot deliver him up.

Mr. Butterfield reviewed the subject of *habeas corpus* writs and their operations both in England and the United States, and

quoted a number of cases from the courts of New York, and the action of the executives of the several States to support the principles he contended for, and concluded his communication in these words:

I would advise that Mr. Smith procure respectable and sufficient affidavits to prove beyond all question that he was in this State [Illinois] and not in Missouri at the time the crime with which he was charged was committed, and upon these affidavits, apply to the governor to countermand the warrant he has issued for his arrest. If he should refuse so to do, I am already of the opinion that, upon that state of facts, the supreme court will discharge him upon *habeas corpus*.

Joseph acted upon this advice, and sent agents with all the necessary papers to Springfield and applied to Governor Ford—Carlin's term of office in the meantime having expired—to revoke the writ and proclamation of ex-Governor Carlin for his arrest. The supreme court being in session, Governor Ford submitted the petition and all the papers pertaining thereto for their opinion, and they were unanimous in their belief that the Missouri writ was illegal, but were divided as to whether it would be proper for the present executive to interfere with the official acts of his predecessor, and therefore Governor Ford refused to interfere; but said, in a personal letter addressed to the Prophet:

I can only advise that you submit to the laws and have a judicial investigation of your rights. If it should become necessary, for this purpose to repair to Springfield, I do not believe that there will be any disposition to use illegal violence towards you; and I would feel it my duty in your case, as in the case of any other person, to protect you with any necessary amount of force, from mob violence whilst asserting your rights before the courts, going to and returning.

This reply was endorsed by Mr. Butterfield and James

Adams, in whom Joseph had great confidence; and in conformity with the advice, Joseph was arrested by Wilson Law, on Carlin's proclamation. Application was made at Carthage for a writ of *habeas corpus* to go before the court at Springfield. No writ could be obtained at the court in Carthage, as the clerk had been elected to the State senate; but an order for such writ was issued on the master in chancery, and with that document Joseph, in the company of his brother Hyrum, John Taylor and others, and in charge of Wilson Law, started for Springfield, where they arrived in the afternoon of the thirtieth of December, 1842.

Judge Pope had continued his court two or three days in order to give Joseph's case a hearing, and in the first interview the judge had with him, agreed to try the case on its merits, and not dismiss it on any technicality. The deputy sheriff of Adams County was present, but refused at first to say whether he had the original writ or not; but finally King, his associate, admitted he had it.

Fearing that it was the object of these men to hold the original writ until after proceedings had concluded on the arrest made by virtue of Governor Carlin's proclamation, and thus create more trouble, a petition was made to Governor Ford to issue a new writ, that the case might come up on its merits, which was granted, and Joseph was arrested by Mr. Maxey, and a writ of *habeas corpus* was issued by the court; but as several days must elapse before a hearing could be had, Joseph was placed under $4,000 bonds, Wilson Law and General James Adams being his bondsmen.

At last the day of trial came on and the attorney-general of the State made the following objection to the jurisdiction of the court:

1. The arrest and detention of Smith, was not under or by color of authority of the United States, or of any officer of the United

States, but under and by color of authority of the State of Illinois, by the officer of the State of Illinois.

2. When a fugitive from justice is arrested by authority of the governor of any State, upon the requisition of the governor of another State, the courts of justice, neither State nor Federal, have any authority or jurisdiction to inquire into facts behind the writ.

These points were ably argued *pro* and *con* by Mr. Butterfield for the defense, and the attorney-general for the State. After giving a patient hearing, the court gave its opinion, saying in relation to the first objection, that, "The warrant on its face purports to be issued in pursuance of the Constitution and laws of the United States, as well as of the State of Illinois;" and therefore the court had jurisdiction.

"The matter in hand," said Judge Pope, "presents a case arising under the second section of article IV of the Constitution of the United States, and an act of Congress of February 12th, 1793, to carry it into effect. The Constitution says: 'The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law or equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, and which shall be made under their authority.'"

Therefore, on that line of reasoning, the judge concluded the court had jurisdiction. As to the second objection—the right of the court to inquire into facts behind the writ—the judge held it unnecessary to decide that point, as Smith was entitled to his discharge, for defect in the affidavit on which the demand for his surrender to Missouri was made. To justify the demand for his arrest the affidavit should have shown, "First, that Smith committed a crime; second, that he committed it in Missouri. And it must also appear 'that Smith had fled from Missouri.'" None of these things the affidavit of Boggs did, and the judge held that it was defective for those reasons, and added:

The court can alone regard the facts set forth in the affidavit of

Boggs as having any legal existence. The mis-recitals and over-statements in the requisition and warrant are not supported by oath and cannot be received as evidence to deprive a citizen of his liberty, and transport him to a foreign State for trial. For these reasons, Smith must be discharged.

And Joseph had scored another victory over his old enemies in Missouri.

CHAPTER XXV.

INCIDENTS OF THE TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL.

DURING the trial, excitement at times ran high and threatened to break out into acts of violence. When Joseph first made his way through the throng about the court-house, some one in the crowd recognized him, and exclaimed: "There goes Smith now!" "Yes," said another, "and a fine looking man he is, too." "And as damned a rascal as ever lived!" put in a third. Hyrum Smith, overhearing the last remark said: "And a good many ditto!" "Yes," said the person addressed, "ditto, ditto, G—d d—n you, and every one that takes his part is as d—d a rascal as he is." "I am that man;" shouted Wilson Law, "and I'll take his part!" Whereupon both parties prepared for a fight; but Mr. Prentice, the marshal, interfered and quelled the disturbance; and the excitement soon quieted down.

During the progress of the trial the Prophet had good opportunity of associating with some of the leading men of the State, among them the judges of the supreme court, and Governor Ford, who ventured to caution the Prophet to have nothing to do with electioneering in political contests; a thing, the Prophet said in reply, he had never done. Governor Ford also told him that he had a requisition from the governor of Missouri for the arrest of himself and others on the old charge of treason, arson, etc., but he happened to know that the charges were dead. The State legislature was also in session and consequently there was a general gathering of the principal men of Illinois, and the Prophet extended largely his circle of acquaintances among them.

The time occupied by the trial kept Joseph and his party over one Sunday in Springfield, and the use of the hall of repre-

sentatives was tendered him in which to hold religious services. The use of the hall was accepted and Orson Hyde preached in the forenoon, and Elder John Taylor in the afternoon; the services being largely attended by members of the legislature.

It required several days to make the journey from Springfield to Nauvoo, and the Prophet's party suffered no little from the extreme coldness of the weather. The news of Joseph's triumph had preceded him, and as his party approached the city, of which he was the chief founder, the people turned out almost *en masse* to bid him welcome to his home; and though there was little or none of the pomp and circumstance and splendor that attend the welcome of a king by his subjects, yet never did king receive more hearty or sincere welcome from his people than did Joseph from the citizens of Nauvoo.

The day following his return home the Prophet issued invitations to the Twelve Apostles and their wives and other leading citizens to attend a feast at his house in honor of his release from his enemies. The Twelve at the same time issued a proclamation inviting the Saints in Nauvoo to unite with them in dedicating Tuesday, the seventeenth of January, 1843, as "a day of humiliation, fasting, praise, prayer and thanksgiving before the Great Eloheim," because of the deliverance He had wrought out for His servant. The Bishops were instructed to provide suitable places in their respective wards for the people to meet in, and one or more of the brethren who had been with Joseph at Springfield, would be present to relate what had happened.

Although to relate here the circumstances that befell the man who was accused as the chief actor in the assault upon ex-Governor Boggs—O. P. Rockwell—takes us beyond many events of which we desire to speak, we think it proper to record how, after spending several months in the eastern States, he returned to St. Louis where he was recognized by Elias Parker, who made affidavit that he was the O. P. Rockwell advertised for in the papers, and on the fourth of March, 1843,

was arrested by Mr. Fox, and taken to Independence for trial. Rockwell wrote from his prison in Independence to Bishop N. K. Whitney, for bail, which was fixed at five thousand dollars; but as the court in Missouri would only take some responsible person resident in Missouri, bail could not be secured for him.

I have not the space to give a detailed account of all Rockwell's adventures and sufferings during his weary imprisonment of nearly eight months. He suffered much cruelty in prison life, and when his case came before the grand jury there wasn't sufficient evidence to justify an indictment against him. But in the meantime he had made an effort to escape, and was held on a charge of jail-breaking, for which, when he came to be tried, he was sentenced to five minutes' imprisonment, though they kept him for several hours while an effort was made to trump up new charges against him.

One incident occurred during Rockwell's imprisonment that we can not pass without notice. Sheriff Reynolds made an effort to induce him to go to Nauvoo, and as the Prophet Joseph had great confidence in him, Reynolds' proposition was that he should drive Joseph in a carriage outside of Nauvoo, where the Missourians could capture him; and then, as to himself, he could either remain in Illinois, return to Missouri or go where he pleased. "You only deliver Joe Smith into our hands," said Reynolds, "and name your pile." "I will see you all damned first, and then I won't," replied Rockwell.

After meeting with many adventures he arrived in Nauvoo on an evening when there was a social party in progress at the Prophet's house. In the midst of the festivities Joseph observed a rough-looking man with long hair falling down over his shoulders, staggering among his guests as if intoxicated, and the suspicion arose at once that he was a Missourian. Joseph quietly spoke to the captain of police who was present, and told him to put the stranger out. A struggle ensued, and during its progress the Prophet had a full view of the man's face, and at once

recognized his devoted friend O. P. Rockwell. It is needless to say he was given a hearty welcome or that the story of his adventures among the Missourians contributed no little to the enjoyment of the evening, though some portions of his narrative were so burdened with accounts of his sufferings and the cruelties practiced towards him, that they were calculated to produce sorrow rather than joy. But these feelings were banished by the fact that he was now delivered out of them all, and honorably discharged in fulfillment of the prophecy uttered by Joseph shortly after he heard of Rockwell's arrest in St. Louis, nearly a year before. The party which had been so rudely yet so pleasantly interrupted, proceeded, no one enjoying it more than the "long-haired stranger."

A few days, only, after the departure from Springfield of the Prophet and his party, John C. Bennett arrived there. The measures he then set on foot, and which produced, ultimately, what very nearly became serious results, may be judged from the following letter addressed to Sidney Rigdon and Orson Pratt, under date of January 10, 1843:

DEAR FRIENDS—It is a long time since I have written to you, and I should now much desire to see you; but I leave tonight for Missouri, to meet the messenger charged with the arrest of Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Lyman Wight and others, for murder, burglary, treason, etc., etc., and who will be demanded in a few days on new indictments found by a grand jury of a called court on the original evidence, and in relation to which a *nolle prosequi* was entered by the district attorney.

New proceedings have been gotten up on the old charges, and no *habeas corpus* can then save them. We shall try Smith on the Boggs case, when we get him into Missouri. The war goes bravely on; and although Smith thinks he is now safe, the enemy is near, even at the door. He has awoke the wrong passenger. The governor will relinquish Joe up at once on the new requisition. There is but one opinion on the case, and that is, nothing can save Joe on the new requisition and demand, predicated on the old charges on the

institution of new writs. He must go to Missouri; but he will not be harmed if he is not guilty; but he is a murderer, and must suffer the penalty of the law. Enough on this subject.

I hope that both of your amiable families are well, and you will please to give to them all my best respects. I hope to see you soon. When the officer arrives I shall be near at hand. I shall see you all again. Please write me at Independence immediately.

This letter was handed by Orson Pratt to Joseph, and was read by him to Sidney Rigdon and the company which gathered at the Nauvoo Mansion to celebrate the Prophet's release by a feast, to the discomfiture of Sidney Rigdon, who of course was averse to having it known that he held any correspondence with Bennett. The action of Orson Pratt in this matter paved the way for his return to his position in The Church, for he had been suspended from his quorum in the Priesthood, having been led to oppose the counsels and falsely accuse the Prophet, in consequence of the misrepresentations and malicious schemes of John C. Bennett. But after the above incident, he was re-baptized by the Prophet and received back into the quorum of the Apostles in full confidence and fellowship.

Meantime Nauvoo was growing. At this period—the winter of 1843—her inhabitants are variously computed from twelve to sixteen thousand. Her public buildings, chiefly the Temple and the Nauvoo House, were progressing rapidly. More pretentious buildings were being erected, and new additions to the original town plat were made, and the city, early in December, 1842, had been divided, ecclesiastically, into ten wards, and Bishops were appointed by the High Council to preside over each. The city council was active in passing ordinances to meet the growing necessities of a rapidly increasing population, looking especially to the cleanliness, health and morality of the city. In February, 1843, Joseph was elected a second time to be mayor, and all things considered, Nauvoo was rapidly approaching the high water mark of her prosperity.

CHAPTER XXVI.

DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENT AT NAUVOO—INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

AFTER the effort of the Prophet's enemies to drag him into Missouri on the charge of being an accessory before the fact in an attempt upon the life of ex-Governor Boggs, Nauvoo was granted a blessed season of peace, lasting from January, 1843, to the month of June following. It is well to note the circumstance, for Nauvoo had few such periods. Peace is essential to the growth of cities. Commerce flees from strife; and trade sinks into decay where conflicts distract the people. Nauvoo was favorably located and no city in the inland-West gave better promise of becoming an important center of domestic commerce, manufactures, and inland and river trade. With peace it could easily have become the rival of St. Louis or Chicago; and Kansas City and Omaha as outfitting points for the great West might scarcely have been known. In addition to being a center of trade, manufactures and domestic commerce, the presence of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints would have made it a shrine, a gathering place for the faithful from all parts of the world, and an educational center also; for already the charters were secured and the faculty chosen for a great university; and the keen interest which the Prophet and his followers had ever manifested in education gave every promise that Nauvoo in time would be one of the prominent centers of higher education in the United States.

The peace essential to this material and educational growth,

however, was not granted to Nauvoo. Sectarian bitterness against the religion of the Prophet and his followers was too deep-rooted; political jealousy was too strong; and hence strife, plots, threats of violence, actual violence, rumors of invasions from Missouri, hints of assistance from mobs in Illinois, the frequent arrest of the founder of the city, the false reports that went abroad concerning its inhabitants—all combined to blight the growth which otherwise might have been hoped for from Nauvoo's favorable position and early development. But this lull referred to in that all but incessant storm which beat upon the uncovered head of Joseph Smith from the time he announced to the world a revelation from God until this period of grace—from January, 1843, to the June following—was employed by him to good advantage in the matter of the doctrinal development of The Church. It was in this period that he unfolded the doctrines which most distinguish The Church, which under God he had founded, from the sectarian churches founded by men. Unfortunately we do not have *verbatim* reports of his discourses during this period. Most of them were reported in long-hand by Willard Richards, his confidential friend and secretary, and Wilford Woodruff, one of the Twelve Apostles and noted among other things for daily journalizing events passing under his observation. But these reports are not *verbatim*, and there doubtless exist many verbal inaccuracies, and often the impression of the idea left upon the mind of the reporter rather than the idea itself. But notwithstanding some verbal inaccuracies that may exist, and even the statement of the impression of ideas for the ideas themselves, still these long-hand reports of the discourses of the Prophet, stand among the most valued documents of our annals.

Without strict regard to the chronological order in which occur his discourses, conversations, letters, and revelations quoted in the following pages of the chapters devoted to doc-

trinal subjects, I wish to present the substance of his teachings within the period named.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE PRIESTHOOD TO BLESS.

To Orson Hyde, one of the Twelve, somewhat given to prophesying calamities and speaking with severity to those slow to receive his words, the Prophet took occasion to say in a council meeting of the Twelve:

> I told Elder Hyde that when he spoke in the name of the Lord, it should prove true; but he must not curse the people—rather bless them.

A remark which at once recognizes the power of that Priesthood held by Orson Hyde—even though he curse the people—but he more especially points out the fact that the chief function of that Priesthood is to bless and not curse.

THE SCRIPTURES AND THEIR INTERPRETATION.

Occasionally the Prophet expounded the Scriptures, and in this he was most happy: not so much on account of his knowledge of ancient languages—though that knowledge, when his opportunities for acquiring it are taken into account, was surprisingly extensive—as from that divine inspiration which so mightily rested upon him at times. Of the Bible itself the Prophet said:

> I believe the Bible as it read when it came from the pen of the original writers. Ignorant translators, careless transcribers, or designing and corrupt priests have committed many errors.

As an example of the errors which had crept into the holy record he put in contrast the following:

> It repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth.—Genesis v: 6.

God is not a man, that he should lie; neither the son of man that he should repent.—Numbers xxiii: 19.

His exegesis, which at once harmonizes the conflicting passages, and satisfies the understanding, is as follows:

It ought to read: It repented *Noah* that God had made man. This I believe, and then the other quotation [meaning the second] stands fair. If any man will prove to me by one passage of holy writ one item I believe to be false, I will renounce and disclaim it as far as I have promulgated it.

In like manner he set the following passage right, Hebrews VI: 1-6.

The first principles of the Gospel, as I believe, are, *Faith, Repentance, Baptism* for the remission of sins, with the promise of the *Holy Ghost.* Look at Hebrews VI: 1, for contradictions! "Therefore *leaving* the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection." If a man *leaves* the principles of the doctrine of Christ, how can he be saved in the principles? This is a contradiction. * * * I will render it as it should be: "Therefore *not* leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection, not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God," etc.

In like manner he pointed out a solecism in the Lord's prayer. It reads in our common version:

Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for thine is the kingdom, the power, etc.

In contrast with this may be placed the statement of James:

Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God: for God cannot be tempted with evil, *neither tempteth he any man.*—James I: 13.

Then why pray to God the Father—

And lead us not into temptation?

The Prophet's exegesis was:

The passage should read: And *leave* us not—or, suffer us not to be led, into temptation, for thine is the kingdom, etc.

Again, in a public discourse he dealt with the following passage:

Among those that are born of women, there hath not arisen a greater prophet than John the Baptist: nevertheless, he that is *least* in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he.

Taking up the first part of the question, viz: the greatness of John, he thus expounded it:

Firstly, he [John] was trusted with a divine mission of preparing the way before the face of the Lord. Whoever had such a trust committed to him before or since? No man. Secondly, he was intrusted with the important mission, and it was required at his hands to baptize the Son of Man. Whoever had the honor of doing that? Whoever had so great a privilege and glory? Whoever led the Son of God into the waters of baptism, and had the privilege of beholding the Holy Ghost descend in the form of a dove, or rather in the sign of a dove, in witness of that administration? * * * Thirdly, John at that time was the only legal administrator in the affairs of the kingdom there was then on earth and holding the keys of power. The Jews had to obey his instructions or be damned by their own laws, and Christ Himself fulfilled all righteousness in becoming obedient to the law which He had given to Moses on the mount, and thereby magnified it and made it honorable, instead of destroying it. The son of Zachariah wrested the keys, the kingdom, the power, the glory, from the Jews, by the holy anointing and decree of heaven; and these three reasons constitute him the greatest Prophet born of women.

Taking up the second part of the subject—"He that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he," [i. e., greater than John]—it was made easy to understand in the following manner:

How was the least in the kingdom of heaven greater than he

[John] ? In reply, I ask who did Jesus have reference to as being the least? Jesus was looked upon as having the *least* claim in all God's kingdom, and was *least* entitled to their credulity as a Prophet, as though he had said: "He that is *considered* the least among you, is greater than John—that is myself."

Explaining the matter of interpretation itself, he said:

What is the rule of interpretation? Just no interpretation at all. Understand it precisely as it reads. I have a key by which I understand the Scriptures. I inquire, what was the question which drew out the answer or caused Jesus to utter the parable? * * * To ascertain its meaning, we must dig to the root and ascertain what it was that drew the saying out of Jesus.

While this was said especially in relation to the parable of the prodigal son, it may well be given a wider application; and it will be found a great aid in arriving at the truth of many supposedly hard sayings of the Scriptures. But while this key or rule of interpretation was doubtless of great service to the Prophet in his study of the scriptures, he was helped in another and a more important way to understand them; to understand them in a manner which I cannot explain better than by quoting a passage with which he dealt at an earlier date than the period with which I am now dealing, but which is of such moment and helps to illustrate the work we find him doing at Nauvoo during this interim of peace, that we can well afford to stop and consider it. As early as 1831 the Prophet with Sidney Rigdon set about the task of bringing forth a new and inspired translation of the Bible. Their work extended also into the year 1832. On the 16th day of February of that year, they came, in the course of their work, to the twenty-ninth verse of the fifth chapter of John's Gospel, speaking of the resurrection of the dead, concerning those who shall hear the voice of the Son of Man, and shall come forth, and which in our common version stands:

And shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resur-

rection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation.

But to the Prophet it was given:

* * * And shall come forth: they who have done good in the resurrection of the just, and they who have done evil, in the resurrection of the unjust.

Then follows upon this rendering of the passage by the Spirit, a revelation concerning the future state of man and the different degrees of glory which he will inherit, the like of which is not to be found elsewhere in all that is written among the children of men; and which, in part, I quote. Reverting to the passage as given by the Spirit, the Prophet says:

Now this caused us to marvel, for it was given unto us of the Spirit; and while we meditated upon these things, the Lord touched the eyes of our understandings and they were opened, and the glory of God shone round about;

THE VISION OF THE SON'S GLORY.

And we beheld the glory of the Son, on the right hand of the Father, and received of his fullness;

And saw the holy angels, and they who are sanctified before his throne, worshiping God, and the Lamb, who worship him for ever and ever.

And now, after the many testimonies which have been given of him, this is the testimony last of all, which we give of him, that he lives;

For we saw him, even on the right hand of God, and we heard the voice bearing record that he is the Only Begotten of the Father—

That by him and through him, and of him the worlds are and were created, and the inhabitants thereof are begotten sons and daughters unto God.

THE FALL OF LUCIFER.

And this we saw also, and bear record, that an angel of God who

was in authority in the presence of God, who rebelled against the Only Begotten Son, whom the Father loved, and who was in the bosom of the Father—was thrust down from the presence of God and the Son,

And was called Perdition, for the heavens wept over him—he was Lucifer, a son of the morning.

And we beheld, and lo, he is fallen! is fallen! even a son of the morning.

And while we were yet in the Spirit, the Lord commanded us that we should write the vision, for we beheld Satan, that old serpent —even the devil—who rebelled against God, and sought to take the kingdom of our God, and his Christ,

Wherefore he maketh war with the saints of God, and encompasses them round about.

And we saw a vision of the sufferings of those with whom he made war and overcame, for thus came the voice of the Lord unto us.

Thus saith the Lord, concerning all those who know my power, and have been made partakers thereof, and suffered themselves, through the power of the devil, to be overcome, and to deny the truth and defy my power—

They are they who are the sons of perdition, of whom I say that it had been better for them never to have been born,

For they are vessels of wrath, doomed to suffer the wrath of God, with the devil and his angels in eternity;

Concerning whom I have said there is no forgiveness in this world nor in the world to come,

Having denied the Holy Spirit after having received it, and having denied the Only Begotten Son of the Father—having crucified him unto themselves, and put him to an open shame.

These are they who shall go away into the lake of fire and brimstone, with the devil and his angels,

And the only ones on whom the second death shall have any power;

Yea, verily, the only ones who shall not be redeemed in the due time of the Lord, after the sufferings of his wrath;

For all the rest shall be brought forth by the resurrection of the dead, through the triumph and the glory of the Lamb, who was slain,

who was in the bosom of the Father before the worlds were made.

And this is the gospel, the glad tidings which the voice out of the heavens bore record unto us,

That he came into the world, even Jesus, to be crucified for the world, and to bear the sins of the world, and to sanctify the world, and to cleanse it from all unrighteousness;

That through him all might be saved whom the Father had put into his power and made by him,

Who glorifies the Father, and saves all the works of his hands, except those sons of perdition, who deny the Son after the Father has revealed him;

Wherefore, he saves all except them they shall go away into everlasting punishment, which is endless punishment, which is eternal punishment, to reign with the devil and his angels in eternity, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched, which is their torment;

And the end thereof, neither the place thereof, nor their torment, no man knows,

Neither was it revealed, neither is, neither will be revealed unto man, except to them who are made partakers thereof:

Nevertheless I, the Lord, show it by vision unto many, but straightway shut it up again;

Wherefore the end, the width, the height, the depth, and the misery thereof, they understand not, neither any man except them who are ordained unto this condemnation.

And we heard the voice, saying, Write the vision, for lo! this is the end of the vision of the sufferings of the ungodly!

OF THOSE WHO INHERIT THE CELESTIAL GLORY.

And again, we bear record, for we saw and heard, and this is the testimony of the gospel of Christ, concerning them who come forth in the resurrection of the just;

They are they who received the testimony of Jesus, and believed on his name and were baptized after the manner of his burial, being buried in the water in his name, and this according to the commandment which he has given,

That by keeping the commandments they might be washed and cleansed from all their sins, and receive the Holy Spirit by the laying on of the hands of him who is ordained and sealed unto this power,

And who overcome by faith, and are sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise, which the Father sheds forth upon all those who are just and true.

They are they who are the church of the first born.

They are they into whose hands the Father has given all things—

They are they who are Priests and Kings, who have received of his fullness, and of his glory,

And are Priests of the Most High, after the order of Melchisedek, which was after the order of Enoch, which was after the order of the Only Begotten Son;

Wherefore, as it is written, they are Gods, even the sons of God—

Wherefore all things are theirs, whether life or death, or things present, or things to come, all are theirs and they are Christ's and Christ is God's;

And they shall overcome all things;

Wherefore let no man glory in man, but rather let him glory in God, who shall subdue all enemies under his feet—

These shall dwell in the presence of God and his Christ for ever and ever.

These are they whom he shall bring with him, when he shall come in the clouds of heaven, to reign on the earth over his people.

These are they who shall have part in the first resurrection.

These are they who shall come forth in the resurrection of the just.

These are they who are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly place, the holiest of all.

These are they who have come to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of Enoch, and of the first born.

These are they whose names are written in heaven, where God and Christ are the judge of all.

These are they who are just men made perfect through Jesus the

mediator of the new covenant, who wrought out this perfect atonement through the shedding of his own blood.

These are they whose bodies are celestial, whose glory is that of the sun, even the glory of God, the highest of all, whose glory the sun of the firmament is written of as being typical.

THOSE OF THE TERRESTRIAL GLORY.

And again, we saw the terrestrial world, and behold and lo, these are they who are of the terrestrial, whose glory differs from that of the church of the first born, who have received the fullness of the Father, even as that of the moon differs from the sun in the firmament.

Behold, these are they who died without law,

And also they who are the spirits of men kept in prison, whom the Son visited, and preached the gospel unto them, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh,

Who received not the testimony of Jesus in the flesh, but afterwards received it.

These are they who are honorable men of the earth, who were blinded by the craftiness of men.

These are they who receive of his glory, but not of his fullness.

These are they who receive of the presence of the Son, but not of the fullness of the Father;

Wherefore they are bodies terrestrial, and not bodies celestial, and differ in glory as the moon differs from the sun.

These are they who are not valiant in the testimony of Jesus; wherefore they obtain not the crown over the kingdom of our God.

And now this is the end of the vision which we saw of the terrestrial, that the Lord commanded us to write while we were yet in the Spirit.

THOSE WHO INHERIT THE TELESTIAL GLORY.

And again, we saw the glory of the telestial, which glory is that of the lesser, even as the glory of the stars differs from that of the glory of the moon in the firmament.

These are they who received not the gospel of Christ, neither the testimony of Jesus.

These are they who deny not the Holy Spirit.

These are they who are thrust down to hell.

These are they who shall not be redeemed from the devil, until the last resurrection, until the Lord, even Christ the Lamb shall have finished his work.

These are they who receive not of his fullness in the eternal world, but of the Holy Spirit through the ministration of the terrestrial;

And the terrestrial through the ministration of the celestial;

And also the telestial receive it of the administering of angels who are appointed to minister for them, or who are appointed to be ministering spirits for them, for they shall be heirs of salvation.

SUMMARY OF THE GREAT VISION.

And thus we saw in the heavenly vision, the glory of the telestial, which surpasses all understanding,

And no man knows it except him to whom God has revealed it.

And thus we saw the glory of the terrestrial, which excels in all things the glory of the telestial, even in glory, and in power, and in might, and in dominion.

And thus we saw the glory of the celestial, which excels in all things—where God, even the Father, reigns upon his throne for ever and ever;

Before whose throne all things bow in humble reverence and give him glory for ever and ever.

They who dwell in his presence are the church of the first born, and they see as they are seen, and know as they are known, having received of his fullness and of his grace;

And he makes them equal in power, and in might, and in dominion.

And the glory of the celestial is one, even as the glory of the sun is one.

And the glory of the terrestrial is one, even as the glory of the moon is one.

And the glory of the telestial is one, even as the glory of the

stars is one, for as one star differs from another star in glory, even so differs one from another in glory in the telestial world;

For these are they who are of Paul, and of Apollos, and of Cephas.

These are they who say they are some of one and some of another—some of Christ and some of John, and some of Moses, and some of Elias, and some of Esaias, and some of Isaiah, and some of Enoch;

But receive not the gospel, neither the testimony of Jesus, neither the prophets, neither the everlasting covenant.

Last of all, these all are they who will not be gathered with the saints, to be caught up unto the church of the first born, and received into the cloud.

These are they who are liars, and sorcerers, and adulterers, and whoremongers, and whosoever loves and makes a lie.

These are they who suffer the wrath of God on the earth.

These are they who suffer the vengeance of eternal fire.

These are they who are cast down to hell and suffer the wrath of Almighty God, until the fullness of times when Christ shall have subdued all enemies under his feet, and shall have perfected his work,

When he shall deliver up the kingdom, and present it unto the Father spotless, saying—I have overcome and have trodden the wine-press alone, even the wine-press of the fierceness of the wrath of Almighty God.

Then shall he be crowned with the crown of his glory, to sit on the throne of his power to reign for ever and ever.

But behold, and lo, we saw the glory and the inhabitants of the telestial world, that they were as innumerable as the stars in the firmament of heaven, or as the sand upon the sea shore,

And heard the voice of the Lord, saying—these all shall bow the knee, and every tongue shall confess to him who sits upon the throne for ever and ever;

For they shall be judged according to their works, and every man shall receive according to his own works, his own dominion, in the mansions which are prepared,

And they shall be servants of the Most High, but where God and Christ dwell they cannot come, worlds without end.

This is the end of the vision which we saw, which we were commanded to write while we were yet in the Spirit.

But great and marvelous are the works of the Lord, and the mysteries of his kingdom which he showed unto us, which surpasses all understanding in glory, and in might, and in dominion,

Which he commanded us we should not write while we were yet in the Spirit, and are not lawful for man to utter;

Neither is man capable to make them known, for they are only to be seen and understood by the power of the Holy Spirit, which God bestows on those who love him, and purify themselves before him;

To whom he grants this privilege of seeing and knowing for themselves;

That through the power and manifestation of the Spirit, while in the flesh, they may be able to bear his presence in the world of glory.

And to God and the Lamb be glory, and honor, and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

CHAPTER XXVII.

DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENT AT NAUVOO—THE KINGDOM OF GOD AND THE RESURRECTION.

IT should be remembered that the preaching of Alexander Campbell, the founder of the "Church of the Disciples," or "Christians," had a widespread influence in the western States of the Union, including Illinois. Among other things taught by him in his public ministry was that the baptism of John was not identical with Christian baptism, and that the Kingdom of God was not set up in the earth until after the Son of God was glorified and the day of Pentecost was come. It was perhaps because of the very extended acceptance of these views throughout the West which led the Prophet to make the following comprehensive remarks about the baptism of John and the Kingdom of God.

OF JOHN'S BAPTISM.

Some say the Kingdom of God was not set up until the day of Pentecost, and that John did not preach the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins; but I say, in the name of the Lord, that the Kingdom of God was set up on the earth from the days of Adam to the present time. * * * As touching the Gospel and baptism that John preached, I would say that John came preaching the Gospel for the remission of sins; he had his authority from God, and the oracles of God were with him, and the Kingdom of God for a season seemed to rest with John alone. * * * John was a priest after the order of Aaron and had the keys of that Priesthood, and came forth preaching repentance and baptism for the remis-

sion of sins, but at the same time cries out, "There cometh one after me more mighty than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose;" and Christ came according to the words of John, and he was greater than John, because He held the keys of the Melchisedek Priesthood and Kingdom of God, and had before revealed the Priesthood to Moses; yet Christ was baptized by John to fulfill all righteousness. * * * [John] preached the same Gospel and baptism that Jesus and the Apostles preached after him. The endowment was to prepare the disciples for their mission unto the world.

OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

Whenever there has been a righteous man on earth unto whom God revealed His word and gave power and authority to administer in His name, and where there is a priest of God—a minister who has power and authority from God to administer in the ordinances of the Gospel and officiate in the Priesthood of God—there is the Kingdom of God; and in consequence of rejecting the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the Prophets whom God had sent, the judgments of God have rested upon peoples, cities and nations, in various ages of the world,which was the case with the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, which were destroyed for rejecting the Prophets. * * * Whenever men can find out the will of God, and find an administrator legally authorized from God, there is the Kingdom of God; but where these are not, the Kingdom of God is not. All the ordinances, systems and administrations on the earth are of no use to the children of men, unless they are ordained and authorized of God; for nothing will save a man but a legal administration; for none other will be acknowledged either by God or angels. * * * * * * Some say the Kingdom of God was not set up until the day of Pentecost, and that John did not preach the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins; but I say, in the name of the Lord, that the Kingdom of God was set up on the earth from the days of Adam to the present time. * * * Now I will give my testimony. I care not for man. I speak boldly and faithfully, and with authority. How is it with the Kingdom of God? Where did the Kingdom of God begin? Where there is no Kingdom

of God, there is no salvation. What constitutes the Kingdom of God? Where there is a Prophet, a Priest, or a righteous man unto whom God gives His oracles, there is the Kingdom of God; and where the oracles of God are not, there the Kingdom of God is not. In these remarks I have no allusion to the kingdoms of the earth. We will keep the laws of the land; we do not speak against them; we never have, and we can hardly make mention of the State of Missouri, of our persecutions there, etc., but what the cry goes forth that we are guilty of larceny, burglary, arson, treason, murder, etc., etc., which is false. We speak of the Kingdom of God on the earth, not the kingdoms of men. * * * But, says one, the Kingdom of God could not be set up in the days of John, for John said the Kingdom was at hand. But I would ask if it could be any nearer to them than to be in the hands of John? The people need not wait for the day of Pentecost to find the Kingdom of God, for John had it with him, and he came forth from the wilderness, crying out "Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is nigh at hand," as much as to say, "Out here I have got the Kingdom of God, and I am coming after you; and if you don't receive it, you will be damned," and the Scriptures represent that all Jerusalem went out unto John's baptism. There was a legal administrator, and those that were baptized were subjects for a king; and also the laws and oracles of God were there, therefore the Kingdom of God was there, for no man could have better authority to administer than John, and our Savior submitted to that authority Himself by being baptized by John, therefore the Kingdom of God was set up on the earth even in the days of John.

* * * Again, he says, "Except ye are born of the water and of the Spirit, ye cannot enter into the Kingdom of God; and though the heavens and earth should pass away, my words should not pass away." If a man is born of water and of the Spirit, he can get into the Kingdom of God. It is evident the Kingdom of God was on earth, and John prepared subjects for the Kingdom, by preaching to them and baptizing them, and he prepared the way before the Savior, or came as a forerunner, and prepared subjects for the preaching of Christ, and Christ preached through Jerusalem on the same ground where John had preached, and when the Apostles were raised up, they worked in Jerusalem and Jesus commanded them to tarry

there until they were endowed with power from on high. Had they not work to do in Jerusalem? They did work and prepared a people for the Pentecost. The Kingdom of God was with them before the day of Pentecost, as well as afterwards.

It is evident from all this that, speaking broadly, with the Prophet the Kingdom of God was the government of God on earth and in heaven — whether that government was manifested through the authority of a single individual or a complete system of ecclesiastical or national government. This is, however, speaking broadly, not to say loosely; and in the same manner that the subject is spoken of in holy scripture where the phrases *Kingdom of God, Kingdom of Heaven, the Church of Christ, Church of God, the Church*, etc., are often used interchangeably and indiscriminately to represent in a general way that divine institution which God in whole or in part from time to time establishes to help man in the matter of his salvation. But it is proper for the reader to know that Joseph Smith when speaking strictly recognized a distinction between "The Church of Jesus Christ" and the "Kingdom of God." And not only a distinction but a separation of one from the other. The Kingdom of God according to his teaching is to be a political institution that shall hold sway over all the earth; to which all other governments will be subordinate and by which they will be dominated. Of this Kingdom Christ is the King; for He is to reign "King of Kings" as well as "Lord of Lords." While all governments are to be in subjection to the Kingdom of God, it does not follow that all its members will be of one religious faith. The Kingdom of God is not necessarily made up exclusively of members of the Church of Christ. In fact the Prophet taught that men not members of The Church could be, not only members of that Kingdom, but also officers within it. It is to grant the widest religious toleration, though exacting homage and loyalty to its great Head, to its institutions, and obedience to its laws.

On the other hand the Church of Christ is purely an eccle-

siastical organization, comprising within its membership only those who have embraced the Gospel of Jesus Christ; who inwardly have accepted its principles in their faith, and outwardly have received the rites and ceremonies it prescribes. Of this Church Jesus Christ is the Head, since He is to be "Lord of Lords" as well as "King of Kings." The Church is peculiarly Christ's. It bears His name. It is composed of members who, while not behind others in doing Him homage, as the head of the Kingdom of God, accept Him as more than the King of Kings —they accept Him as Lord—as Lord of Lords, as Redeemer—Savior—God. But the Church of Christ, precious as it is; beloved by its great Head; in the harmony of its truth, perfect; in the beauty of its holiness, passing all praise; in its power of salvation, absolute—yet the Church of Christ will doubtless stand under the protecting ægis of the Kingdom of God in common with other systems of religion, enjoying only such rights as will be common to all. And while the Church of Christ will enjoy to the full her privileges, promulgate her faith without let or hindrance, make known the truth she holds and her saving grace and power, and manage her own affairs—yet she will not usurp the prerogative of the Kingdom of God, nor interfere with those outside the pale of her jurisdiction—outside of her membership. Such, in substance, was the teaching of the Prophet on this subject. Not publicly, or at least not very publicly; but he taught the foregoing in the counsels of the Priesthood as many testify, and effected an organization as a nucleus of the Kingdom above referred to of which some who were not in The Church were members.

It will be understood, then, that what I have quoted from the Prophet's discourses on the subject of the Kingdom of God is spoken broadly; in a sense which recognizes the Kingdom of God simply as the government of God on earth or in heaven; and whether represented by a single individual holding divine authority,or a regular system of government; and which, loosely,

may be and is applied to the Church of Christ, or some part thereof.

THE GLORIOUS COMING OF THE SON OF GOD.

It was this year, 1843, that the speculations of William Miller fixed upon for the glorious coming of the Son of God, to reign with His Saints on the earth for a thousand years. Though Mr. Miller was but a religious enthusiast, yet his teachings and his deductions from the prophecies of Daniel and John the Revelator created no little stir throughout the United States, and many thousands of people were looking for the appearing of the Lord Jesus Christ, expecting the resurrection of the dead to begin, and the promised reign of righteousness to follow. The agitation concerning this great event naturally led to many inquiries being submitted to the Prophet concerning it, and he did not hesitate to boldly cross the statements of Mr. Miller on the subject, and contradict his deductions based upon the predictions of the prophets. Joseph Smith stood at the head of the Dispensation of the Fullness of Times, and he knew too well the then present status of the work of God to be deceived into believing that the time for the coming of the Son of God had arrived. The great preliminary work which is to precede that great event had not been accomplished, and until that work was done the Prophet knew that Jesus would not come in the clouds of heaven in power and great glory. It was reported in the Chicago *Express* that one Hyrum Redding had actually seen the promised sign of the coming of the Son of Man, concerning which Joseph in a communication to the *Times and Seasons* said:

> Mr. Redding may have seen a wonderful appearance in the clouds one morning about sunrise, (which is nothing very uncommon in the winter season,) he has not seen the sign of the Son of Man, as foretold by Jesus; neither has any man, nor will any man, until after the

sun has been darkened and the moon bathed in blood; for the Lord hath not shown me any such sign; and as the prophet saith, so it must be: "Surely the Lord God will do nothing, but He revealeth His secret unto His servants the prophets." (See Amos, III, 7.) Therefore hear this, O earth: The Lord will not come to reign over the righteous, in this world, in 1843, nor until everything for the Bridegroom is ready.

Referring again to the subject, some time later, he said, in a public discourse—

I was once praying very earnestly to know the time of the coming of the Son of Man, when I heard a voice repeat the following: "Joseph, my son, if thou livest until thou art eighty-five years old, thou shalt see the face of the Son of Man; therefore let this suffice, and trouble me no more on this matter." I was left thus without being able to decide whether this coming referred to the beginning of the millenium or to some previous appearing, or whether I should die and thus see His face. I believe that the coming of the Son of Man will not be any sooner than that time.

On still another occasion the Prophet said:

Were I going to prophesy I would say the end will not come in 1844, 5 or 6, or in forty years. There are those of the rising generation who shall not taste death until Christ comes. I was once praying earnestly upon this subject, and a voice said unto me, "My son, if thou livest until thou art eighty-five years of age, thou shalt see the face of the Son of Man." I was left to draw my own conclusion concerning this: and I took the liberty to conclude that if I did live to that time, He would make His appearance. But I do not say whether He will make His appearance or I shall go where He is. I prophesy in the name of the Lord God, and let it be written, The Son of Man will not come in the clouds of heaven till I am eighty-five years old. [He] then read the fourteenth chapter of Revelations, 6th and 7th verses: "And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, saying with a loud voice, Fear God and give glory to him for the hour of his judg-

ment is come." And Hosea 6th chapter, after two days, etc.,—2,520 years; which brings it to 1890. The coming of the Son of Man never will be—never can be till the judgments spoken of for this hour are poured out; which judgments are commenced. Paul says: "Ye are children of the light and not of the darkness, that that day should overtake you as a thief in the night." It is not the design of the Almighty to come upon the earth and crush it, and grind it to powder, but He will reveal it to His servants the prophets. Judah must return, Jerusalem must be rebuilt, and the Temple, and water come out from under the Temple, and the waters of the Dead Sea be healed. It will take some time to build the walls of the city and the Temple, etc., and all this must be done before the Son of Man will make His appearance. There will be wars and rumors of wars, signs in the heaven above and on the earth beneath, the sun turned into darkness and the moon to blood, earthquakes in divers places, the seas heaving beyond their bounds; there will appear one grand sign of the Son of Man in heaven. But what will the world do? They will say it is a comet, a planet, etc. But the Son of Man will come as the sign of the coming of the Son of Man which will be as the light of the morning cometh [coming] out of the east.

I would again remind the reader that these reports of remarks and discourses of the Prophet's are imperfect, having been written in long-hand, and in part from memory and therefore really are only synopses of what was said. I call attention to this at this point because the imperfections in construction of the above are very apparent, so also the fact that the report in this case is very much abbreviated. Still the substance—the great facts concerning the work to precede the coming of the Son of Man, and the prediction that the Son of Man will not come until that work is performed, are all there, and that is the important thing.

Of the appearance of the Savior when He does come, the Prophet said;

When the Savior shall appear, we shall see Him as He is. We shall see that He is a man like ourselves, and the same sociality which

exists among us here will exist among us there, only it will be coupled with eternal glory, which glory we do not now enjoy.

OF THE RESURRECTION.

No less interesting were the Prophet's teaching on the subject of the resurrection of the dead. To a remark of Elder Orson Pratt's to the effect that a man's body changes every seven years, the Prophet replied:

There is no fundamental principle belonging to a human system that ever goes into another in this world or in the world to come. I care not what the theories of men are. We have the testimony that God will raise us up, and He has the power to do it. If any one supposes that any part of our bodies, that is, the fundamental parts thereof, ever goes into another body he is mistaken.

Speaking of the desirability of an honorable burial, and of living and dying among friends in connection with the resurrection, the Prophet said at the funeral services held in honor of Lorenzo D. Barnes, who had died while on a mission to England:

I believe those who have buried their dead here, their condition is enviable. Look at Jacob and Joseph in Egypt, how they required their friends to bury them in the tomb of their fathers. See the expense which attended the embalming and the going up of the great company to the burial. It has always been considered a great calamity not to obtain an honorable burial; and one of the greatest curses the ancient prophets could put on any man was that he should go without a burial. * * * * * * * * * I would esteem it one of the greatest blessings if I am going to be afflicted in this world, to have my lot cast, where I can find brothers and friends all around me. But this is not the thing I referred to: it is to have the privilege of having our dead buried on the land where God has appointed to gather His Saints together, and where there will be none but Saints, where they may have the privilege of laying their bodies where the Son of Man will make His appearance, and where they may hear the sound of the trump that shall call them forth to behold Him, that in the morn of

the resurrection they may come forth in a body, and come up out of their graves and strike hands immediately in eternal glory and felicity, rather than be scattered thousands of miles apart. There is something good and sacred to me in this thing. The place where a man is buried is sacred to me. This subject is made mention of in the Book of Mormon and the Scriptures. Even to the aborigines of this land, the burying places of their fathers are more sacred than anything else. When I heard of the death of our beloved Brother Barnes, it would not have affected me so much if I had the opportunity of burying him in the land of Zion. * * * I have said, Father, I desire to die here among the Saints. But if this is not Thy will, and I go hence and die, wilt Thou find some kind friend and bring my body back, and gather my friends who have fallen in foreign lands, and bring them up hither, that we may all lie together. * * * * * * * * * * * If tomorrow I shall be called to lie in yonder tomb, in the morning of the resurrection let me strike hands with my father, and cry, "My father, father!" and he will say, "My son, my son!" as soon as the rocks rend and before we come out of our graves. And may we contemplate these things so? Yes, if we learn how to live and how to die. When we lie down we contemplate how we may rise up in the morning: and it is pleasing for friends to lie down together, locked in the arms of love, to sleep and wake in each others' embrace and renew their conversation. * * * * * * Would you think it strange if I relate what I have seen in vision in relation to this interesting theme? Those who have died in Jesus Christ may expect to enter into all that fruition of joy, when they come forth, which they possessed or anticipated here. So plain was the vision, that I actually saw men, before they had ascended from the tomb, as though they were getting up slowly. They took each other by the hand, and said to each other, "My father, my son, my mother, my daughter, my brother, my sister." And when the voice calls for the dead to rise, suppose I am laid by the side of my father, what would be the first joy of my heart? To meet my father, my mother, my brother, my sister and when they are by my side, I embrace them, and they me. It is my meditation all the day, and more than my meat and drink, to know how I shall

make the Saints of God comprehend the visions that roll like an overflowing surge before my mind. * * * Lay hold of these things, and let not your knees or joints tremble, nor your heart faint; and then what can earthquakes, wars and tornadoes do? Nothing. All your losses will be made up to you in the resurrection, provided you continue faithful, by the vision of the Almighty I have seen it. * * * More painful to me are the thoughts of annihilation than death. If I had no expectation of seeing my father, mother, brothers, sisters and friends again, my heart would burst in a moment, and I should go down to my grave. The expectation of seeing my friends in the morning of the resurrection cheers my soul and makes me bear up against the evils of life. It is like their taking a long journey, and on their return we meet them with increased joy. God has revealed His Son from the heavens, and the doctrine of the resurrection also, and we have a knowledge that those we bring here God will bring up again clothed upon and quickened by the Spirit of the Great God, and what mattereth it, whether we lay them down, or we lay down with them, when we can keep them no longer? Then let them sink down like a ship in a storm—the mighty anchor holds her safe. So let these truths sink down in our hearts, that we may even here begin to enjoy that which shall be in full hereafter. Hosanna, hosanna, hosanna to Almighty God, that rays of light begin to burst forth upon us even now!

GOD'S AND ANGELS' TIME.

In answer to the question, "Is not the reckoning of God's time, angels' time, prophets' time and man's time according to the planet on which they reside?" I answer, yes. But there are no angels who minister to this earth but those who belong or have belonged to it. The angels do not reside on a planet like this earth; but they reside in the presence of God, on a globe like a sea of glass and fire, where all things for their glory are manifest—past, present and future,and are continually before the Lord.

THE EARTH IN ITS SANCTIFIED STATE.

The following is an entry in his journal:

Saturday, 18th of February [1843.] While at dinner I remarked

to my family and friends present, that when the earth was sanctified and became like a sea of glass, it would be one great Urim and Thummim and the Saints could look in it and see as they are seen.

Later in public, on the same subject, he said:

The place where God resides is a great Urim and Thummim. This earth in its sanctified and immortal state, will be made like unto crystal and will be a Urim and Thummim to the inhabitants who dwell thereon, whereby all things pertaining to an inferior kingdom or all kingdoms of a lower order, will be manifest to those who dwell on it; and this earth will be Christ's. Then the white stone mentioned in Revelation II: 17, will become a Urim and Thummim to each individual who receives one, whereby things pertaining to a higher order of kingdoms, will be made known, and a white stone is given to each of those who come into the celestial kingdom, whereon is a new name written, which no man knoweth save he that receiveth it. The new name is the key word.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENT—PROPHECIES.

THIS period under consideration was rich in prophecies. The boldness of Joseph Smith's predictions was startling; but it is to be remarked that they have been fulfilled as fast as the wheels of time have brought them due.

A PREDICTION UPON THE PRESENT GENERATION.

I prophesy, in the name of the Lord God of Israel, anguish and wrath and tribulation and the withdrawing of the Spirit of God from the earth await this generation, until they are visited with utter desolation. This generation is as corrupt as the generation of the Jews that crucified Christ; and if He were here today and should preach the same doctrine He did then, they would put Him to death. I defy all the world to destroy the work of God, and I prophesy they never will have power to kill me till my work is accomplished, and I am ready to die.

PROPHECY ON WAR.

I prophesy in the name of the Lord God, that the commencement of the difficulties which will cause much bloodshed previous to the coming of the Son of Man will be in South Carolina. It may probably arise through the slave question. This a voice declared to me while I was praying very earnestly on the subject, December 25th, 1832.

These remarks were made in April, 1843, at a place called Raymus, near Nauvoo; and the incidental reference to what a voice had declared to him respecting the war to begin in South Carolina, is doubtless an allusion to the more formal prophecy

on that great subject, and which I consider of so much importance that while it does not strictly belong to the period under consideration, I give it *in extenso*, as connected with the lesser prophecy quoted above.

PROPHECY ON THE WARS OF THE LAST DAYS.

Verily, thus saith the Lord, concerning the wars that will shortly come to pass, beginning at the rebellion of South Carolina, which will eventually terminate in the death and misery of many souls.

The days will come that war will be poured out upon all nations, beginning at that place;

For behold, the Southern States shall be divided against the Northern States, and the Southern States will call on other nations, even the nation of Great Britain, as it is called, and they shall also call upon other nations, in order to defend themselves against other nations; and thus war shall be poured out upon all nations.

And it shall come to pass, after many days, slaves shall rise up against their masters, who shall be marshalled and disciplined for war:

And it shall come to pass also, that the remnants who are left of the land will marshal themselves, and shall become exceeding angry, and shall vex the Gentiles with a sore vexation;

And thus with the sword, and by bloodshed, the inhabitants of the earth shall mourn; and with famine, and plague, and earthquakes, and the thunder of heaven, and the fierce and vivid lightning also, shall the inhabitants of the earth be made to feel the wrath, and indignation and chastening hand of an Almighty God, until the consumption decreed, hath made a full end of all nations;

That the cry of the saints, and of the blood of the saints, shall cease to come up into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, from the earth, to be avenged of their enemies.

Wherefore, stand ye in holy places, and be not moved, until the day of the Lord come; for behold it cometh quickly, saith the Lord. Amen.

I do not hesitate to refer to this prophecy as one of the

boldest, most forceful and remarkable ever uttered by a prophet of God in either ancient or modern times; and its exact and minute fulfillment to be read in the history of the United States and other countries is as astonishing as the prediction is bold.* This prophecy was given in December, 1832; and the Elders in those days, at least a number of them, carried manuscript copies of it with them on their missionary journeys, and frequently read it to their congregations in various parts of the United States. In Volume XIII of the *Millennial Star*, published in 1851, pages 216, 217, is an advertisement of a new publication to be called the *Pearl of Great Price.* In the announced contents is named this revelation of December, 1832, on war, with the statement that it had "never before appeared in print." Subsequently, but in the same year, 1851, the *Pearl of Great Price* with this prophecy in it, word for word as it is here quoted, was published by Franklin D. Richards, in Liverpool, England. There are copies of the first edition still extant.

PREDICTION THAT THE SAINTS WOULD REMOVE TO THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS AND BECOME A GREAT PEOPLE.

No less remarkable perhaps was the Prophet's great prediction of the sixth of August, 1842, given in his history under that date and published in the *Millennial Star*,† concerning the removal of the Latter-day Saints to the Rocky Mountains, then a thousand miles beyond the frontiers of the United States; but of which I shall not say more here as it is to receive consideration in a subsequent chapter.

PROPHECY UPON THE HEAD OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLASS.

In the daily journal of Wm. Clayton, who at the time the

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* For the consideration of the fulfillment of this prophecy the reader is referred to the writer's "New Witness for God," ch. XXIII.

† Vol. xix, page 630.

following prophecy was made was private secretary of the Prophet, and almost his constant companion—under date of May 18th, 1843, occurs the following entry concerning a visit with the Prophet to Judge Douglass at Carthage:

Dined with Judge Stephen A. Douglass, who is presiding at court. After dinner Judge Douglass requested President Joseph to give him a history of the Missouri persecutions; which he did in a very minute manner for about three hours. He also gave a relation of his journey to Washington City, and his application in behalf of the Saints to Mr. Van Buren, the President of the United States, for redress, and Mr. Van Buren's pusillanimous reply: "Gentlemen, your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you," and the cold, unfeeling manner in which he was treated by most of the senators and representatives in relation to the subject, Clay saying, "You had better go to Oregon," and Calhoun shaking his head and solemnly saying, "It's a nice question; a critical question, but it will not do to agitate it." The judge listened with the greatest attention, and then spoke warmly in deprecation of the conduct of Governor Boggs and the authorities of Missouri, who had taken part in the extermination, and said that any people that would do as the mobs of Missouri had done ought to be brought to judgment; they ought to be punished. President Smith, in concluding his remarks, said that if the government which received into its coffers the money of citizens for its public lands, while its officials are rolling in luxury at the expense of its public treasury, cannot protect such citizens in their lives and property, it is an old granny anyhow, and I prophesy, in the name of the Lord God of Israel, unless the United States redress the wrongs committed upon the Saints in the State of Missouri and punish the crimes committed by her officers, that in a few years the government will be utterly overthrown and wasted and there will not be so much as a potsherd left, for their wickedness in permitting the murder of men, women and children and the wholesale plunder and extermination of thousands of her citizens to go unpunished, thereby perpetrating a foul and corroding blot upon the fair fame of this great republic, the very thought of which would have caused the high-minded and patriotic framers of the Constitution of the United States to hide their

faces with shame. *Judge, you will aspire to the presidency of the United States; and if you ever turn your hand against me or the Latter-day Saints you will feel the weight of the hand of the Almighty upon you; and you will live to see and know that I have testified the truth to you, for the conversation of this day will stick to you through life. He appeared very friendly and acknowledged the truth and propriety of President Smith's remarks.*

This prophecy was published in Utah, in the *Deseret News* of September 24th, 1856; and afterwards in England in the *Millennial Star* of February, 1859. It is well known that Douglass did finally aspire to the Presidency of the United States, that he was nominated by a confident, aggressive party in 1860; and it is also known that in the elections of that year that party which had controlled the destinies almost uninterruptedly for forty years became demoralized; that Abraham Lincoln was triumphantly elected, receiving one hundred and eighty electoral votes, while Mr. Douglass received but 12; that Mr. Douglass some six weeks later died a disappointed not to say heart-broken man. All this is known, but it is not so generally known that on the twelfth of June, 1857, about one year after the prediction of his friend Joseph Smith was published in the *Deseret News*, in Utah, he most cowardly betrayed the people of that friend and united with their enemies in a most unjustifiable assault upon them, and in the fervor of his eloquence and to gain the favor of the populace, he cried out agaist them—

The knife must be applied to this pestiferous, disgusting cancer which is gnawing into the very vitals of the body politic. It must be cut out by the roots, and seared over by the red hot iron of stern and unflinching law. * * * Repeal the organic law of the Territory, on the ground that they are alien enemies and outlaws, unfit to be the citizens of a Territory, much less to ever become citizens of one of the free and independent States of this confederacy.*

* The speech is published in the *Missouri Republican* for June 18, 1857. For a more complete consideration of the prophecy, the reader is referred to the author's "New Witness for God," chapter xxii.

He little dreamed that in these utterances he was sealing his own political doom, and leaving on record an event that was to stand as a monument to the inspiration of Joseph Smith.

CHAPTER XXIX.

DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENT AT NAUVOO—OF THE BEING AND NATURE OF GOD.

WHEN Joseph Smith in 1820 declared that he had in open vision seen God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ standing together above him in the air, surrounded by a glorious brilliancy of light which defied all description, and that God the Father pointed to Jesus and said:

"*Joseph, this is my beloved Son, hear Him*"—

it is quite evident that new ideas pertaining to God were about to be promulgated among men. The facts of this vision were quite at variance with the orthodox notions entertained about the Godhead. It is quite true that Christians talked about the Father and the Son, and as for the latter they had to concede that He was in the form of man, and remains so to this day, as they have no reason to believe that the all-glorious resurrected body of flesh and bones with which Jesus ascended to His Father has been dissolved and become incorporeal; but no orthodox Christian believed that the Father and the Son of the Scriptures were two distinct and separate individuals—a conclusion which this very first vision of the Prophet's forces upon the understanding if it is believed. The anthropomorphism of the vision is also too emphatic for the orthodox conception of God; for notwithstanding the Scriptures teach that man was created in the image of God;* and that Jesus Christ was the express image of His Father's person†—and certainly Jesus was in the form of man—yet the

* Genesis 1, 26, 27.

† Heb., 1, 3.

Christian orthodoxy gave such explanations of these facts of Scripture that they accepted not at all the idea that God the Father was a personage like unto man in form and as distinct as to His person from His Son Jesus Christ as is any father and son among men. The orthodox creed of the Godhead is as follows:

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the Son of God begotten of the Father, only begotten (that is) of the substance of the Father; God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God; begotten, not made; of the same substance with the Father, by whom all things are made, that are in heaven and that are in earth; who for us men, and for our salvation, descended and was incarnate, and became man; suffered and rose again the third day, ascended into the heavens and will come to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit. But those who say there was a time when He [the Son] was not, and that He was not before He was begotten, and that He was made out of nothing or affirm that He is of any other substance or essence, or that the Son of God was created, and mutable, or changeable, the Catholic Church doth pronounce accursed.

This is the creed of St. Athanasius, formulated at the Council of Nice, A. D. 325, and is universally accepted by orthodox Christians. The explanation of the creed as given by Athanasius will also be of interest:

We worship one God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity; neither confounding the persons, nor dividing the substance. For there is one person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost. But the Godhead of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost is all one: The glory equal, the majesty co-eternal. Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost. The Father uncreate, the Son uncreate, and the Holy Ghost uncreate. The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible. The Father eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy Ghost eternal. And yet these are not three eternals, but one eternal. As also there are not three incomprehen-

sibles, nor three uncreated, but one uncreated and one incomprehensible. So likewise the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the Holy Ghost Almighty, and yet there are not three Almighties, but one Almighty. So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, and yet there are not three Gods, but one God.

It is of course apparent at a glance that the first great revelation to Joseph Smith declared facts in relation to the nature of God—His personality—the fact that the Father was distinct from the Son—the fact that there were two—or a plurality of Gods—which are at variance with the orthodox creed on the subject of Deity. This truth he continued to unfold from time to time, though the fullness and climax respecting this doctrine was reached at Nauvoo; and as it is the teachings of the Prophet and not a defense of them which I here wish to exhibit, I quote his own words:

GOD'S DISTINCT PERSONALITY.

The Father has a body of flesh and bones as tangible as a man's, the Son also, but the Holy Ghost has not a body of flesh and bones, but is a personage of spirit. Were it not so the Holy Ghost could not dwell in us. A man may receive the Holy Ghost, and it may descend upon him and not tarry in him.

THE HOLY GHOST A PERSONAGE.

The sign of the dove was instituted before the creation of the world, a witness of the Holy Ghost, and the devil cannot come in the sign of a dove. The Holy Ghost is a personage, and is in the form of a personage. It does not confine itself to the form of a dove, but in the sign of a dove. The Holy Ghost cannot be transformed into a dove; but the sign of a dove was given to John to signify the truth of the deed, as the dove is an emblem or token of truth and innocence.

IGNORANCE AS TO THE CHARACTER OF GOD.

It is necessary for us to have an understanding of God Himself

in the beginning. There are but a very few beings in the world who understand rightly the character of God. The great majority of mankind do not comprehend anything, either that which is passed, or that which is to come, as it respects their relationship to God. They do not know neither do they understand the nature of that relationship, and consequently, they know but little above the brute beast, or more than to eat, drink and sleep. This is all man knows about God or His existence, unless it is given by the inspiration of the Almighty.

WHAT KIND OF A BEING GOD IS.

I want to ask this congregation, every man, woman and child, to answer the question in their own heart, what kind of a being God is. * * * God Himself was once as we are now, and is an exalted man, and sits enthroned in yonder heaven! That is the great secret. If the veil was rent today and the great God who holds this world in its orbit, and who upholds all worlds and all things by His power, was to make Himself visible, I say, if you were to see Him today, you would see Him like a man in form—like yourselves in all the person, image and very form as a man, for Adam was created in the very fashion, image and likeness of God, and received instruction from and walked, talked and conversed with Him, as one man talks and communes with another. * * * It is the first principle of the Gospel to know for a certainty the character of God and to know that we may converse with Him as one man converses with another, and that He was once a man like us; yea that God Himself, the Father of us all, dwelt on an earth, the same as Jesus Christ Himself did, and I will show it from the Bible.

PLURALITY OF GODS ESTABLISHED BY THE LANGUAGE OF GENESIS.

I shall comment on the very first Hebrew word in the Bible; I will make a comment on the very first sentence of the history of creation in the Bible—*Berosheit.* I want to analyze the word. *Baith*—in, by, through and everything else. *Rosh*—the head. *Sheit*—Grammatical termination. When the inspired man wrote it he did not put the *baith* there. An old Jew without any authority added the

word: he thought it too bad to begin to talk about the head! It read first, "The head one of the Gods brought forth the Gods." That is the true meaning of the words. *Baurau* signifies to bring forth. If you do not believe it, you do not believe the learned man of God. Learned men can teach you no more than what I have told you. Thus the head God brought forth the Gods in the grand council. * * * The head God called together the Gods and sat in grand council to bring forth the world. The grand councilors sat at the head in yonder heavens and contemplated the creation of the worlds which were created at that time. * * * In the beginning, the head of the Gods called a council of the Gods, and they came together and concocted a plan to create the world and people it.

Later in dwelling on the same subject he said:

I will show from the Hebrew Bible that I am correct, and the first word shows a plurality of Gods, and I want the apostates and learned men to come here and prove to the contrary, if they can. An unlearned boy must give you a little Hebrew. *Berosheit baurau Eloheim ait aushamayeen uenhau auratis*, rendered by King James' translation: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." I want to analyze the word *Berosheit*. *Rosh*, the head; *sheit*, a grammatical termination. The *Baith* was not originally put there when the inspired man wrote it, but it has been since added by an old Jew. *Baurau* signifies to bring forth; Eloheim is from the word *Elio*, God, in the singular number, and by adding the word *heim*, it renders it Gods. It read first, "In the beginning the head of the Gods brought forth Gods," or as others have translated it, "The head of the Gods called the Gods together."

SUSTAINED BY JOHN THE REVELATOR.

President Joseph Smith read the third chapter of Revelations, and took for his text first chapter, sixth verse: "And hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father; to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen." It is altogether correct in the translation. Now you know that of late some malicious and corrupt men have sprung up and apostatized from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and they declare that the Prophet believes in a

plurality of Gods, and lo and behold! we have discovered a very great secret, they cry: "The Prophet says there are many Gods, and this proves that he has fallen." * * * I will preach on the plurality of Gods. I have selected this text for that express purpose. I wish to declare I have always, and in all congregations when I have preached on the subject of the Deity, it has been the plurality of Gods. It has been preached by the Elders fifteen years. I have always declared God to be a distinct personage, Jesus Christ a separate and distinct personage from God the Father, and the Holy Ghost was a distinct personage and a Spirit; and these three constitute three distinct personages and three Gods. If this is in accordance with the New Testament, lo and behold, we have three Gods anyhow, and they are plural, and who can contradict it?

BY THE TESTIMONY OF PAUL.

Our text says: "And hath made us kings and priests unto God and *his Father*." The Apostles have discovered that there were Gods above, for Paul says God was the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. * * * John was one of the men, and the Apostles declare they were made kings and priests unto God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. It reads just so in the Revelation. Hence the doctrine of a plurality of Gods is as prominent in the Bible as any other doctrine. It is all over the face of the Bible. It stands beyond the power of controversy. "A wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein." Paul says there are Gods many and Lords many. I want to set it forth in a plain and simple manner, but to us there is but one God—that is *pertaining* to us, and He is in all and through all. But if Joseph Smith says there are Gods many and Lords many, they cry, "Away with him, and crucify him, crucify him!" Mankind verily say that the Scriptures are with them. Search the Scriptures, for they testify of things that these apostates would gravely pronounce blasphemy. Paul, if Joseph Smith is a blasphemer, you are. I say there are Gods many, and Lords many, but to us only one; and we are to be in subjection to that one, and no man can limit the bounds or the eternal existence of eternal time. * * * Some say I do not interpret the Scriptures the same as they do. They say it means the heathen's gods. Paul says there are Gods many and

Lords many, and that makes a plurality of Gods, in spite of the whims of all men. Without a revelation I am not going to give them the knowledge of the God of heaven. You know and I testify that Paul had no allusion to the heathen gods. I have it from God, and get over it if you can. I have a witness of the Holy Ghost, and a testimony that Paul had no allusion to the heathen gods in the text.

BY THE PHILOSOPHY OF ABRAHAM.

I want to reason a little on this subject. I learned it by translating the papyrus which is now in my house. I learned a testimony concerning Abraham, and he reasoned concerning the God of heaven. "In order to do that," said he, "suppose we have two facts; that supposes another fact may exist—two men on the earth, one wiser than the other, would logically show that another who is wiser than the wiser one may exist. Intelligences exist one above another, so that there is no end to them. If Abraham reasoned thus: If Jesus Christ was the Son of God, and John discovered that God, the Father of Jesus Christ, had a Father, you may suppose that He had a Father also. Where was there ever a son without a father? And where was there ever a father without first being a son? Whenever did a tree or anything spring into existence without a progenitor? And everything comes in this way. Paul says that which is earthly is in the likeness of that which is heavenly. Hence, if Jesus had a Father, can we not believe that He had a Father also? I despise the idea of being scared to death at such doctrine, for the Bible is full of it.

BY THE TESTIMONY OF JESUS.

I believe all that God ever revealed, and I never hear of a man being damned for believing too much; but they are damned for unbelief. They found fault with Jesus Christ because He said He was the Son of God, and made Himself equal with God. They say of me like they did of the Apostles of old, that I must be put down. What did Jesus say? "Is it not written in your law, I said, ye are Gods? If he called them Gods unto whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken, say ye of him whom the Father has sanctified and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest, because I said I am the Son of God?" It was through Him that they drank of the spiritual rock.

Of course He would take the honor Himself. Jesus, if they were called Gods unto whom the word of God came, why should it be thought blasphemy that I should say I am the Son of God?*

HOW GOD CAME TO BE A GOD.

We have imagined and supposed that God was God from all eternity. I will refute that idea, and will take away the vail, so that you may see. * * * The Scriptures inform us that Jesus said, "As the Father hath power in Himself, even so hath the Son power"—to do what? Why, what the Father did. The answer is obvious—in a manner to lay down His body and take it up again. Jesus, what are you going to do? To lay down My life as My Father did and take it up again. Do you believe it? If you do not believe it you do not believe the Bible. Here then is eternal life, to know the only wise and true God, and you have got to learn to be Gods yourselves, and to be kings and priests to God, the same as all Gods have done before you, namely, by going from one small degree to another, and from a small capacity to a great one; from grace to grace, from exaltation to exaltation, until you attain to the resurrection of the dead and are able to dwell in everlasting burnings, and to sit in glory as do those who sit enthroned in everlasting power.

THE APPOINTMENT OF GODS.

The Scriptures are a mixture of very strange doctrines to the Christian world, who are blindly led by the blind. I will refer to another Scripture. "Now," says God, when He visited Moses in the bush, (Moses was a stammering sort of a boy like me,) God said, "Thou shalt be a God unto the children of Israel." God said, "Thou shalt be a God unto Aaron, and he shall be thy spokesman." I believe those Gods that God reveals as Gods to be sons of Gods, and all can cry, "Abba Father!" Sons of God who exalt themselves to be Gods, even

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*I think in this last sentence the report is imperfect. The Prophet doubtless meant to represent Jesus as still talking, that is, as if the Prophet had said—*Jesus continues:* "If they were called, etc.

from before the foundation of the world and are the only Gods I have a reverence for.

THE APPOINTMENT OF OUR GOD.

The head of the Gods appointed one God for us; and when you take a view of the subject, it sets one free to see all the beauty, holiness and perfection of the Gods. All I want is to get the simple, naked truth, and the whole truth.

THE ONENESS OF GOD—IN WHAT IT CONSISTS.

Many men say there is one God; the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are only one God! I say that is a strange God anyhow —three in one, and one in three! It is a curious organization. "Father, I pray not for the world, but I pray for them which Thou hast given me." "Holy Father, keep through Thine own name those whom Thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we are." * * * I want to read the text to you myself: "I am agreed with the Father and the Father is agreed with Me, and we are agreed as one." The Greek shows that it should be "agreed." "Father, I pray for them which Thou hast given me out of the world, and not for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word, that they all may be agreed as Thou, Father, art agreed with me, and I with Thee, that they also may be agreed with us—" and all come to dwell in unity, and in all glory and everlasting burnings of the Gods; and then we shall see as we are seen, and be as our God, and He as His Father.

OF MAN AND HIS IMMORTALITY.

The doctrines which Joseph Smith taught respecting God were also calculated to have an effect on his teachings respecting man, and that it did so is evident from the following:

I have another subject to dwell upon which is calculated to exalt man. * * * It is associated with the subject of the resurrection of the dead, namely, the soul—the mind of man—the immortal spirit. Where did it come from? All learned men, and doctors of divinity say that God created it in the beginning; but it is not so: the very idea lessens man in my estimation. I do not believe the

doctrine. I know better. Hear it, all ye ends of the world, for God has told me so, if you don't believe me, it will not make the truth without effect. * * * We say that God Himself is a self-existent being. Who told you so? It is correct enough, but how did it get into your heads? Who told you that man did not exist in like manner upon the same principles? God made a tabernacle and put a spirit into it, and it became a living soul. [Refers to the old Bible.] How does it read in the Hebrew? It does not say in Hebrew that God created the spirit of man. It says, "God made man out of earth and put into him Adam's spirit, and so became a living body." * * * I am dwelling on the immortality of the spirit of man. Is it logical to say that the intelligence of spirits is immortal, and yet that it had a beginning? The intelligence of spirits had no beginning, neither will it have an end. That is good logic. That which has a beginning may have an end. There never was a time when there were not spirits, for they are co-equal with our Father in heaven.

THE PROPHET'S VIEWS ON IMMATERIALITY AND ON CREATION.

There is no such thing as immaterial matter. All spirit is matter, but it is more fine or pure, and can only be discerned by purer eyes. We cannot see it; but when our bodies are purified, we shall see that it is all matter.

* * * You ask the wise doctors why they say the world was made out of nothing, and they will answer, "Don't the Bible say He created the world?" And they infer from that word *create* that it must be made out of nothing. Now the word create came from the word *baurau*, which does not mean to create out of nothing; it means to organize, the same as man would organize material and build a ship. Hence we infer that God had materials to organize the world out of—chaos—chaotic matter, which is element, and in which dwells all the glory. Elements had an existence from the time He [God] had. The pure principles of elements can never be destroyed, they may be organized and reorganized, but not destroyed. They had no beginning, and can have no end.

In order to present a more complete view of the importance

of man as connected with the work of his redemption, his future exaltation and glory, as taught by the Prophet, I quote two discourses of his preached in Nauvoo some time previous to the period under consideration. The first is an excerpt from remarks of the Prophet made in reply to certain questions about the Priesthood and other subjects; the second is from an article presented by him at the October conference of 1840:

I.

The Priesthood was first given to Adam; he obtained the First Presidency, and held the keys of it from generation to generation. He obtained it in the creation, before the world was formed, as in Gen. I, 20, 26, 28. He had dominion given him over every living creature. He is Michael, the Arch-Angel, spoken of in the Scriptures. Then to Noah, who is Gabriel; he stands next in authority to Adam in the Priesthood; he was called of God to this office, and was the Father of all living in his day, and to him was given the dominion. These men held keys first on earth, and then in heaven.

The Priesthood is an everlasting principle, and existed with God from eternity, and will to eternity, without beginning of days or end of years. The keys have to be brought from heaven whenever the Gospel is sent. When they are revealed from heaven it is by Adam's authority. Daniel VII, speaks of the Ancient of Days; he means the oldest man, our Father Adam, Michael; he will call his children together and hold a council with them to prepare them for the coming of the Son of Man. He (Adam) is the father of the human family, and presides over the spirits of all men, and all that have had the keys must stand before him in this grand council. This may take place before some of us leave this stage of action. The Son of Man stands before him, and there is given Him glory and dominion. Adam delivers up his stewardship to Christ, that which was delivered to him as holding the keys of the universe, but retains his standing as head of the human family.

The spirit of man is not a created being; it existed from eternity, and will exist to eternity. Anything created cannot be eternal; and earth, water, &c., had their existence in an elementary state, from eternity. Our Savior speaks of children and says, their angels

always stand before my Father. The Father called all spirits before Him at the creation of man, and organized them. He (Adam) is the head and was told to multiply. The keys were first given to him, and by him to others. He will have to give an account of his stewardship and they to him.

The Priesthood is everlasting. The Savior, Moses, and Elias, gave the keys to Peter, James, and John, on the mount, when He was transfigured before them. The Priesthood is everlasting—without beginning of days or end of years; without father, mother, &c. If there is no change of ordinances, there is no change of Priesthood. Wherever the ordinances of the Gospel are administered, there is the Priesthood.

How have we come at the Priesthood in the last days? It came down, in regular succession. Peter, James, and John had it given to them, and they gave it to others. Christ is the great High Priest; Adam next. Paul speaks of The Church coming to an innumerable company of angels—to God, the Judge of all—the spirits of just men made perfect; to Jesus, the Mediator of the new covenant, &c., (Heb. III, 23.)

I saw Adam in the valley of Adam-ondi-Ahman. He called together his children and blessed them with a patriarchal blessing. The Lord appeared in their midst, and he (Adam) blessed them all, and foretold what should befall them to the latest generation. (See D. C., sec. III, pars. 28, 29.)

This is why Abraham blessed his posterity; he wanted to bring them into the presence of God. They looked for a city, &c. Moses sought to bring the children of Israel into the presence of God, through the power of the Priesthood, but he could not. In the first ages of the world they tried to establish the same thing; and there were Eliases raised up who tried to restore these very glories, but did not obtain them; but they prophesied of a day when this glory would be revealed. Paul spoke of the Dispensation of the Fullness of Times, when God would gather together all things in one, &c.; and those men to whom these keys have been given, will have to be there; and they without us cannot be made perfect.

These men are in heaven, but their children are on earth. Their bowels yearn over us. God sends down men for this reason. (Matt.

XIII, 41.) And the Son of Man shall send forth His angels, &c. All these authoritative characters will come down and join hand in hand in bringing about this work.

II.

In order to investigate the subject of the Priesthood, so important to this, as well as every succeeding generation, I shall proceed to trace the subject as far as I possibly can from the Old and New Testaments.

There are two Priesthoods spoken of in the Scriptures, viz., the Melchisedek and the Aaronic or Levitical. Although there are two Priesthoods, yet the Melchisedek Priesthood comprehends the Aaronic or Levitical Priesthood, and is the grand head, and holds the highest authority which pertains to the Priesthood, and the keys of the Kingdom of God in all ages of the world to the latest posterity on the earth, and is the channel through which all knowledge, doctrine, the plan of salvation, and every important matter is revealed from heaven.

Its institution was prior to "the foundation of this earth, or the morning stars sang together, or the Sons of God shouted for joy," and is the highest and holiest Priesthood, and is after the order of the Son of God, and all other Priesthoods are only parts, ramifications, powers, and blessings belonging to the same, and are held, controlled, and directed by it. It is the channel through which the Almighty commenced revealing His glory at the beginning of the creation of this earth, and through which He has continued to reveal Himself to the children of men to the present time, and through which He will make known His purposes to the end of time.

Commencing with Adam, who was the first man, who is spoken of in Daniel as being the "Ancient of Days," or in other words, the first and oldest of all, the great grand progenitor of whom it is said in another place he is Michael, because he was the first and Father of all, not only by progeny, but the first to hold the spiritual blessings, to whom was made known the plan of ordinances for the salvation of his posterity unto the end, and to whom Christ was first revealed, and through whom Christ has been revealed from heaven, and will continue to be revealed from henceforth. Adam holds the keys of the Dispensation of the Fullness of Times; i. e., the dispensation of all

the times, have been and will be revealed through him from the beginning to Christ, and from Christ to the end of all the dispensations that are to be revealed: Ephesians, 1st chap., 9th and 10th verses, "Having made known unto us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure which he has purposed in himself: that in the dispensation of the fullness of times, he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth in him."

Now the purpose in Himself in the winding up scene of the last dispensation is that all things pertaining to that dispensation should be conducted precisely in accordance with the preceding dispensations.

And again: God purposed in Himself that there should not be eternal fullness until every dispensation should be fulfilled and gathered together in one, and that all things whatsoever, that should be gathered together in one in those dispensations unto the same fullness and eternal glory, should be in Christ Jesus; therefore He set the ordinances to be the same forever, and set Adam to watch over them, to reveal them from heaven to man, or to send angels to reveal them: Hebrews 1, 14, "Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister to those who shall be heirs of salvation?"

These angels are under the direction of Michael or Adam, who acts under the direction of the Lord. From the above quotation we learn that Paul perfectly understood the purposes of God in relation to His connection with man, and that glorious and perfect order which He established in Himself, whereby He sent forth power, revelations, and glory.

God will not acknowledge that which He has not called, ordained and chosen. In the beginning God called Adam by His own voice. See Genesis 3rd chapter, 9th, 10th v., "And the Lord called unto Adam and said unto him, Where art thou? And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid because I was naked, and hid myself." Adam received commandments and instruction from God; this was the order from the beginning.

That he received revelations, commandments and ordinances at the beginning is beyond the power of controversy; else how did they begin to offer sacrifices to God in an acceptable manner? And if they

offered sacrifices they must be authorized by ordination. We read in Gen. 4th chap., 4th v., that Abel brought of the firstlings of the flock and the fat thereof, and the Lord had respect to Abel and to his offering. And, again, Hebrews XI, 4th, "By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained witness that he was righteous, God testifying of his gifts; and by it he being dead, yet speaketh." How doth he yet speak? Why, he magnified the Priesthood which was conferred upon him, and died a righteous man, and therefore has become an angel of God by receiving his body from the dead, holding still the keys of his dispensation; and was sent down from heaven unto Paul to minister consoling words, and to commit unto him a knowledge of the mysteries of Godliness.

And if this was not the case, I would ask, how did Paul know so much about Abel, and why should he talk about his speaking after he was dead? Hence, that he spoke after he was dead must be by being sent down out of heaven to administer.

This, then, is the nature of the Priesthood; every man holding the presidency of his dispensation, and one man holding the presidency of them all, even Adam; and Adam receiving his presidency and authority from the Lord, but cannot receive a fullness until Christ shall present the Kingdom to the Father, which shall be at the end of the last dispensation.

CHAPTER XXX.

DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENT AT NAUVOO—MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

IN this chapter I quote the sayings and instructions of the Prophet on a variety of topics, uttered principally within the period under consideration—from January to June 1843—though there are some exceptions.

THE VARIOUS KINDS OF BEINGS IN HEAVEN.

There are two kinds of beings in heaven, viz: Angels who are resurrected personages, having bodies of flesh and bones. For instance, Jesus said, "Handle me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as you see me have." Second, the spirits of just men made perfect, they who are not resurrected, but inherit the same glory.

HOW TO DETERMINE THE NATURE OF AN ADMINISTRATION.

When a messenger comes, saying he has a message from God, offer him your hand, and request him to shake hands with you. If he be an angel, he will do so, and you will feel his hand. If he be the spirit of a just man made perfect he will come in his glory, for that is the only way he can appear. Ask him to shake hands with you, but he will not move, because it is contrary to the order of heaven for a just man to deceive; but he will still deliver his message. If it be the Devil as an angel of light, when you ask him to shake hands, he will offer you his hand but you will not feel anything; you may therefore detect him. These are three grand keys whereby you may know whether or not any administration is from God.

THE PROPHET'S VIEW ON THE CREEDS OF MEN.

I cannot believe in any of the creeds of the different denominations, because they all have some things in them I cannot subscribe to, though all of them have some truth. I want to come up in the presence of God, and learn all things; but the creeds set up stakes

and say, "Hitherto shalt thou come, and no further," which I cannot subscribe to.

THE PROPHET ON FRIENDSHIP.

Friendship is one of the grand fundamental principles of "Mormonism" to revolutionize and civilize the world, and cause wars and contentions to cease, and men to become friends and brothers. Even the wolf and the lamb shall dwell together; the leopard shall lie down with the kid; the calf and young lion, and the fatling; and a little child shall lead them; the bear and the cow shall lie down together, and the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp and the weaned child shall play on the cockatrice's den, and they shall not hurt or destroy in all My holy mountain, saith the Lord of hosts. It is a time-honored adage that love begets love. Let us pour forth love—show forth all kindness unto all mankind and the Lord will reward us with everlasting increase; cast our bread upon the waters, and we shall receive it after many days, increased to a hundredfold.

ON THE POWER OF THE WORD OF GOD.

Every word that proceedeth from the mouth of Jehovah has such an influence over the human mind—the logical mind—that it is convincing, without other testimony. Faith cometh by hearing. If ten thousand men testify to a truth you know, would it add to your faith? No. Or will ten thousand testimonies destroy your knowledge of a fact? No. I don't want any one to tell me I am a prophet, or attempt to prove my word.

THE PROPHET ON THE LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE AND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

It is one of the first principles of my life and one that I have cultivated from my childhood, having been taught it by my father, to allow every one the liberty of conscience. I am the greatest advocate of the Constitution of the United States there is on the earth. In my feelings I am always ready to die in the protection of the weak and oppressed in their just rights. The only fault I find with the Constitution is, it is not broad enough to cover the whole ground.

Although it provides that all men shall enjoy religious freedom, yet it does not provide the manner in which that freedom can be preserved, nor for the punishment of government officers who refuse to protect the people in their religious rights, or punish those mobs, States or communities who interfere with the rights of people on account of their religion. Its sentiments are good, but it provides no means of enforcing them. It has but this one fault. Under its provision, a man or people who are able to protect themselves can get along well enough, but those who have the misfortune to be weak or unpopular are left to the merciless rage of popular fury. The Constitution should contain a provision that every officer of the government who should neglect or refuse to extend the protection guaranteed in the Constitution should be subject to capital punishment; and then the President of the United States would not say "Your cause is just but I can do nothing for you;" governors issue exterminating orders; or judges say, "The men ought to have the protection of law, but it won't please the mob; the men must die anyhow to satisfy the clamor of the rabble; they must be hung, or Missouri be damned to all eternity." Executive writs could be issued when they ought to be, and not be made instruments of cruelty to oppress the innocent, and persecute men whose religion is unpopular.

THE PROPHET'S COMMENT ON GOOD MEN.

I do not think there have been many good men on the earth since the days of Adam; but there was one good man and His name was Jesus. Many persons think a prophet must be a great deal better than anybody else. Suppose I would condescend—yes, I will call it condescend—to be a great deal better than any of you, I would be raised up to the highest heavens, and who should I have to accompany me? I love that man better who swears a stream as long as my arm, yet deals justice to his neighbors and mercifully deals his substance to the poor, than the long, smooth-faced hypocrite. I do not want you to think I am very righteous, for I am not. God judges men according to the use they make of the light which He gives them.

THE PROPHET'S ESTIMATE AND DESCRIPTION OF HIMSELF.

I am like a huge, rough stone rolling down from a high moun-

tain, and the only polishing I get is when some corner gets rubbed off by coming in contact with something else, striking with accelerated force against religious bigotry, priest-craft, lawyer-craft, doctor-craft, lying editors, suborned judges and jurors, and the authority of perjured executives, backed by mobs, blasphemers, licentious and corrupt men and women, all hell knocking off a corner here and a corner there. Thus I will become a smooth and polished shaft in the quiver of the Almighty, who will give me dominion over all and every one of them, when their refuge of lies shall fail, and their hiding place shall be destroyed, while these smooth polished stones with which I come in contact become marred. * * * I am a rough stone. The sound of the hammer and chisel was never heard on me until the Lord took me in hand. I desire the learning and wisdom of heaven alone. I have not the least idea, if Christ should come to the earth and preach such rough things as He preached to the Jews, but that this generation would reject Him for being so rough.

OTHER WORLDS THAN OURS AND THEIR REDEMPTION.

Commenting on Revelation v: 13—"And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, Blessing, and honor, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever"—the Prophet said:

I suppose John saw beings there of a thousand forms, that had been saved from ten thousand times ten thousand earths like this, strange beasts of which we have no conception; all might be seen in heaven. The grand secret was to show John what there was in heaven. John learned that God glorified Himself by saving all that His hands had made, whether beasts, fowls, fishes or men, and He will gratify Himself with them.

THE PROPHET'S DEFINITION OF THE WORD MORMON.

Before I give a definition, however, to the word Mormon, let me say that the Bible, in its widest sense, means good, for the Savior says, according to the Gospel of John, "I am the good shepherd," and

it will not be beyond the common use of terms to say that good is among the most important in use, and though known by various names in different languages, still its meaning is the same, and is ever in opposition to bad. We say from the Saxon good; the Dane god; the Goth goda; the German gut; the Dutch goed; the Latin bonus; the Greek kalos; the Hebrew tob, and the Egyptian mon. Hence, with the addition of more, or the contraction mor, we have the word Mormon, which means, literally, more good.

MAKE YOUR CALLING AND ELECTION SURE.

Commenting on II Peter I, 5-10, and also verse 19, the Prophet said: Now there is some grand secret here, and keys to unlock the subject. Notwithstanding the Apostle exhorts them to add to their faith virtue, temperance, etc., yet he exhorts them to make their calling and election sure. And though they had heard an audible voice from heaven bearing testimony that Jesus was the Son of God, yet he says we have a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed as unto a light shining in a dark place. Now, wherein could they have a more sure word of prophecy than to hear the voice of God saying, "This is my beloved Son?" etc. Now for the secret and grand key. Though they might hear the voice of God and know that Jesus was the Son of God, this would be no evidence that their election and calling was made sure; that they had part with Christ, and were joint heirs with Him. They then would want that more sure word of prophecy, that they were sealed in the heavens and had the promise of eternal life in the kingdom of God. Then, having this promise sealed unto them, it was an anchor to the soul, sure and steadfast. Though the thunder might roll and the lightning flash and earthquakes bellow, and war gather thick around, yet this hope and knowledge would support the soul in every hour of trial, trouble and tribulation. Then knowledge through our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ is the grand key that unlocks the glories and mysteries of the Kingdom of heaven.

THE VALUE OF AGED MEN IN COUNCIL.

The way to get along in any important matter is to gather unto yourself wise men, experienced and aged men, to assist in council in

all times of trouble. Handsome men are not apt to be wise and strong-minded; but the strength of a strong-minded man will generally create coarse features, like the rough, strong bough of the oak. You will always discover in the first glance of a man, in the outline of his features, something of his mind.

SALVATION—IN WHAT IT CONSISTS.

Salvation is nothing more nor less than to triumph over all our enemies and put them under our feet. And when we have power to put all enemies under our feet in this world, and a knowledge to triumph over all evil spirits in the world to come, then we are saved as in the case of Jesus, who was to reign until he had put all enemies under His feet, and the last enemy was death.

DESIRABILITY OF POSSESSING EARTHLY TABERNACLES.

Now, in this world mankind are naturally selfish, ambitious and striving to excel one above another, yet some are willing to build up others as well as themselves. So in the other world there are a variety of spirits. Some seek to excel. And this was the case with Lucifer when he fell. He sought for things which were unlawful. Hence he was cast down, and it is said he drew away many with him, and the greatness of his punishment is that he shall not have a tabernacle. This is his punishment. So the Devil, thinking to thwart the decree of God by going up and down in the earth seeking whom he may destroy—any person that he can find that will yield to him, he will bind him, and take possession of the body and reign there, glorying in it mightily, not thinking that he had gotten a stolen tabernacle, and by and by some one having authority will come along and cast him out and restore the tabernacle to its rightful owner. But the devil steals a tabernacle because he has not one of his own, but if he steals one, he is always liable to be turned out of doors.

OF THE SPIRITS IN PRISON.

I will say something about the spirits in prison. There has been much said by modern divines about the words of Jesus (when on the cross] to the thief, saying, "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise." King James' translation makes it out to say paradise.

But what is paradise? It is a modern word, it does not answer at all to the original word that Jesus made use of Find the original of the word paradise. You may as easily find a needle in a haymow. Here is a chance for battle, ye learned men. There is nothing in the original word in Greek from which this was taken that signifies paradise, but it was, "This day thou shalt be with me in the world of spirits: then I will teach you all about it and answer your inquiries." And Peter says he went out and preached to the world of spirits (spirits in prison, 1st Peter, 3rd chapter, 19th verse), so that they who would receive it could have it answered by proxy by those who live on the earth. * * * Hades, the Greek, or Sheol, the Hebrew, these two significations means a world of spirits. Hades, Sheol, paradise, spirits in prison, are all one, it is a world of spirits. The righteous and the wicked will go to the same world of spirits until the resurrection. "I do not think so," says one. If you will go to my house any time, I will take my lexicon and prove it to you. The great misery of departed spirits in the world of spirits, where they go after death, is to know that they come short of the glory that others enjoy, and that they might have enjoyed themselves, and they are their own accusers.

THE PERSISTENCE OF OBTAINED INTELLIGENCE.

Whatever principle of intelligence we attain unto in this life, it will rise with us in the resurrection, and if a person gains more knowledge and intelligence in this life through his diligence and obedience than another, he will have so much the advantage in the world to come. There is a law, irrevocably decreed in heaven before the foundation of this world, upon which all blessings are predicated, and when we obtain any blessing from God, it is by obedience to that law upon which it is predicated.

THE DESIRABILITY AND POWER OF KNOWLEDGE.

If we get puffed up by thinking that we have much knowledge, we are apt to get a contentious spirit, and correct knowledge is necessary to cast out that spirit. The evil of being puffed up with correct [though useless] knowledge is not so great as the evil of contention. Knowledge does away with darkness, suspense and doubt,

for these cannot exist where knowledge is. * * * In knowledge there is power. God has more power than all other beings, because He has greater knowledge, and hence He knows how to subject all other beings to Him. He has power over all. * * * It is not wisdom that we shall have all knowledge at once presented before us, but that we should have a little at a time; then we can comprehend it. * * * Add to your faith knowledge, etc. The principle of knowledge is the principle of salvation. This principle can be comprehended by the faithful and diligent; and every one that does not obtain knowledge sufficient to be saved will be condemned. The principle of salvation is given us through the knowledge of Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE PROPHET ARRESTED ON MISSOURI'S OLD CHARGES.

IF it should be asked what class of men can do the State the most harm, or the church most mischief, the universal answer would be—*traitors!* So patent is the correctness of the statement, that we deem it unnecessary to inquire into the reasons that lead to the conclusion. What state has perished but by traitor's hands? What patriot suffered, but by a traitor's perfidy? And so, as we proceed, we shall see that it was principally through the schemes of traitors that Nauvoo's budding prospects were blighted, and her virtuous people driven into the wilderness.

It will be remembered that in a former chapter a letter written by John C. Bennett to Sidney Rigdon and Orson Pratt is reproduced, in which he stated that he was then *en route* for Missouri for the purpose of getting out an indictment against Joseph for treason against that State, said to have been committed during the troubles at Far West, in the fall of 1838. Whether Bennett went to Missouri or not I cannot say, but through his influence the old charge of treason was revived, and an indictment found at a special term of the circuit court for Daviess County, Missouri, on the fifth of June, 1843; and on the thirteenth of the same month Governor Reynolds issued a requisition on the governor of Illinois for Joseph Smith, and appointed Joseph H. Reynolds the agent of Missouri to receive the Prophet from the authorities of Illinois. Accordingly the warrant for the arrest was placed in the hands of Harmon T. Wil-

son by Governor Ford, of Illinois, and Wilson and Reynolds started to find the Prophet.

In the meantime Joseph's friends were not inactive. The day before Governor Ford issued the warrant for the apprehension of the Prophet, he incidentally mentioned to Judge James Adams that a requisition had been made by Missouri for the arrest of Joseph, and that he should issue it the next day; whereupon Judge Adams dispatched an express from Springfield to Nauvoo with this information. The express arrived in Nauvoo on the sixteenth of June; but three days before, Joseph with Emma had left Nauvoo to visit Emma's sister, a Mrs. Wasson, living near Dixon in Lee County, a little more than two hundred miles north of Nauvoo. On the arrival of the messenger from Judge Adams, Hyrum Smith at once dispatched Stephen Markham and William Clayton to Joseph with the information. They left Nauvoo about midnight of the eighteenth, and sixty-six hours later arrived at Wasson's, having ridden two hundred and twelve miles in that time, changing horses only once and that near the end of the journey. Shortly after the arrival of Clayton, a Mr. Southwick of Dixon rode out to Inlet Grove, where Mr. Wasson lived, to inform Joseph that a writ was out for him, and for his pains and interest the Prophet paid him twenty-five dollars, though he had already been informed by Clayton and Markham.

After the receipt of this information, however, Joseph concluded to remain where he was, for, if he started for home, he might meet the officers where he had no friends, and be run over into Missouri among his enemies.

Just how the officers Wilson and Reynolds came to know of the whereabouts of Joseph is not known. But at any rate they went directly to Dixon, nearly killing their horses by hard driving. At the village of Dixon they represented themselves as Mormon Elders, wanting to see the Prophet. They succeeded in hiring a man with a two-horse team to drive them out to

Wasson's. On the way they passed William Clayton, who had been sent by Joseph to see if he could learn anything of the movements of the officers at Dixon. But as the sheriffs were disguised, Clayton did not recognize them.

The officers arrived at Wasson's and found Joseph walking down the path leading to the barn. They sprang upon him like wild beasts upon their prey, presenting their pistols, and Reynolds exclaimed—"G— d— you, sir, if you stir, I'll shoot!" and this with slight variations he kept repeating. Joseph asked them what was the meaning of all this, for they attempted to serve no process, and to their oft-repeated threats of violence, which they sought to make emphatic with blood-curdling oaths, the Prophet bared his breast and told them to shoot, if they desired to, for he had endured so much oppression that he was weary of life.

By this time Stephen Markham arrived on the scene, and immediately started to the Prophet's assistance, despite the threats of the officers to shoot him if he advanced another step. Nor did the brave man check his advance until Joseph cautioned him not to resist the officers of the law.

Reynolds and Wilson, with much rudeness and many unnecessary imprecations, hustled their prisoner into the wagon they had hired in Dixon, and were for starting off without giving the prisoner a chance to say one word to his friends, bid his wife or children good-by, or even get his hat and coat. But Markham, regardless of the threats of the officers to shoot him, seized the team by the bits and said there was no law requiring an officer to take a man to prison without his clothes, and held on until Emma could bring out Joseph's hat and coat.

All this time they had served no process on their prisoner, and had repeatedly thrust the muzzles of their pistols against his sides until he was badly bruised by the uncalled-for violence.

Joseph shouted to Markham as he was driven away, to go to

Dixon and obtain a writ of *habeas corpus*, but as the horse Markham rode was jaded, and the officers ordered their driver to whip up, they kept up with him, and both parties went into the town together.

The sheriffs thrust their prisoner into a room in a tavern kept by Mr. McKennie, and ordered fresh horses to be ready in five minutes. Joseph told them he wanted to obtain counsel. "G— d— you, you shan't have counsel, one more word and G— d— you, I'll shoot you!" was the brutal answer. Just then, however, a man passed the window and to him Joseph shouted, "I am falsely imprisoned here, and I want a lawyer." Presently Lawyer Southwick, the gentleman who a few days before had rode out to Wasson's to inform the Prophet that a writ was out for him, came to the house, but only to have the door slammed in his face, and be denied admittance. Another lawyer, Shepherd G. Patrick, tried to gain admission to the prisoner but met with the same treatment as the first. But at last, through the influence of a Mr. Sanger and a Mr. Dixon, owner of the hotel building where the Prophet was detained a prisoner, Reynolds was given to understand that his prisoner must have a fair trial, and all the protection the laws afforded him. A writ of *habeas corpus* was sued out before Mr. Chamberlain, the master in chancery, who lived some six miles from Dixon, made returnable before Hon. John D. Caton, judge of the ninth judicial circuit at Ottawa.

Before starting for Ottawa, however, Joseph learned that Cyrus Walker, Esq., was in the vicinity on an electioneering tour, he being the Whig candidate for Congress from that district; and the Prophet attempted to secure his services in his defense, as he was the greatest criminal lawyer in that part of Illinois. Walker, however, refused to engage in his defense unless Joseph would agree to vote for him at the coming election, and the Prophet promised him his vote.

Writs were sued out before the justice of the peace against

Reynolds and Wilson for making threats against the lives of Markham and Joseph; and another writ for a violation of the law in relation to writs of *habeas corpus*; and still another, this time from the circuit court of Lee County, for private injuries, false imprisonment, claiming $10,000 damages. Whether or not the sheriffs were released from the first writ, I cannot learn; but on the last writ they were held in $10,000 bonds, and as they could get no bondsmen this side of Missouri, they were taken in charge by the sheriff of Lee County, and were under the necessity of obtaining a writ of *habeas corpus* themselves. So that while Joseph was the prisoner of Reynolds and Wilson, pending the hearing on the writ of *habeas corpus* he had sued out, they were prisoners under the same circumstances, in charge of the sheriff of Lee County. And in this manner all started for Ottawa for a hearing on the several writs before Judge Caton.

The whole company left Dixon on the twenty-fourth of June, and the same day arrived at Pawpaw Grove, a distance of thirty-two miles. The arrival of the Prophet and party at Pawpaw Grove created no little excitement, and the next morning the people gathered into the largest room in the hotel, and insisted upon hearing the Prophet preach. To this Sheriff Reynolds objected and said to the people, "I wish you to understand this man (pointing to Joseph) is my prisoner, and I want you should disperse." At this an old gentleman by the name of David Town spoke up and said:

You damned infernal Puke,* we'll learn you to come here and interrupt gentlemen! Sit down there, pointing to a very low chair, and sit still. Don't open your head till General Smith gets through talking. If you never learned manners in Missouri, we'll teach you that gentlemen are not to be imposed upon by a nigger-driver. You cannot kidnap men here. There's a committee in this grove that will

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* A common nick-name for Missourians in those days.

sit on your case; and, sir, it is the highest tribunal in the United States, as *from its decision there is no appeal.*

Old Mr. Town was lame and carried with him a heavy, hickory walking stick with which he emphasized the significant parts of his speech by striking the end of it on the floor. It had the desired effect on Reynolds, who humbly took his seat, while the Prophet without an interruption addressed the company for about an hour and a half on the subject of marriage.

At this point it was learned that Judge Caton was absent in the State of New York, hence the party returned to Dixon, and the officers made returns on the respective writs of *habeas corpus* by endorsing thereon—"Judge absent." New writs, however, were sued out, and at Markham's request, the one in behalf of Joseph was made to read: "Returnable before the nearest tribunal in the Fifth judicial district authorized to hear and determine writs of *habeas corpus*"—and thereby hangs a tale, as the sequel will show.

Arrangements were made with a Mr. Lucien P. Sanger, who was in the stagecoach business, to take the respective prisoners to Quincy, a distance of two hundred and sixty miles, to obtain a hearing on the several writs before Judge Stephen A. Douglass.

En route for Quincy, Joseph convinced his lawyers and Sheriff Campbell, of Lee County, and others, that the municipal court of Nauvoo had the right to try cases under writs of *habeas corpus*, and since the writ that he had sued out and served on Reynolds of Missouri was made "returnable before the nearest tribunal in the Fifth judicial district authorized to hear and determine writs of *habeas corpus*," he insisted on being taken to Nauvoo for a hearing. He prevailed, too, and for that place the now large party directed its course.

CHAPTER XXXII.

MINOR MATTERS IN THE NEW MOVE AGAINST THE PROPHET.

IT now becomes necessary to note a few minor events that occurred. As soon as the sheriffs started for Dixon with Joseph in their power, Emma Smith had her carriage made ready and at once started for Nauvoo with her children, in order to set some scheme or other on foot looking to her husband's deliverance.

Joseph, when arriving at Dixon a prisoner, dispatched William Clayton with a message to his brother Hyrum telling what had befallen him, and requesting that assistance be at once sent to him. Clayton boarded the steamer *Amaranth*, at Rock Island, and arrived in Nauvoo about two o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday, the twenty-fifth of June. Meeting was in progress when Hyrum stepped into the stand and interrupted the proceedings, by announcing that he wanted to meet with the brethren at the Masonic Hall.

The quiet of the Sabbath was immediately changed into excitement, and the brethren rushed to the hall in such numbers that not one-fourth could gain admittance, so the meeting was adjourned to the green, where a hollow square was formed about Hyrum, who related the story Clayton had told him respecting the capture of his brother, and called for volunteers to go to his assistance, and see that he had his rights. Immediately three hundred offered their services and from them a company was selected such as was needed; and before sunset, one hundred and seventy-five men were in the saddle under command of Generals Wilson Law and C. C. Rich, *en route* for Peoria.

Before the company left Nauvoo Elder Wilford Woodruff

opened a barrel of gunpowder and invited every man that was going to the assistance of the Prophet to fill his flask or powder-horn. The company was well armed and well mounted, and presented rather a formidable appearance.

Besides sending out this company to find and protect his brother, Hyrum sent about seventy-five men on the steamer *Maid of Iowa*, a small steamboat purchased by the people of Nauvoo some months before, and placed under the command of Captain Dan Jones.

The company was to go down the Mississippi to the mouth of the Illinois river, thence up that stream as far as Peoria; for it was expected that Joseph was being conveyed to Ottawa, and it was feared by Hyrum that an attempt would be made when the party approached the Illinois river to convey Joseph to one of the crafts plying between Peoria and St. Louis and so take him to Missouri. Hence this company on the *Maid of Iowa* was instructed to take the course mentioned, and to examine the steamboats they met, and if they learned that the Prophet was a prisoner on any one of them, they were to render whatever assistance might be within their power.

The command under Brothers Law and Rich divided and subdivided in going through the country, and on the twenty-seventh a small company under the command of Captain Thomas Grover met Stephen Markham, whom Joseph had dispatched to find the brethren that he suspected had been sent from Nauvoo to his assistance; Markham had instructions to meet the Prophet with any company of brethren he might find at Monmouth.

Near Monmouth, and before the arrival of the main body of Joseph's friends, Reynolds and Wilson planned a scheme of going into that town, raising a mob and taking the Prophet by force into Missouri. The plot failed, however, as it was overheard by P. W. Conover, and Sheriff Campbell took both Wilson and Reynolds into his immediate custody. These men had a strong dislike of going to Nauvoo, as they feared they would

never leave the place alive. But the Prophet pledged his word that no harm should befall them. As the friends of Joseph kept dropping in singly, or in squads, the fear of his enemies increased. Reynolds made special inquiries as to whether "Jem Flack" was in the company, and on being answered in the affirmative, he exclaimed, as he turned deathly pale, "I am a dead man!" for he had given Flack a deadly provocation. When Flack rode up, however, the Prophet called him up to him and strictly charged him that whatever insult he had received from Reynolds, not to injure a hair of his head, since he had given his word of honor that he should not be injured; and Flack agreed to let him alone.

Before noon of the thirtieth, Joseph's company, which now numbered about one hundred and forty, approached Nauvoo. Word had previously been sent in as to the probable time of his arrival, and the people prepared to give him a royal reception.

Hyrum Smith and Emma, accompanied by the brass band and a long train of carriages, met the Prophet's company a mile and a half north of the city, and received him. The enthusiasm of the people knew no bounds. The Prophet met his brother and wife with a fond embrace; from the latter, only a few days before, he had been torn away in the most arbitrary and cruel manner, and their reunion was a joy indeed.

Joseph now mounted his favorite horse, "Old Charley," and with Emma riding proudly at his side, and surrounded by his body guard, he led the procession into the city, amid the enthusiastic cheers of the people, the firing of musketry and cannon, and the lively strains of the band. At the gate of the Mansion stood the Prophet's mother, with tears of joy rolling down her aged cheeks, to welcome her son, whom she had seen so many times in the hands of his enemies. Here, too, his children flocked about him and welcomed him with unreserved, childish delight.

The vast crowd that had gathered in front of the Mansion appeared unwilling to leave without some word from their revered leader. When he observed this, he mounted the fence, thanked them and blessed them for their kindness to him, and told them he would address them in the grove, near the temple, at four o'clock.

A company of fifty sat down at the Prophet's table to partake of the feast provided, and Wilson and Reynolds, who had treated him so inhumanly when he was in their power, were placed at the head of the table, and waited upon by Emma with the utmost regard for their comfort, though they had denied her speech with her husband, and were not even willing that she should take to him his hat and coat. Gall to them indeed must have been the kindness of the Prophet and his wife, whom but a few days before they had treated with such harshness.

In the afternoon, several thousand people assembled at the grove, and at four o'clock, the Prophet addressed them in an animated speech of considerable length, in which he related to them his adventures while in the power of his enemies, and contended that the municipal court had the right to hear cases arising under writs of *habeas corpus*. In the course of his speech he allowed himself to be carried away by the fervor of his eloquence beyond the bounds of prudence; a circumstance, however, that will create no astonishment when the excitement and the indignation under which he was laboring, and that arose out of sense of outraged justice and humanity is taken into consideration. Under such circumstances and from such temperaments as that of the Prophet, we shall look in vain at such times for dispassionate discourse, and more than human must that man be, who, under the accumulated wrongs of years of oppression, can always confine his speech, when recounting those wrongs, within the lines that cold, calculating wisdom would draw. The speech, however, was doubtless one of the most characteristic that we have of the Prophet, and for that

reason I give it *in extenso*, as reported by Elders Willard Richards and Wilford Woodruff. It should also be remarked that the report was made in long-hand, and doubtless there exist many imperfections in it, and it should only be regarded as a synopsis of his speech:

The congregation is large. I shall require attention. I discovered what the emotions of the people were on my arrival at this city, and I have come here to say, "How do you do?" to all parties; and I do now at this time say to all, "How do you do?" I meet you with a heart full of gratitude to Almighty God, and I presume you all feel the same. I am well—I am hearty. I hardly know how to express my feelings. I feel as strong as a giant. I pulled sticks with the men coming along, and I pulled up with one hand the strongest man that could be found. Then two men tried, but they could not pull me up, and I continued to pull, mentally, until I pulled Missouri to Nauvoo. But I will pass from that subject.

There has been great excitement in the country since Joseph H. Reynolds and Harmon T. Wilson took me; but I have been cool and dispassionate through the whole. Thank God, I am now a prisoner in the hands of the municipal court of Nauvoo, and not in the hands of Missourians.

It is not so much my object to tell of my afflictions, trials, and troubles as to speak of the writ of *habeas corpus*, so that the minds of all may be corrected. It has been asserted by the great and wise men, lawyers, and others, that our municipal powers and legal tribunals are not to be sanctioned by the authorities of the State; and accordingly *they* want to make it lawful to drag away innocent men from their families and friends, and have them put to death by ungodly men for their religion!

Relative to our city charter, courts, right of *habeas corpus*, etc., I wish you to know and publish that we have all power; and if any man from this time forth says anything to the contrary, cast it into his teeth.

There is a secret in this. If there is not power in our charter and courts, then there is not power in the State of Illinois, nor in the Congress or Constitution of the United States; for the United States

gave unto Illinois her constitution or charter, and Illinois gave unto Nauvoo her charters, ceding unto us our vested rights, which she has no right or power to take from us. All the power there was in Illinois she gave to Nauvoo; and any man that says to the contrary is a fool.

The municipal court has all the power to issue and determine writs of *habeas corpus* within the limits of this city that the legislature can confer. This city has all the power that the State courts have, and was given by the same authority—the legislature.

I want you to hear and learn, O Israel, this day, what is for the happiness and peace of this city and people. If our enemies are determined to oppress us and deprive us of our constitutional rights and privileges as they have done, and if the authorities that are on the earth will not sustain us in our rights, nor give us that protection which the laws and Constitution of the United States and of this State guarantee unto us, then we will claim them from a higher power—from heaven,—yea, from God Almighty!

I have dragged these men here by my hand, and will do it again; but I swear I will not deal so mildly with them again, for the time has come when *forbearance is no longer a virtue*; and if you or I are again taken unlawfully, you are at liberty to give loose to blood and thunder. But be cool, be deliberate, be wise, act with almighty power; and when you pull, do it effectually—make a *sweepstakes* for once!

My lot has always been cast among the warmest-hearted people. In every time of trouble, friends, even among strangers, have been raised up unto me and assisted me.

The time has come when the vail is torn off from the State of Illinois, and its citizens have delivered me from the State of Missouri. Friends that were raised up unto me would have spilt their life's blood to have torn me from the hands of Reynolds and Wilson, if I had asked them, but I told them no, I would be delivered by the power of God and generalship; and I have brought these men to Nauvoo, and committed them to her from whom I was torn, not as prisoners in chains, but as prisoners of kindness. I have treated them kindly. I have had the privilege of rewarding them good for evil. They took me unlawfully, treated me rigorously, strove to deprive

me of my rights, and would have run with me into Missouri to have been murdered, if Providence had not interposed. But now they are in my hands; and I have taken them into my house, set them at the head of my table, and placed before them the best which my house afforded; and they were waited upon by my wife, whom they deprived of seeing me when I was taken.

I have no doubt but I shall be discharged by the municipal court. Were I before any good tribunal, I should be discharged, as the Missouri writs are illegal and good for nothing—they are "without form and void."

But before I will bear this unhallowed persecution any longer—before I will be dragged away again among my enemies for trial, *I will spill the last drop of blood in my veins, and will see all my enemies* IN HELL! To bear it any longer would be a sin, and I will not bear it any longer. Shall we bear it any longer? [One universal "NO!" ran through all that vast assembly, like a loud peal of thunder.]

I wish the lawyer who says we have no powers in Nauvoo may be choked to death with his own words. Don't employ lawyers, or pay them money for their knowledge, for I have learnt that they don't know anything. I know more than they all.

Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel. He that believeth in our chartered rights may come here and be saved; and he that does not shall remain in ignorance. If any lawyer shall say there is more power in other places and charters with respect to *habeas corpus* than in Nauvoo, believe it not. I have converted this candidate for Congress [pointing to Cyrus Walker, Esq.,] that the right of *habeas corpus* is included in our charter. If he continues converted, I will vote for him.

I have been with these lawyers, and they have treated me well; but I am here in Nauvoo, and the Missourians too. I got here by a lawful writ of *habeas corpus* issued by the master of chancery of Lee County, and made returnable to the nearest tribunal in the fifth judicial district having jurisdiction to try and determine such writs; and here is that tribunal, just as it should be.

However indignant you may feel about the high hand of oppression which has been raised against me by these men, use not the hand of violence against them, for they could not be prevailed upon to

come here, till I pledged my honor and my life that a hair of their heads should not be hurt. Will you all support my pledge, and thus preserve my honor? [One universal "YES!" burst from the assembled thousands.] This is another proof of your attachment to me. I know how ready you are to do right. You have done great things, and manifested your love towards me in flying to my assistance on this occasion. I bless you, in the name of the Lord, with all the blessings of heaven and earth you are capable of enjoying.

I have learnt that we have no need to suffer as we have heretofore: we can call others to our aid. I know the Almighty will bless all good men; He will bless you; and the time has come when there will be such a flocking to the standard of liberty as never has been or shall be hereafter. What an era has commenced! Our enemies have prophesied that we would establish our religion by the sword. *Is it true?* No. But if Missouri will not stay her cruel hand in her unhallowed persecutions against us, I restrain you not any longer. I say in the name of Jesus Christ, by the authority of the Holy Priesthood, I this day turn the key that opens the heavens to restrain you no longer from this time forth. I will lead you to the battle; and if you are not afraid to die, and feel disposed to spill your blood in your own defense, you will not offend me. Be not the aggressor: bear until they strike you on one cheek; then offer the other, and they will be sure to strike that; *then defend yourselves*, and God will bear you off, and you shall stand forth clear before His tribunal.

If any citizens of Illinois say that we shall not have our rights, treat them as strangers and not friends, and let them go to hell and be damned! Some say they will mob us. Let them mob and be damned! If we have to give up our chartered rights, privileges, and freedom, which our fathers fought, bled, and died for, and which the Constitution of the United States and of this State guarantee unto us, we will do it only at the point of the sword and bayonet.

Many lawyers contend for those things which are against the rights of men, and *I can only excuse them because of their ignorance.* Go forth and advocate the laws and rights of the people, ye lawyers! If not, don't get into my hands, or under the lash of my tongue.

Lawyers say the powers of the Nauvoo charter are dangerous; but I ask, is the Constitution of the United States or of this State dan-

gerous? No. Neither are the charters granted unto Nauvoo by the legislature of Illinois dangerous, and those who say they are are fools. We have not enjoyed unmolested those rights which the Constitution of the United States of America and our charters grant.

Missouri and all wicked men raise the hue and cry against us, and are not satisfied. Some political aspirants of this State also are raising the hue and cry that the powers in the charters granted unto the city of Nauvoo are dangerous; and although the general assembly have conferred them upon our city, yet the whine is raised—"Repeal them—take them away!" Like the boy who swapped off his jack-knife, and then cried, "Daddy, daddy, I have sold my jack-knife and got sick of my bargain, and I want to get it back again."

But how are they going to help themselves? Raise mobs? And what can mobocrats do in the midst of Kirkpatrickites? No better than a hunter in the claws of a bear. If mobs come upon you any more here, dung your gardens with them. We don't want any excitement; but after we have done all, we will rise up, Washington-like, and break off the hellish yoke that oppresses us, and we will not be mobbed.

The day before I was taken at Inlet Grove, I rode with my wife through Dixon to visit my friends, and I said to her, "Here is a good people." I felt this by the Spirit of God. The next day I was a prisoner in their midst, in the hands of Reynolds, of Missouri, and Wilson, of Carthage. As the latter drove up, he exclaimed, "Ha, ha, ha! By G—, we have got the Prophet now!" He gloried much in it, but he is now our prisoner. When they came to take me, they held two cocked pistols to my head, and saluted me with, "G— d— you, I'll shoot you! I'll shoot you, G— d— you,"—repeating these threats nearly fifty times, from first to last. I asked them what they wanted to shoot me for. They said they would do it, if I made any resistance.

"Oh, very well," I replied, "I have no resistance to make." They then dragged me away, and I asked them by what authority they did these things. They said, "By a writ from the governors of Missouri and Illinois." I then told them I wanted a writ of *habeas corpus*. Their reply was, "G— d— you, *you shan't have it.*" I told a man to go to Dixon, and get me a writ of *habeas corpus*. Wilson then repeated, "G— d— you, *you shan't have it:* I'll shoot you."

When we arrived at Dixon, I sent for a lawyer, who came; and Reynolds shut the door in his face, and would not let me speak to him, repeating, "G— d— you, I'll shoot you." I turned to him, opened my bosom, and told him to "shoot away. I have endured so much persecution and oppression that I am sick of life. Why, then, don't you shoot and have done with it, instead of talking so much about it?"

This somewhat checked his insolence. I then told him that I *would* have counsel to consult, and eventually I obtained my wish. The lawyers came to me and I got a writ of *habeas corpus* for myself, and also a writ against Reynolds and Wilson for unlawful proceedings and cruel treatment towards me. Thanks to the good citizens of Dixon, who nobly took their stand against such unwarrantable and unlawful oppression, my persecutors could not get out of the town that night, although, when they first arrived, they swore I should not remain in Dixon five minutes, and I found they had ordered horses accordingly to proceed to Rock Island. I pledged my honor to my counsel that the Nauvoo city charter conferred jurisdiction to investigate the subject; so we came to Nauvoo, where I am now a prisoner in the custody of a higher tribunal than the circuit court.

The charter says that "the city council shall have power and authority to make, ordain, establish and execute such ordinances not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, or of this State, as they may deem necessary, for the peace, benefit, and safety of the inhabitants of said city." And also that "the municipal court shall have power to grant writs of *habeas corpus* in all cases arising under the ordinances of the city council."

The city council have passed an ordinance "that no citizen of this city shall be taken out of this city by any writ, without the privilege of a writ of *habeas corpus*." There is nothing but what we have power over, except where restricted by the Constitution of the United States. "But," says the mob, "what dangerous powers!" Yes —dangerous, because they will protect the innocent and put down mobocrats. The Constitution of the United States declares that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be denied. Deny me the writ of *habeas corpus*, and I will fight with gun, sword, cannon, whirlwind, and thunder, until they are used up like the Kilkenny

cats. We have more power than most charters confer, because we have power to go behind the writ and try the merits of the case.

If these powers are dangerous, then the Constitution of the United States and of this State are dangerous; but they are not dangerous to good men: they are only so to bad men who are breakers of the laws. So with the laws of the country, and so with the ordinances of Nauvoo: they are dangerous to mobs, but not to good men who wish to keep the laws.

We do not go out of Nauvoo to disturb anybody, or any city, town, or place. Why, then, need they be troubled about us? Let them not meddle with our affair, but let us alone. After we have been deprived of our rights and privileges of citizenship, driven from town to town, place to place, and State to State, with the sacrifice of our homes and lands, our blood has been shed, many having been murdered, and all this because of our religion—because we worship Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience, shall we longer bear these cruelties which have been heaped upon us for the last ten years in the face of heaven, and in open violation of the Constitution and laws of these United States and of this State? God forbid it. *I will not bear it.* If they take away my rights, I will fight for them manfully and righteously until I am used up. We have done nothing against the rights of others.

You speak of lawyers. I am a lawyer, too; but the Almighty God has taught me the principle of law; and the true meaning and intent of the writ of *habeas corpus* is to defend the innocent and investigate the subject. Go behind the writ, and if the form of one that is issued against an innocent man is right, he should not be dragged to another State, and there be put to death, or be in jeopardy of life and limb, because of prejudice, when he is innocent. The benefits of the Constitution and laws are alike for all; and the great Eloheim has given me the privilege of having the benefits of the Constitution and the writ of *habeas corpus*; and I am bold to ask for this privilege this day; and I ask, in the name of Jesus Christ and all that is sacred, that I may have your lives and all your energies to carry out the freedom which is chartered to us. Will you all help me? If so, make it manifest by raising the right hand. [There was a unanimous re-

sponse, a perfect sea of hands being elevated.] Here is truly a committee of the whole.

When at Dixon, a lawyer came to me as counsel. Reynolds and Wilson said I should not speak to any man, and they would shoot any man who should dare to speak to me. An old, grey-headed man came up and said I should have counsel, and he was not afraid of their pistols.

The people of Dixon were ready to take me from my persecutors, and I could have killed them, notwithstanding their pistols; but I had no disposition to kill any man, though my worst enemy—not even Boggs. In fact, *he* would have more hell to live in the reflection of his past crimes than to die. After this, I had lawyers enough, and I obtained a writ for Joseph H. Reynolds and Harmon T. Wilson, for damage, assault, and battery, as well as the writ of *habeas corpus*.

We started for Ottoway, and arrived at Pawpaw Grove, thirty-two miles, where we stopped for the night. Esquire Walker sent Mr. Campbell, sheriff of Lee County, to my assistance, and he came and slept by me. In the morning, certain men wished to see me, but I was not allowed to see them. The news of my arrival had hastily circulated about the neighborhood, and very early in the morning the largest room in the hotel was filled with citizens, who were anxious to hear me preach, and requested me to address them.

Sheriff Reynolds entered the room and said, pointing to me, "I wish you to understand this man is my prisoner, and I want you should disperse. You must not gather around in this way." Upon which, an aged gentleman, who was lame and carried a large, hickory walking-stick, advanced towards Reynolds, bringing his hickory upon the floor, and said, "You damned infernal puke, we'll learn you to come here and interrupt gentlemen! Sit down there, (pointing to a very low chair,) and sit still. Don't open your head till General Smith gets through talking. If you never learned manners in Missouri, we'll teach you that gentlemen are not to be imposed upon by a nigger-driver. You can *not* kidnap men here, if you do in Missouri; and if you attempt it here, there's a committee in this grove that will sit on your case. And, sir, it is the highest tribunal in the United States, *as from its decision there is no appeal.*

Reynolds, no doubt, aware that the person addressing him was

at the head of a committee who had prevented the settlers on the public domain from being imposed upon by land speculators, sat down in silence, while I addressed the assembly for an hour and a half on the subject of marriage, my visitors having requested me to give them my views of the law of God respecting marriage.

My freedom commenced from that hour. We came direct from Pawpaw Grove to Nauvoo, having got our writ directed to the nearest court having authority to try the case, which was the municipal court of this city.

It did my soul good to see your feelings and love manifested towards me. I thank God that I have the honor to lead so virtuous and honest a people—to be your leader and lawyer, as was Moses to the children of Israel. Hosannah! *Hosannah!!* HOSANNAH!!! to Almighty God, who has delivered us thus from out of the seven troubles. I commend you to His grace; and may the blessings of heaven rest upon you, in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

President Smith then introduced Mr. Cyrus Walker to the assembled multitude, and remarked to him, "these are the greatest dupes, as a body of people, that ever lived, or I am not as big a rogue as I am reported to be. I told Mr. Warren I would not discuss the subject of religion with you. I understand the Gospel and you do not. You understand the quackery of law, and I do not." Mr. Walker then addressed the people to the effect that, from what he had seen in the Nauvoo city charter, it gave the power to try writs of *habeas corpus*, etc. After which, President Smith continued as follows:

"If the legislature have granted Nauvoo the right of determining cases of *habeas corpus*, it is no more than they ought to have done, or more than our fathers fought for. Furthermore if Missouri continues her warfare, and to issue her writs against me and this people unlawfully and unjustly, as she has done, and to take away and trample upon our rights, I swear, in the name of Almighty God, and with uplifted hands to Heaven, I will spill my heart's blood in our defense. They shall not take away our rights; and if they don't stop leading me by the nose, I will lead them by the nose, and if they don't let me alone, I will turn up the world—I will make war. When we shake our own bushes, we want to catch our own fruit. The lawyers themselves acknowledge that we have all power granted us in our charters that

we could ask for—that we had more power than any other court in the State; for all other courts were restricted, while ours was not; and I thank God Almighty for it. I will not be rode down to hell by the Missourians any longer; and it is my privilege to speak in my own defense; and I appeal to your integrity and honor that you will stand by and help me according to the covenant you have this day made."

In the meantime, a requisition was made on Sheriff Reynolds, to bring his prisoner before the municipal court of Nauvoo, that the validity of the writ, by virtue of which he held him, might be tested. Reynolds refused to recognize the summons of the court; therefore, his prisoner petitioned the court for a writ of *habeas corpus* to be directed to Sheriff Reynolds, commanding him to bring his prisoner before said court, and there state the cause of his capture and detention, in order that the lawfulness of his arrest might be inquired into. Reynolds complied with the attachment, and the Prophet was delivered into the charge of the city marshal. The next day, the municipal court held a session, William Marks, acting chief justice, D. H. Wells, N. K. Whitney, G. W. Harris, Gustavus Hills and Hiram Kimball, associate justices.

When Joseph was on trial for this same offense before Judge Douglass, on a writ of *habeas corpus* in 1841, as already related in a previous chapter, the court refused to enter into the consideration of the merits of the case, as the judge doubted whether on a writ of *habeas corpus* he had a right to go behind the writ and inquire into the merits of the case. The same point was avoided by Judge Pope in the hearing Joseph had before him on a similar writ, when charged with being accessory before the fact in an assault upon the life of ex-Governor Boggs. But the municipal court had no such scruples, and at once proceeded to try the case *ex parte*, on its merits; and Hyrum Smith, P. P. Pratt, Brigham Young, G. W. Pitkin, Lyman Wight and Sidney Rigdon were examined as witnesses. Their

affidavits before that court concerning events that happened to the Saints in Missouri, afford the most circumstantial, reliable, and exhaustive data for the history of The Church while in that State that has ever been published.

After hearing the testimony of these witnesses, and the pleading of counsel, the court ordered that Joseph Smith be released from the arrest and imprisonment of which he complained, for want of substance in the warrant by which he was held, as well as upon the merits of the case.

At the conclusion of the trial the citizens of Nauvoo held a mass meeting and passed resolutions thanking the people of Dixon and vicinity, and of Lee County generally, for the stand they had taken in defense of the innocent, and in favor of law and justice.

A copy of the proceedings of the municipal court of Nauvoo, and of all the papers connected with the case were immediately sent to the governor, as also were affidavits from leading counsel and gentlemen from Dixon, as to the treatment of Wilson and Reynolds, that the governor and the world might know that they had not been injured.

We may conclude the account of this adventure of Joseph's by saying that about a year afterwards, a jury in Lee County awarded forty dollars damages, and costs, against Wilson and Reynolds, for false imprisonment and abuse of the Prophet—a verdict which, while it confirms the unlawful course of those officers, and the fact that their prisoner was abused, insults justice by awarding such an amount for damages.

At the time of this action before the municipal court of Nauvoo, it was a question in Illinois whether said court had the authority to hear and determine writs of *habeas corpus* arising from arrests made by virtue of warrants issued by the courts of the State or of the governor, as in the foregoing case; or whether the clause in the city charter granting the right of issuing such writs was not confined to cases arising from arrests

made on account of the violation of some city ordinance. The clause in the charter giving to the municipal court the power to issue writs of *habeas corpus* was as follows:

> The municipal court shall have power to grant writs of *habeas corpus* in all cases arising under the ordinances of the city council.

And in addition there was the general welfare provision, which provided that the

> City council shall have power and authority to make, ordain, establish and execute such ordinances not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, or of this State, as they may deem necessary for the peace, benefit and safety of the inhabitants of said city.

It was maintained on the part of those who believed that the municipal court had the right to issue writs of *habeas corpus* against process issued from the State courts that all the power there was in Illinois she gave to Nauvoo, and that the municipal court had all the power within the limits of the city that the State courts had, and that power was given by the same authority—the legislature. A number of lawyers of more or less prominence in the State professed to hold the same views; but little reliance can be put in the support they bring to the case, since they were seeking political preferment and would, and did, in their interpretations of the powers granted by the charter, favor that side of the controversy most likely to please the citizens of Nauvoo.

Governor Ford, too, at the time, gave a tacit approval of the course taken by the municipal court in issuing the writ of *habeas corpus*, though he afterwards became very pronounced in his opposition to the exercise of such powers. It occurred in this way: As soon as Joseph was liberated, Sheriff Reynolds applied to Governor Ford for a posse to retake him, representing that the Prophet had been unlawfully taken out of his hands by the munici-

pal court of Nauvoo. The governor refused to grant the petition. Subsequently the governor of Missouri asked Governor Ford to call out the militia to retake Joseph, but this he also refused to do, and gave as a reason that "no process, officer, or authority of the State had been resisted or interfered with," and recited how the prisoner had been released on *habeas corpus* by the municipal court of Nauvoo. The governor acted in this instance with perfect knowledge of what had taken place, for the petition and statement of Reynolds were in his possession as were also complete copies of all the documents, which contained the proceedings before the municipal court of Nauvoo; and in addition to these sources of information, the governor had dispatched a trusted, secret agent, a Mr. Brayman, to Nauvoo who investigated the case and reported the result to him.

On the other hand it was contended that the grant in the charter was intended by the legislature only to give the power to the municipal court to issue writs of *habeas corpus* in cases of arrest for violation of city ordinances, and that giving power to the municipal court to test the warrants or processes issued from the State courts, was never contemplated by the legislature, and that the passage of any ordinance by the city council that would bring about or authorize any such unusual proceeding was an unwarranted assumption of power, utterly wrong in principle and consequently subversive of good government.

But whatever opinion may be entertained on the point under consideration, there can be no question but what upon the broad principles of justice the Prophet Joseph ought to have been set free. The State of Missouri had no just claims upon him. He had been arrested and several times examined on these old charges now revived by the personal malice of John C. Bennett, and after being held a prisoner awaiting indictment and trial for five months, so conscious were the officers of the State that they had no case against him that they themselves connived at

his escape. After such proceedings to demand that he be dragged again into Missouri among his old enemies was an outrage against every principle of justice.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

POLITICAL PERPLEXITIES—JOSEPH SMITH A CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE events related in the last two chapters occurred on the eve of an election for United States representatives, State and county officers. The Whig and Democratic parties were so divided in Illinois that the citizens of Nauvoo held the balance of power in the congressional district where they were located, and also in the county. Whichever party they voted with, as they voted unitedly, gained the election. This circumstance brought to the people of Nauvoo many concessions, and caused the candidates of both political parties to fawn at their feet. It was a case where "Bell boweth down, and Nebo stoopeth." But we shall see that it also brought with it serious difficulties that contributed in no small degree to hasten the fall of Nauvoo; and yet it was a situation forced upon the Saints rather than a policy deliberately chosen by them. The Prophet himself has given the very best explanation of the enforced necessity of the Saints voting unitedly while in Illinois, and I here quote that explanation:

With regard to elections, some say all the Latter-day Saints vote together and vote as I say. But I never tell any man how to vote, or who to vote for. But I will show you how we have been situated by bringing a comparison. Should there be a Methodist society here and two candidates running for office, one says, "If you will vote for me and put me in governor I will exterminate the Methodists, take away their charters, etc." The other candidate says "If I am governor, I will give all an equal privilege." Which would the Methodists vote for? Of course they would vote *en masse* for the candi-

date that would give them their rights. Thus it has been with us. Joseph Duncan said, if the people would elect him, he would exterminate the Mormons and take away their charters. As to Mr. Ford he made no such threats, but manifested a spirit in his speeches to give every man his rights; hence The Church universally voted for Mr. Ford, and he was elected governor.*

In the election above referred to a circumstance occurred which greatly intensified the political bitterness. It will be remembered that Cyrus Walker refused to assist Joseph when under arrest at Dixon, unless he would pledge him his vote in the then pending election. This Joseph did and Walker was satisfied that he would go to Congress, as he expected that Joseph's vote would bring to him the entire vote of Nauvoo, which would insure his election; and so expressed himself to Stephen Markham. But the day before election, which was Sunday, Hyrum told Joseph that the Spirit had manifested it to him that it would be to the best interests of the people to vote the Democratic ticket, including Mr. Hoge, the Democratic candidate for Congress. Joseph made that announcement in a public meeting, but in addressing the people he said: ·

I am not come to tell you to vote this way, that way, or the other. In relation to national matters I want it to go abroad to the whole world that every man should stand on his own merits. The Lord has not given me a revelation concerning politics. I have not asked Him for one. I am a third party, and stand independent and alone. I desire to see all parties protected in their rights.

Referring to what Hyrum had communicated to him he said:

I never knew Hyrum to say he ever had a revelation and it failed. Let God speak, and all men hold their peace.

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* History of Joseph Smith, Mill. Star, vol. xxi, p. 668.

· The remarks were made at a public meeting soon after the Prophet's release by the municipal court of Nauvoo from the custody of Reynolds and Wilson.

Joseph kept his pledge personally, and voted for Cyrus Walker; but the Democratic ticket was overwhelmingly successful in Nauvoo.

It ought to be said here in justification of the course of the people of Nauvoo, that very good evidence existed to the effect that the whole difficulty connected with the arrest of Joseph at Dixon on the old Missouri charges of "treason, arson," etc, etc., was a political scheme planned with a view of securing the Mormon vote for the Whig party. The *Illinois State Register* in July published the following on the subject of the arrest of the Prophet at Dixon, to justify the charge it made that the whole affair was but a Whig plot to secure the Mormon vote:

The public is already aware that a demand was lately made upon the governor of this State for the arrest of Joseph Smith, and that a writ was accordingly issued against him. We propose now to state some of the facts, furnishing strong grounds of suspicion that the demand which was made on the governor here was a manœuvre of the Whig party.

1st. A letter was shown to a gentleman of this city, by the agent of Missouri, from the notorious John C. Bennett to a gentleman in one of the western counties of that State, urging the importance of getting up an indictment immediately against Smith, for the five or six years old treason of which he was accused several years ago.

2nd. This charge had been made once before, and afterwards abandoned by Missouri. It is the same charge on which Smith was carried before Judge Douglass and discharged two years ago. After that decision, the indictment against Smith was dismissed, and the charge wholly abandoned.

3rd. But in the letter alluded to, Bennett says to his Missouri agent, Go to the judge, and never leave him until he appoints a special term of court; never suffer the court to adjourn until an indictment is found against Smith for treason. When an indictment shall have been found, get a copy and go immediately to the governor,

and never leave him until you get a demand on the governor of Illinois for Smith's arrest; and then dispatch some active and vigilant person to Illinois for a warrant and let him never leave the governor until he gets it; and then never let him come back to Missouri without Smith.

4th. A special term of the circuit court of Daviess County, Missouri, was accordingly called on the 5th day of June last. An indictment was found against Smith for treason five years old. A demand was made and a writ issued, as anticipated, by the 17th of the same month.

5th. Bennett it is well known has for a year past been a mere tool in the hands of the Whig junto at Springfield. He has been under their absolute subjection and control, and has been a regular correspondent of the *Sangamo Journal*, the principal organ of the Whig party. He has been a great pet of both the *Journal* and the junto; and that paper has regularly announced his removals from place to place, until latterly; and within the last year has published more of his writings than of any other person, except the editor.

6th. Cyrus Walker, a short time after his nomination, as the Whig candidate for Congress in the 6th district, made a pilgrimage to Nauvoo, for the purpose of currying favor with the Mormons, and getting their support. But in this he was disappointed and dejected; and it was generally believed that, failing to get the Mormon vote, he would be beaten by his Democratic opponent.

7th. Let it be also borne in mind that the treason of which Smith was accused was five or six years old; that it had been abandoned as a charge by Missouri; that the circuit court of that State sat three times a year; that Smith was permanently settled at Nauvoo, no person dreaming that he would leave there for years to come; that they might have waited in Missouri for a regular term of the court, if the design was simply to revive a charge of treason against Smith, with a perfect assurance that he would always be found at home, and be as subject to arrest at one time as another. But this delay did not suit the conspirators as it would put off an attempt to arrest Smith until after the August election. Let it be borne in mind also that the agent of Missouri, after he had obtained the custody of Smith at Dixon, refused to employ a Democratic lawyer, and

insisted upon having a Whig lawyer of inferior abilities, simply upon the ground as he stated, that the Democrats were against him. Let it also be borne in mind that Cyrus Walker, the Whig candidate for Congress, miraculously *happened* to be within six miles of Dixon when Smith was arrested, ready and convenient to be employed by Smith to get him delivered from custody; and that he was actually employed and actually did get Smith enlarged from custody; and withal let it be remembered that John C. Bennett is the pliant tool and pander of the junto at Springfield; and that he was the instigator of an unnecessary special term in Missouri, on the 5th day of June last, for the purpose of getting Smith indicted. We say let all these facts be borne in mind, and they produce a strong suspicion, if not conviction, that the whole affair is a Whig conspiracy to compel a Democratic governor to issue a writ against Smith, pending the congressional elections, so as to incense the Mormons, create a necessity for Walker's and perhaps Browning's professional services in favor of Smith, to get him delivered out of a net of their own weaving, and thereby get the everlasting gratitude of the Mormons and their support for the Whig cause. (*Illinois State Register*, quoted in History of Joseph Smith, Millennial Star, vol. XXI, p. 762.)

Such a plot coming to the knowledge of Joseph and the citizens of Nauvoo would certainly justify them in voting against the perpetrators of such an outrage. Of course it cannot be denied that Cyrus Walker was justified in believing that the vote of Joseph Smith pledged to him at Dixon, and which by him was made a condition precedent to his coming to the assistance of Joseph, was understood as meaning something more than the individual vote of the Prophet, nor do I think the Prophet censurable for using any means at his command under the circumstances to deliver himself from the hands of his enemies. But if afterwards the people of Nauvoo learned—as they evidently did—that a plot had been laid to ensnare them, to secure their vote though it involved the liberty, and perhaps the life of their Prophet-leader, they were justified in casting their votes against the men guilty of such perfidy.

This sudden and unexpected change in the vote of the citizens of Nauvoo, stirred up to the very depths the enmity of the defeated political party; and when, shortly after the election, R. D. Foster, who had been elected school commissioner, and G. W. Thatcher, who had been elected clerk of the commissioner's court for the county, appeared at the courthouse in Carthage to take the oath of office, and file their bonds, an attempt was made to keep them from doing so; and the court was threatened with violence if the Mormons were permitted to qualify.

They qualified, nevertheless; whereupon a call was issued for an anti-Mormon meeting to convene in Carthage on the following Saturday, August the 19th, to protest against the Mormons holding office. The people of Carthage and vicinity assembled at the appointed time, organized with a chairman, Major Reuben Graves; and a secretary, W. D. Abernethy; and a committee of nine to draft resolutions. After listening to speeches by Valentine Wilson, Walter Bagby and others, the meeting adjourned to meet again on the sixth of September.

To enumerate the crimes alleged against the Saints in general and in particular against Joseph Smith, in the preamble to the resolutions adopted at their second meeting, would be drawing up a list of all the crimes that ever threatened the peace, happiness, prosperity and liberty of a nation. They resolved that from recent movements among the Mormons, there were indications that they were unwilling to submit to the ordinary restrictions of law; and therefore concluded that the people of Illinois must assert their rights in some way. That while they deprecated anything like lawless violence, they pledged themselves to resist all wrongs the Mormons should inflict upon them in the future—"peaceably if they could, but forcibly if they must." They called upon all good and honest men to assist in humbling the pride of that "audacious despot," Joseph Smith; pledged themselves to raise a posse and take him if the authori-

ties of Missouri made another demand for him; that it might not be said of them, that they allowed the most outrageous culprits "to go unwhipped of justice." They agreed to support no man of either political party who should truckle to the Mormons for their influence, and finally

Resolved that when the government ceases to afford protection, the citizens of course fall back upon their original inherent right of self-defense.

One of the principal movers in these meetings was Walter Bagby, the county collector, with whom Joseph had some difficulty in relation to the payment of taxes. In the dispute that arose Bagby told Joseph he lied, and for this insult Joseph struck him, and would doubtless have thrashed him soundly but for the interference of Daniel H. Wells. From that time on, Bagby became the relentless enemy of Joseph and the inspirer of these meetings at Carthage; and afterwards went to Missouri where he conferred with the Prophet's old enemies, and brought about that concerted action between the Missourians and the anti-Mormons of Illinois which resulted finally in his assassination.

Later in the fall, acts of violence began to be perpetrated upon the Mormon people who lived at a distance from Nauvoo; and threats of violence were frequent. In December of the year of which I am now writing—1843—a member of The Church living near Warsaw, by the name of Daniel Avery, and his son Philander, were kidnapped by Levi Williams, of Warsaw, John Elliot and others, and run across the Mississippi to Missouri, where for several weeks Daniel Avery was kept a prisoner in Clark County, while one Joseph McCoy was hunting up witnesses to prove that he had stolen a mare from him. Philander Avery escaped and returned to Illinois; but his father remained a prisoner, and suffered great cruelty at the hands of his captors. Finally, however, he was released by writ of *habeas corpus*,

and went to Nauvoo where he made affidavit as to his treatment.

Wild rumors abounded also as to what the Missourians intended to do; and some of the letters from Missouri that fell into Joseph's hands, through friends of his, threatened Illinois with invasion, and for a season it would seem that a border war was inevitable. Joseph was careful to keep Governor Ford informed as to all acts of violence perpetrated upon his people, and especially as to the threats of the Missourians respecting an attack, and went so far as to tender the services of the Legion to repel any attempted invasion of the State should it occur. Governor Ford, however, refused to believe there was any danger in the threats, and therefore would detail no portion of the Legion, or of the other State militia, to be ready for such an assault.

A petition signed by nearly all the citizens of Nauvoo, asking the governor to issue no more warrants at the demand of Missouri for the arrest of Joseph Smith on the old charges, was presented to the executive, but the governor refused to give the people any encouragement that he would favorably entertain their suit.

In the meantime another important event began to take shape. As the time of the presidential election was now approaching the probable candidates for the office began to be discussed.

It was well known that the vote of the citizens of Nauvoo would be important, as it would most likely determine whether Illinois would go Whig or Democratic. The political friends of John C. Calhoun at Quincy, early perceived the importance of securing their favor, and began to work for it. A Colonel Frierson, of Quincy, the political friend of John C. Calhoun, expressed great sympathy for the Saints because of the injustice and persecution they had received at the hands of Missouri, and intimated to Brother Joseph L. Heywood that the Hon. B. Rhett, a

representative from South Carolina to the United States Congress, and also a political friend to Mr. Calhoun, had expressed a willingness to present to Congress a memorial for a redress of wrongs suffered by the Saints in Missouri; but was careful to intimate to Brother Heywood, and through him to the citizens of Nauvoo, that he supposed that Mr. Calhoun would be a more acceptable candidate to them than Mr. Van Buren.

Colonel Frierson afterwards went to Nauvoo, met in council with the leading citizens, and drafted a memorial to Congress; a copy of which he took with him to Quincy to obtain signers, but I think it never reached the House of Representatives.

The incident, however, suggested to the Prophet the propriety of addressing letters to each of the candidates for the presidency—five in number, viz.,—John C. Calhoun, Lewis Cass, Richard M. Johnson, Henry Clay and Martin Van Buren—to ascertain what policy they would adopt respecting the Saints and redressing the wrongs done them by Missouri. Only two out of the number, however, gave a reply. They were Calhoun and Clay. The former was of the opinion that the general government possessed such limited and specific powers, that the Missouri troubles did not come within its jurisdiction. As to his treatment of the Latter-day Saints, as the Constitution and the laws of the Union made no distinction between citizens of different religious creeds, he should make none; but so far as the executive was concerned all should have the full benefit of both, and none should be exempted from their operation.*

Clay partially disclaimed being a candidate for the presidency, but said if he ever entered into that high office, he must do so free and unfettered, with no guarantees but such as might be drawn from his whole life, character and conduct. But he was careful to say, that he had watched the progress of the Saints, and sympathized with them in their sufferings under in-

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* See Appendix I.

justice, which had been inflicted upon them; and thought that they, in common with other religious communities, should enjoy the security and protection of the Constitution and laws.

To these letters the Prophet Joseph wrote scathing replies. The particular portion of Calhoun's answer with which he dealt, was that which claimed that the general government had no jurisdiction in the case of the Saints and Missouri, and handled rather severely the senator's doctrine of the limited powers of the general government.*

In reply to Henry Clay he dealt chiefly with his "no pledge nor guarantee" doctrine, only such as could be drawn from his whole life, character and conduct; and drew such a picture of that statesman's past conduct, that the Kentucky senator could not feel flattered withal, to say the least; and in good round terms he denounced the subterfuges of politicians, and demanded of the nation justice in behalf of his afflicted people. In reading this correspondence one cannot but think that the Prophet is unnecessarily harsh of expression, and some phrases we cannot help but feel are certainly unworthy of him. The faults of these letters, however, are not so much the fault of the individual as the fault of the times. Those were days when moderation in language was certainly not characteristic of the political literature of the times. Personal abuse often seems to have been mistaken for argument, and severity of expression was often thought to out-weigh reason. One other thing should be remembered also, and that is the Prophet Joseph very largely depended upon others for the expression, for the literary form of those ideas which he advanced, and these secondary persons yielded too often to the spirit of the times in what they set down as coming from the Prophet.

When it was ascertained that from none of the candidates in the field, the citizens of Nauvoo could hope for assistance in

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*See Appendix II.

obtaining justice for the wrongs they suffered in Missouri, Joseph allowed a convention at Nauvoo to put his name in nomination for the office of president; and he published his "Views on the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States," a document of great strength and one which excited considerable comment from the press of the country, very much of which was favorable.

In this document the Prophet-candidate reviews the growth and development of the American government until it reached the "*Acme* of American glory, liberty, and prosperity" under the administration of General Jackson; and then the beginning of its decline under the "withering touch of Martin Van Buren." He advocated prison reform. Advised the people of the south to petition their respective legislatures to abolish slavery by the year 1850, or now, "and save the abolitionist from reproach and ruin, infamy and shame." He recommended the payment of a reasonable price to the slave-holders of the south for their slaves, to be paid by the surplus revenue, arising from the sale of public lands, and reduction in the wages paid to congressmen. The southern people, said he, are hospitable and noble. They will help to rid so free a country of every vestige of slavery, whenever they are assured of an equivalent for their property. He recommended more economy in the national and state governments, and more equality among the people.

For the accommodation of the people he proposed the establishment of a national bank, with branches in each State, the directors thereof to be elected yearly by the people; and the profits arising from the business to be used as revenue, in defraying the expenses of government, the profits from the branch banks, being used in the respective States where they existed; and those arising from the parent institution by the general government; and reduce taxation to the extent of the net profits of these institutions.

In the light of the experience he and the Latter-day Saints

had passed through in Missouri, he advocated the idea of giving the president full power to send an army to suppress mobs, "and appealed to the States to repeal that relic of folly," which made it necessary for the governor of a State to make a demand of the president for troops in case of invasion or rebellion. "The governor himself," he goes on to say, "may be a mobber; and instead of being punished, as he should be, for murder or treason, he may destroy the very lives, rights and property he should protect."

He favored the annexation of Texas, and the extension of the authority of the United States over contiguous territory on the west, and said:

> When a neighboring realm petitioned to join the Union of the Sons of Liberty, my voice would be, *come*—yea, come Texas, come Mexico, come Canada, and come all the world; let us be brethren, let us be one great family, and let there be a universal peace.*

On the seventeenth of June, 1844, a State convention was held at Nauvoo, which ratified the views of Joseph on the "Powers and Policy of the Government," passed a series of resolutions inviting all men of all parties to assist in the work of reforming the government, and in a formal manner putting in nomination General Joseph Smith for President of the United States, and Sidney Rigdon for vice-president.

James Arlington Bennett, of New York, was asked to take the second place on the ticket first; but, he being of foreign birth, was not eligible. Then the position was offered to Colonel Solomon Copeland, but for some reason he did not accept; so the next choice was Sidney Rigdon, who by that time had removed from Nauvoo to Pennsylvania.

Arrangements were entered into, to hold a national convention in New York on the thirteenth of July following, and

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*See Appendix III.

preparations were made for an active campaign in favor of the Prophet-nominee; but before the time for the national convention had arrived, the standard bearer of the new party of reform, Jeffersonian Democracy,* free trade and sailors' rights, fell pierced by assassins' bullets—the victim of a cruel mob.

Of course Joseph had no hope that he would be elected to the presidency, but by becoming a candidate, he gave the citizens of Nauvoo an opportunity to act consistently with their views of what ought to be done for the general good of the nation, and at the same time, avoid the wrath of the political parties in the State of Illinois by affiliating with neither of them in the ensuing election; for whenever they voted with one of those parties the other became enraged and *vice versa*. Doubtless the best reasons for, and the best justification of, this movement on the part of the people of Nauvoo is to be found in an editorial article from the *Times and Seasons* for February, 1844—with which I close this chapter:

WHO SHALL BE OUR NEXT PRESIDENT?

This is an inquiry which to us as a people is a matter of the most paramount importance, and requires our most serious, calm, and dispassionate reflection. Executive power, when correctly wielded, is a great blessing to the people of this great commonwealth, and forms one of the firmest pillars of our confederation. It watches the interests of the whole community with a fatherly care; it wisely balances the other legislative powers when overheated by party spirit or sectional feeling; it watches with jealous care our interests and

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*The fifth resolution adopted at the Nauvoo convention read as follows:

Resolved, that the better to carry out the principles of liberty and equal rights, Jeffersonian Democracy, free trade, and sailors' rights, and the protection of person and property, we will support General Joseph Smith for the President of the United States at the ensuing election.

commerce with foreign nations, and gives tone and efficacy to legislative enactments.

The President stands at the head of these United States, and is the mouth-piece of this vast republic. If he be a man of an enlightened mind and a capacious soul,—if he be a virtuous man, a statesman, a patriot, and a man of unflinching integrity,—if he possess the same spirit that fired the souls of our venerable sires, who founded this great commonwealth, and wishes to promote the universal good of the whole republic, he may indeed be made a blessing to the community.

But if he prostrates his high and honorable calling to base and unworthy purposes,—if he makes use of the power which the people have placed in his hands for their interests to gratify his ambition, for the purpose of self-aggrandizement or pecuniary interest,—if he meanly panders with demagogues, loses sight of the interest of the nation, and sacrifices the Union on the altar of sectional interests or party views, he renders himself unworthy of the dignified trust reposed in him, debases the nation in the eyes of the civilized world, and produces misery and confusion at home. "When the wicked rule the people mourn."

There is perhaps no body of people in the United States who are at the present time more interested about the issue of the presidential contest than are the Latter-day Saints. And our situation in regard to the two great political parties is a most novel one. It is a fact well understood that we have suffered great injustice from the State of Missouri, that we petitioned to the authorities of that State for redress in vain, that we have also memorialized Congress under the late administration, and have obtained the heartless reply that "Congress has no power to redress your grievances."

After having taken all the legal and constitutional steps that we can, we are still groaning under accumulated wrongs. Is there no power anywhere to redress our grievances? Missouri lacks the disposition, and Congress lacks both the disposition and power (?); and thus fifteen thousand inhabitants of these United States can with impunity be dispossessed of their property; have their houses burned, their property confiscated, many of their numbers murdered, and the remainder driven from their homes and left to wander as exiles in this

boasted land of freedom and equal rights: and after appealing again and again to the legally constituted authorities of our land for redress, we are coolly told by our highest tribunals, "We can do nothing for you."

We have paid hundreds of thousands of dollars into the coffers of Congress for their lands, and they stand virtually pledged to defend us in our rights, but they have not done it. If a man steals a dollar from his neighbor, or steals a horse or a hog, he can obtain redress; but we have been robbed by wholesale, the most daring murders have been committed, and we are coolly told that we can obtain no redress. If a steamboat is set on fire on our coast by foreigners, even when she is engaged in aiding and abetting the enemies of that power, it becomes a matter of national interference and legislation; or if a foreigner, as in the case of McLeod, is taken on our land and tried for supposed crimes committed by him against our citizens, his nation interferes, and it becomes a matter of negotiation and legislation. But our authorities can calmly look on and see the citizens of a country butchered with impunity: they can see two counties dispossessed of their inhabitants, their houses burned, and their property confiscated; and when the crys of fifteen thousand men, women and children salute their ears, they deliberately tell us that we can obtain no redress!

Hear it, therefore, ye mobbers! Proclaim it to all the scoundrels in the Union! Let a standard be erected around which shall rally all the renegadoes of the land: assemble yourselves and rob at pleasure; murder till you are satisfied with blood; drive men, women and children from their homes: there is no law to protect them, and Congress has no power to redress their grievances; and the great father of the Union (the President) has not got an ear to listen to their complaints.

What shall we do under this state of things? In the event of either of the prominent candidates, Van Buren or Clay, obtaining the presidential chair, we should not be placed in any better situation.

In speaking of Mr. Clay, his politics are diametrically opposed to ours. He inclines strongly to the old school of Federalists, and as a matter of course would not favor our cause; neither could we conscientiously vote for him. And we have yet stronger objections to

Mr. Van Buren on other grounds. He has sung the old song of Congress—"Congress has no power to redress your grievances."

But did the matter rest here, it would not be so bad. He was in the presidential chair at the time of our former difficulties. We appealed to him on that occasion, but we appealed in vain, and his sentiments are yet unchanged.

But all these thing are tolerable in comparison to what we have yet to state. We have been informed from a respectable source that there is an understanding between Mr. Benton, of Missouri, and Mr. Van Buren, and a conditional compact entered into, that if Mr. Benton will use his influence to get Mr. Van Buren elected, Van Buren, when elected, shall use his executive influence to wipe away the stain from Missouri by a further persecution of the Mormons, and wreaking out vengeance on their heads, either by extermination or by some other summary process. We could scarcely credit the statement; and we hope yet for the sake of humanity, that the suggestion is false: but we have too good reason to believe that we are correctly informed.

If, then, this is the case can we conscientiously vote for a man of this description, and put the weapon in his hands to cut our throats with? We cannot. And however much we might wish to sustain the Democratic nomination, we cannot—we will not vote for Van Buren. Our interests, our property, our lives, and the lives of our families are too dear to us to be sacrificed at the shrine of party spirit and to gratify party feelings. We have been sold once in the State of Missouri, and our liberties bartered away by political demagogues, through executive intrigue, and we wish not to be betrayed again by Benton and Van Buren.

Under these circumstances, the question again arises, Whom shall we support? General Joseph Smith—a man of sterling worth and integrity and of enlarged views—a man who has raised himself from the humblest walks in life to stand at the head of a large, intelligent, respectable and increasing society, that has spread not only in this land, but in distant nations,—a man whose talents and genius are of an exalted nature, and whose experience has rendered him in every way adequate to the onerous duty. Honorable, fearless, and energetic, he would administer justice with an impartial hand, and magnify and

dignify the office of Chief magistrate of this land; and we feel assured that there is not a man in the United States more competent for the task.

One great reason that we have for pursuing our present course is, that at every election we have been made a political target for the filthy demagogues in the country to shoot their loathsome arrows at. And every story has been put into requisition to blast our fame from the old fabrication of "walk on the water" down to "the murder of ex-Governor Boggs." The journals have teemed with this filthy trash, and even men who ought to have more respect for themselves —men contending for the gubernatorial chair have made use of terms so degrading, so mean, so humiliating, that a Billingsgate fisherwoman would have considered herself disgraced with. We refuse any longer to be thus bedaubed for either party. We tell all such to let their filth flow in its own legitimate channel, for we are sick of the loathsome smell.

Gentlemen, we are not going either to "murder ex-Governor Boggs, nor a Mormon in this State for not giving us his money," nor are we going to "walk on the water," nor "drown a woman," nor "defraud the poor of their property," nor send "destroying angels after General Bennett to kill him," nor "Marry spiritual wives," nor commit any other outrageous act this election to help any party with. You must get some other persons to perform these kind offices for you for the future. We withdraw.

Under existing circumstances, we have no other alternative; and if we can accomplish our object, well: if not, we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that we have acted conscientiously, and have used our best judgment. And if we have to throw away our votes, we had better do so upon a worthy rather than upon an unworthy individual, who might make use of the weapon we put in his hand to destroy us with.

Whatever may be the opinions of men in general in regard to Mr. Smith, we know that he needs only to be known to be admired; and that it is the principles of honor, integrity, patriotism, and philanthropy that have elevated him in the minds of his friends; and the same principles, if seen and known, would beget the esteem and confidence of all the patriotic and virtuous throughout the Union.

Whatever, therefore, be the opinions of other men our course is marked out, and our motto from henceforth will be—GENERAL JOSEPH SMITH.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE PROJECTED MOVEMENT TO THE WEST.

AS an evidence that the Prophet entertained no thought of success in his candidacy for the office of Chief Executive, we may mention the fact that, during the time that vigorous preparations were being made for the presidential canvass, he was setting on foot a scheme for taking the body of The Church into the west to settle Oregon. On the twentieth of February, 1844, the Prophet in his journal says:

"I instructed the Twelve Apostles to send out a delegation, and investigate the location of California and Oregon, and hunt out a good location, where we can remove to, after the temple is completed, and where we can build a city in a day, and have a government of our own, get up into the mountains, where the devil cannot dig us out, and live in a healthy climate, where we can live as old as we have a mind too."

In accordance with that instruction, the Twelve called the council on the twenty-first, and Jonathan Dunham, Phinehas H. Young and David Fullmer volunteered to go; and Alphonzo Young, James Emmett, George D. Watt, and Daniel Spencer were called to go.

Subsequently a memorial was drawn up by the Prophet, asking Congress to pass an enactment, authorizing him to raise a company for the purpose of establishing colonies in that vast, unsettled section of the country in the far West, known under the general name of Oregon. At that time there was no particular government existing in the region to which the names Oregon and California were loosely given. Nor was it certain

whether that country would fall into the possession of England or the United States, as the northern boundary line question was then unsettled, and England and the United States held the country by a treaty of joint occupancy. As the Prophet preferred having an assurance of protection from the government on his enterprise, he asked Congress to pass the act before alluded to.

Orson Pratt and John E. Page, two of the Twelve, went to Washington in the interest of this scheme, and urged its consideration among the Congressmen. Subsequently, in April, 1844, Orson Hyde was sent to Washington in the interest of the same great project; and through the influence of Mr. Hoge, Representative to Congress from the district in which Nauvoo was included. Mr. Hardin, and Stephen A. Douglass, succeeded in approaching a number of members of Congress on the subject but received small encouragement, as Congressmen then, as now, were extremely cautious in engaging in anything affecting their reputation and prospects for political preferment for the future. But however much these men objected to advocating anything which looked like favoring openly the scheme of the Prophet, they all concurred in affirming that he had the right to lead his people to Oregon to settle, and the government would protect them. Stephen A. Douglass remarked, that if he could command the following that Mr. Smith could, he would resign his seat in Congress, to go to the West. On this subject Orson Hyde made two exhaustive reports to the Prophet in letters from Washington, which I here insert:

WASHINGTON, April 25th, 1844.

HON. SIR,—I take the liberty to transmit through you to the council of our Church the result of my labors thus far. I arrived in this place on the 23rd instant, by way of Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and New Jersey.

I found Elder Orson Pratt here, Elder Page having been called home to Pittsburgh on account of his wife's ill health. Elder O.

Pratt has been indefatigable in his exertions in prosecuting the business entrusted to his charge. His business has been before the Senate, and referred to the committee on the judiciary; and the report of said committee is not yet rendered, which is the cause of his delay in writing to you.

Yesterday we conversed with Messrs. Hoge, Hardin, Douglass, and Wentworth, and last evening we spent several hours with the Hon. Mr. Semple They all appear deeply interested in the Oregon question, and received us with every demonstration of respect that we could desire. Mr. Hoge thought that the bill would not pass, from the fact that there already exists between England and America a treaty for the joint occupancy of Oregon, and that any act of our Government authorizing an armed force to be raised, and destined for that country, would be regarded by England as an infraction of that treaty, and a cause of her commencing hostilities against us.

But my reply was, These volunteers are not to be considered any part or portion of the army of the United States, neither acting under the direction or authority of the United States; and, said I, for men to go there and settle in the character of emigrants cannot be regarded by our Government as deviating in the least degree from her plighted faith, unless she intends to tamely submit to British monopoly in that country.

Mr. H., said he would present the memorial, if we desired it. I thanked him for his kind offer, but observed that I was not yet prepared for the bill to be submitted, but wished to elicit all the facts relative to the condition of Oregon, and also advise with many other members relative to the matter; and we could better determine then how the bill should be introduced. We do not want it presented and referred to a standing committee, and stuck away with five or ten cords of petitions, and that be the last of it; but we want the memorial read, a move made to suspend the rules of the house, and the bill printed, etc.

Mr. Wentworth said—"I am for Oregon anyhow. You may set me down on your list, and I will go for you if you will go for Oregon."

Judge Douglass has been quite ill, but is just recovered; he will elp all he can; Mr. Hardin likewise. But Major Semple says that

he does not believe anything will be done about Texas or Oregon this session, for it might have a very important effect upon the presidential election; and politicians are slow to move when such doubtful and important matters are likely to be affected by it. He says that there are already two bills before the house for establishing a territorial government in Oregon, and to protect the emigrants there; and now he says, Were your bill to be introduced, it might be looked upon that you claimed the sole right of emigrating to and settling that new country to the exclusion of others. He was in favor of the Oregon being settled, and he thought the bills already before the house would extend equal protection to us; and equal protection to every class of citizens was what the government could rightly do; but particular privileges to any one class they could not rightly do.

I observed that the bill asked for no exclusive rights. It asks not for exclusive rights in Oregon, neither do we wish it. Other people might make a move to Oregon, and no prejudices bar their way, and their motives would not be misinterpreted.

But, said I, Missouri knows her guilt; and should we attempt to march to Oregon without the government throwing a protective shield over us, Missouri's crimes would lead her first to misinterpret our intentions, to fan the flame of popular excitement against us, and scatter the firebrands of a misguided zeal among the combustible materials of other places, creating a flame too hot for us to encounter—too desolating for us to indulge the hope of successfully prosecuting the grand and benevolent enterprise we have conceived. We have been compelled to relinquish our rights in Missouri. We have been forcibly driven from our homes, leaving our property and inheritances as spoil to the oppressor; and more or less in Illinois we have been subject to the whims and chimeras of illiberal men, and to threats, to vexatious prosecutions, and lawsuits.

Our government professes to have no power to help us, or to redress the wrongs which we have suffered; and we now ask the government to protect us while raising our volunteers. And when we get into Oregon we will protect ourselves and all others who wish our protection. And after subduing a new country, encountering all its difficulties and hardships, and sustaining the just claims of our nation to its soil, we believe that the generosity of our government towards

us will be equal to our enterprise and patriotism, and that they will allow us a grant or territory of land, which will be both honorable in them and satisfactory to us.

This, he says, is all very just and reasonable. But still he thinks that Congress will take no step in relation to Oregon, from the fact that his resolution requesting the President of the United States to give notice to the British government for the abolition of the treaty of joint occupation was voted down; and while that treaty is in force, our government dare do nothing in relation to that country. This resolution was introduced by Mr. Semple to pave the way for the passage of those bills in relation to a territorial government in Oregon.

All our members join in the acknowledgement that you have an undoubted right to go to Oregon with all the emigrants you can raise. They say the existing laws protect you as much as law can protect you; and should Congress pass an additional law, it would not prevent wicked men from shooting you down as they did in Missouri. All the Oregon men in Congress would be glad if we would go to that country and settle it.

I will now give you my opinion in relation to this matter. It is made up from the spirit of the times in a hasty manner, nevertheless I think time will prove it correct:—That Congress will pass no act in relation to Texas or Oregon at present. She is afraid of England, afraid of Mexico, afraid the presidential election will be twisted by it. The members all appear like unskillful players at checkers—afraid to move, for they see not which way to move advantageously. All are figuring and playing round the grand and important questions. In the days of our Lord the people neglected the weightier matters of the law, but tithed mint, rue, anise, and cummin; but I think here in Washington they do little else than tithe the *mint*.

A member of Congress is in no enviable situation: if he will boldly advocate true principles, he loses his influence and becomes unpopular; and whoever is committed and has lost his influence has no power to benefit his constituents, so that all go to figuring and playing round the great points.

Mr. Semple said that Mr. Smith could not constitutionally be constituted a member of the army by law; and this, if nothing else, would prevent its passage. I observed that I would in that case strike out

that clause. Perhaps I took an unwarrantable responsibility upon myself; but where I get into a straight place, I can do no better than act according to what appears most correct.

I do not intend the opinion that I have hastily given shall abate my zeal to drive the matter through, but I have given the opinion for your benefit, that your indulgence of the hope that Congress will do something for us may not cause you to delay any important action.

There is already a government established in Oregon to some extent; magistrates have been chosen by the people, &c. This is on the south of the Columbia. North of that river the Hudson Bay Company occupy. There is some good country in Oregon, but a great deal of sandy, barren desert. I have seen a gentleman who has been there, and also in California.

The most of the settlers in Oregon and Texas are our old enemies, the mobocrats of Missouri. If, however, the settlement of Oregon and Texas be determined upon, the sooner the move is made the better; and I would not advise any delay for the action of our government, for there is such a jealousy of our rising power already, that government will do nothing to favor us. If the Saints possess the kingdom, I think they will have to take it; and the sooner it is done the more easily it is accomplished.

Your superior wisdom must determine whether to go to Oregon, to Texas, or to remain within these United States, and send forth the most efficient men to build up churches, and let them remain for the time being; and in the meantime send some *wise* men among the Indians, and teach them civilization and religion, to cultivate the soil, to live in peace with one another and with all men. But whatever you do, don't be deluded with the hope that government will foster us, and thus delay an action which the present is the most proper time that ever will be [in which to accomplish it.—*R.*]

Oregon is becoming a popular question; the fever of emigration begins to rage. If the Mormons become the early majority, others will not come; if the Mormons do not become an early majority, the others will not allow us to come.

Elder Pratt is faithful, useful, and true; he has got the run of matters here very well, and is with me in all my deliberations, visitings, &c.

Major Semple goes with us this evening to introduce us to the President, and to view the White House.

My heart and hand are with you. May heaven bless you and me. As ever, I am

ORSON HYDE.

To the council of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Also the following letter:—

WASHINGTON, April 26, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—Today I trouble you with another communication, which you will please have the goodness to lay before our council.

We were last evening introduced to the President at the White House by the politeness of Major Semple, where we spent an hour very agreeably. The President is a very plain, homespun, familiar, farmer-like man. He spoke of our troubles in Missouri, and regretted that we had met with such treatment. He asked us how we were getting along in Illinois. I told him that we were contending with the difficulties of a new country, and laboring under the disadvantageous consequences of being driven from our property and homes in Missouri.

We have this day had a long conversation with Judge Douglass. He is ripe for Oregon and the California. He said he would resign his seat in Congress if he could command the force that Mr. Smith could, and would be on the march to that country in a month.

I learn that the eyes of many aspiring politicians in this place are now upon that country, and that there is so much jealousy between them that they will probably pass no bill in relation to it. Now all these politicians rely upon the arm of our government to protect them there; and if government were to pass an act establishing a territorial government west of the Rocky Mountains there would be at once a tremendous rush of emigration; but if government pass no act in relation to it, these men have not stamina or sufficient confidence in themselves and their own resources to hazard the enterprise.

The northern Whig members are almost to a man against Texas and Oregon; but should the present administration succeed in annexing Texas, then all the Whigs would turn round in favor of Oregon; for if Texas be admitted, slavery is extended to the south; then free

States must be added to the west to keep up a balance of power between the slave and the free States.

Should Texas be admitted, war with Mexico is looked upon as inevitable. The Senate have been in secret session on the ratification of the treaty of annexation; but what they did we cannot say. General Gaines, who was boarding at the same house with Judge Douglass, was secretly ordered to repair to the Texan frontier four days ago, and left immediately. I asked Judge D. if he did not speak loud for annexation. He says, no. Santa Anna, being a jealous, hot-headed pate, might be suspicious the treaty would be ratified by the Senate, and upon mere suspicion might attempt some hostilities, and Gaines had been ordered there to be on the alert and ready for action if necessary. Probably our navy will in a few days be mostly in the Gulf of Mexico.

There are many powerful checks upon our government, preventing her from moving in any of these important matters; and for aught I know, these checks are permitted, to prevent our government from extending her jurisdiction over that territory which God designs to give to His Saints. Judge Douglass says he would equally as soon go to that country without an act of Congress as with; 'and that in five years a noble State might be formed; and then, if they would not receive us into the Union, we would have a government of our own.' He is decidedly of the opinion that congress will pass no act in favor of any particular man going there; but he says if any man will go, and desires that privilege, and has confidence in his own ability to perform it he already has the right, and the sooner he is off the better for his scheme.

It is the opinion here among politicians that it will be extremely difficult to have any bill pass in relation to the encouragement of emigration to Oregon; but much more difficult to get a bill passed designating any particular man to go. But all concur in the opinion that we are authorized already.

In case of a removal to that country, Nauvoo is the place of general rendezvous. Our course from thence would be westward through Iowa, bearing a little north until we came to the Missouri river, leaving the State of Missouri on the left, thence onward till we come to the Platte, thence up the north fork of the Platte to the

mouth of Sweetwater river in longitude 107° 45′ W., and thence up said Sweetwater river to the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains, about eleven hundred miles from Nauvoo; and from said South Pass in latitude 42° 28′ north to theUmpaque and Klamet valleys in Oregon, bordering on California, is about 600 miles, making the distance from Nauvoo to the best portions of Oregon 1,700 miles.

There is no government established there; and it is so near California that when a government shall be established there, it may readily embrace that country likewise. There is much barren country, rocks, and mountains, in Oregon; but the valleys are very fertile. I am persuaded that Congress will pass no act in relation to that country, from the fact that the resolution requesting the President to give notice to the British government for the discontinuance of the treaty of joint occupation of Oregon was voted down with a rush; and this notice must be given before any action can be had, unless Congress violates the treaty; at least so say the politicians here.

Judge Douglass has given me a map of Oregon, and also a report on an exploration of the country lying between the Missouri river and the Rocky Mountains on the line of the Kansas and Great Platte rivers, by Lieutenant J. C. Fremont, of the corps of topographical engineers. On receiving it I expressed a wish that Mr. Smith could see it. Judge D. says it is a public document, and I will frank it to him. I accepted his offer, and the book will be forthcoming to him. The people are so eager for it here that they have even stolen it out of the library. The author is Mr. Benton's son-in-law. Judge D. borrowed it of Mr. B. I was not to tell anyone in this city where I got it. The book is a most valuable document to any one contemplating a journey to Oregon. The directions which I have given may not be exactly correct, but the book will tell correctly. Judge D. says he can direct Mr. Smith to several gentlemen in California who will be able to give him any information on the state of affairs in that country; and when he returns to Illinois, he will visit Mr. Smith.

Brother Pratt and myself drafted a bill this morning, and handed it in to the committee on the judiciary from the Senate, asking an appropriation of two million dollars for the relief of the sufferers among our people in Missouri in 1836-9, to be deposited in the hands of the city council of Nauvoo, and by them dealt out to the sufferers

in proportion to their loss. We intend to tease them until we either provoke them or get them to do something for us. I have learned this much—that if we want Congress to do anything for us in drawing up our memorial, we must not ask what is right in the matter, but we must ask what kind of a thing will Congress pass? Will it suit the politics of the majority? Will it be popular or unpopular? For you might as well drive a musket ball through a cotton bag, or the Gospel of Christ through the heart of a priest, case-hardened by sectarianism, bigotry, and superstition, or a camel through the eye of a needle, as to drive anything through Congress that will operate against the popularity of politicians.

I shall probably leave here in a few days, and Brother Pratt will remain. I go to get money to sustain ourselves with.

I shall write again soon, and let you know what restrictions, if any, are laid upon our citizens in relation to passing through the Indian territories. I shall communicate everything I think will benefit. In the meantime if the council have any instructions to us, we shall be happy to receive them here or at Philadelphia.

John Ross is here;.we intend to see him. It is uncertain when Congress rises. It will be a long pull in my opinion. As ever, I am,

Yours sincerely,

ORSON HYDE.

Elder Pratt's best respects to the brethren.

An event soon afterwards took place in the House of Representatives before the Prophet's petition was introduced, which put at rest all hopes of Congress doing anything at that time in relation to the Oregon territory. A resolution was introduced giving Great Britain notice that the treaty of joint occupancy of that country was at an end, but it was promptly voted down. That virtually served public notice that the Oregon question was not to be reopened by Congress, at least not until the conclusion of the presidential election.

Sufficient may be gathered from what is set down in the above, to prove that the mind of the Prophet Joseph was bent on establishing his people in the West—somewhere in the Rocky

Mountains—so soon as they could complete the temple. The subject began to take possession of his mind wholly. Some eighteen months before his formal appeal to Congress, for the privilege of settling with his people in the far West, under the protecting ægis of the general government, *viz.*, on the sixth of August, 1842, he prophesied, that his people would continue to suffer much persecution, and at last be driven to the Rocky Mountains. This is the prophecy as it stands in the Prophet's journal:

Saturday, sixth, [August]. Passed over the river to Montrose, Iowa, in company with General Adams, Colonel Brewer, and others, and witnessed the installation of the officers of the Rising Sun Lodge, of Ancient York Masons, at Montrose, by General James Adams, Deputy Grand Master of Illinois. While the Deputy Grand Master was engaged in giving the requisite instruction to the Master elect, I had a conversation with a number of brethren in the shade of the building on the subject of our persecutions in Missouri, and the constant annoyance which has followed us since we were driven from that State. I prophesied that the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains, many would apostatize, others would be put to death by our persecutors, or lose their lives in consequence of exposure or disease, and some of you will live to go and assist in making settlements and build cities, and see the Saints become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains.*—*Millennial Star, Vol. xix, page* 630.

As persecution in Illinois grew more relentless, and mobocrats more bold, until the whole horizon appeared black, and threatening with hatred toward the citizens of Nauvoo, the Prophet told them repeatedly it was "light in the west."

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* See the author's work, "Succession in the Presidency," where the subject is more exhaustively considered.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE STANDARD OF PEACE.

MEANTIME the people of Nauvoo, with the Prophet as chief mover in the matter, sought to establish peaceful relations with their neighbors. Armed conflict with surrounding peoples, or with any people, was no part of the policy of Joseph Smith; and no part of the work that he had in hand. It is true that it may be said of the work he introduced, as Jesus said of the work which He began by His personal ministry that it brought not peace but a sword;* in each case, however, "the sword" has been found in the hands, not of those who have accepted the Gospel, but in the hands of those who have rejected it, and opposed it, and made war upon it. Early in the history of the work brought forth by Joseph Smith the Lord commanded His servants to "renounce war and proclaim peace;"† and true to this spirit of the work the Prophet especially sought for peace. In the *Warsaw Signal* of the 14th of February Governor Ford published the following letter to the citizens of Hancock County, in the hope, evidently, of quelling the threatening storm:

SPRINGFIELD, January 29, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—I have received the copy of the proceedings and resolutions of a meeting of the citizens of Hancock County, which you did me the honour to send me.

I have observed with regret that occasions have been presented

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* Matt. x: 34-40.

† August, 1833, Doc. & Cov. Sec. xcviii.

for disturbing the peace of your county; and if I knew what I could legally do to apply a corrective, I would be very ready to do it. But if you are a lawyer or at all conversant with the law, you will know that, I as a governor, have no right to interfere in your difficulties.

As yet, I believe that there has been nothing like war among you; and I hope that all of you will have the good sense to see the necessity of preserving peace. If there is anything wrong in the Nauvoo charters, or in the mode of administering them, you will see that nothing short of legislative or judiical power is capable of enforcing a remedy.

I myself had the honor of calling the attention of the Legislature to this subject at the last session; but a large majority of both political parties in that body either did not see the evil which you complain of, or, if they did, they repeatedly refused to correct it. And yet a call is made upon me, to do that which all parties refused to do at the last session.

I have also been called upon to take away the arms from the *Mormons*, to raise the militia to arrest a supposed fugitive, and in fact to repeal some of the ordinances of the city of Nauvoo.

Hancock County is justly famed for its intelligence; and I cannot believe that any of its citizens are so ignorant as not to know that I have no power to do these things.

The absurd and preposterous nature of these requests gave some color to the charge that they are made for political effect only. I hope that this charge is untrue: for, in all candor, it would be more creditable to those concerned to have their errors attributed to ignorance than to a disposition to embroil the country in the horrors of war for the advancement of party ends.

But if there should be any truth in the charge, (which God forbid) I affectionately entreat all the good citizens engaged in it to lay aside their designs and yield up their ears to the voice of justice, reason and humanity. All that I can do at present is to admonish both parties to beware of carrying matters to extremity.

Let it come to this—let a state of war ensue, and I will be compelled to interfere with executive power. In that case also, I wish, in a friendly, affectionate, and candid manner, to tell the citizens of

Hancock County, *Mormons* and all, that my interference will be against those who shall be the first transgressors.

I am bound by the laws and Constitution to regard you all as citizens of the State, possessed of equal rights and privileges, and to cherish the rights of one as dearly as the rights of another. I can know no distinction among you except that of assailant and assailed.

I hope, dear sir, you will do me the favor to publish this letter in the papers of your county, for the satisfaction of all persons concerned.

I am, with the highest respect,

Your obedient servant,

THOMAS FORD.

To this letter three days later the Prophet-mayor made the following response in the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, under the caption

PACIFIC INNUENDO.

The very candid, pacific and highly creditable *advice* which Governor Ford has done himself the honor to address to "the citizens of Hancock County, 'Mormons and all,'" and which appears in the *Warsaw Signal* of the 14th instant, is, like the balm of Gilead, well calculated to ease the pain which has troubled the heads and hearts of the Carthagenians, Warsawvians and other over-jealous bodies for *weal and woe.*

It certainly must be admitted, on all hands, that Governor Ford has exalted himself as a mediator, patriot, lawyer, governor, peacemaker, and friend of all, not only to magnify the law and make it honorable, but also in pointing out the *path of peace.*

Such is what the Latter-day Saints have ever sought at the hands of those in authority; and with an approving conscience clear as the crystal spring, and with a laudable intention warm as the summer zephyr, and with a charitable prayer mellow as the morning dew, it is now our highest consolation to hope that all difficulties will cease, and give way to reason, sense, peace and goodwill.

The Saints, if they will be humble and wise, can now *practice*

what they *preach*, and soften by good examples, rather than harden by a distinct course of conduct, the hearts of the people.

For general information, it may be well to say that there has never been any cause for alarm as to the Latter-day Saints. The Legislature of Illinois granted a liberal charter for the city of Nauvoo; and let every honest man in the Union who has any knowledge of her say whether she has not flourished beyond the most sanguine anticipations of all. And while they witness her growing glory, let them solemnly testify whether Nauvoo has *wilfully injured* the country, county or a single individual *one cent.*

With the strictest scrutiny publish the facts, whether a particle of law has been evaded or broken: virtue and innocence need no artificial covering. Political views and party distinctions never should disturb the harmony of society; and when the whole truth comes before a virtuous people, we are willing to abide the issue.

We will here refer to the *three late dismissals* upon writs of *habeas corpus*, of Joseph Smith, when arrested under the requisitions of Missouri.

The first, in June, 1841, was tried at Monmouth, before Judge Douglass, of the fifth judicial circuit; and as no exceptions have been taken to that decision by this State or Missouri, but Missouri had previously entered a *nolle prosequi* on all the old indictments against the "Mormons" in the difficulties of 1838, it is taken for granted *that that decision was just.*

The second, in December, 1842, was tried at Springfield before Judge Pope in the United States District Court; and from that honorably discharged, as no exceptions from any source have been made to those proceedings, it follows as a matter of course *that that decision was just!*

And the third, in July, 1843, was tried at the city of Nauvoo, before the municipal court of said city; and as no exceptions to that discharge have been taken, and as the governor says there is "evidence on the other side to show that the sheriff of Lee County *voluntarily* carried Mr. Reynolds (who had Mr. Smith in custody,) to the city of Nauvoo without any coercion on the part of any one" it must be admitted *that that decision was just!*

But is any man still unconvinced of the justness of these strict-

ures relative to the two last cases, let the astounding fact go forth, that *Orin Porter Rockwell*, whom Boggs swore was the principal in his assassination, and accessory to which Mr. Smith was arrested, *has returned home*, "*clear of that sin.*" In fact, there was not a witness to get up an indictment against him.

The Messrs. Averys, who were unlawfully transported out of this State, have returned to their families in peace; and there seems to be no ground for contention, no cause for jealousy, and no excuse for a surmise that any man, woman or child will suffer the least inconvenience from General Smith, the charter of Nauvoo, the city of Nauvoo, or even any of her citizens.

There is nothing for a bone of contention! Even those ordinances which appear to excite the feeling of some people have recently been *repealed*; so that if the "intelligent" inhabitants of Hancock County want peace, want to abide by the governor's advice, want to have a character abroad grow out of their character at home, and really mean to follow the Savior's golden rule, "*To do unto others as they would wish others to do unto them*," they will be still *now*, and let their own works praise them in the gates of justice and in the eyes of the surrounding world. Wise men ought to have understanding enough to conquer men with kindness.

"A soft answer turns away wrath," says the wise man; and it will be greatly to the credit of the Latter-day Saints to show the love of God, by now kindly treating those who may have, in an unconscious moment, done them wrong; for truly said Jesus, "*Pray for thine enemies.*"

Humanity towards all, reason and refinement to enforce virtue, and good for evil are so eminently designed to cure more disorders of society than an appeal to "arms," or even *argument* untempered with *friendship* and the "one thing needful," that no vision for the future, guideboard for the distant, or expositor for the present, need trouble any one with what he ought to do.

His own good, his family's good, his neighbor's good, his country's good, and all good seem to whisper to every person—the governor has told you what to do—*now do it.*

The Constitution expects every man to do his duty; and when he fails the law urges him; or, should he do too much, the same master rebukes him.

Should reason, liberty, law, light and philanthropy now guide the destinies of Hancock County with as much sincerity as has been manifested for her notoriety or welfare, there can be no doubt that peace, prosperity and happiness will prevail, and that future generations as well as the present one will call Governor Ford a peacemaker. The Latter-day Saints will, at all events, and profit by the instruction, and call upon honest men to help them cherish all the love, all the friendship, all the courtesy, all the kindly feelings and all the generosity that ought to characterize *clever people* in a clever neighborhood, and leave candid men to judge which tree exhibits the best fruit—the one with the most clubs and sticks thrown into its boughs and the grass trodden down under it, or the one with no sticks in it, some dead limbs and rank grass growing under it; for by their signs ye can know their fruit, and by the fruit ye know the trees.

Our motto, then, is *Peace with all*! If we have joy in the love of God, let us try to give a reason of that joy, which all the world cannot gainsay or resist. And may be, like as when Paul started with recommendations to Damascus to persecute the Saints, some one who has raised his hand against us with letters to men in high places may see a light at noonday, above the brightness of the sun, and hear the voice of Jesus saying, "*It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.*"

Intelligence is sometimes the messenger of safety. And, willing to aid the governor in his laubable endeavors to cultivate peace and honor the laws, believing that very few of the citizens of Hancock County will be found in the negative of such a goodly course; and considering his views a kind of manifesto, or olive leaf, which shows that there is rest for the soles of the Saints' feet, we give it a place in the *Neighbor*, wishing it God speed, and saying, *God bless good men and good measures!* And as Nauvoo has been, so it will continue to be, a good city, affording a good market to a good country; and let those who do not mean to try the way of transgressors, say "*Amen.*"

In addition to this in a note to the editor of the *Neighbor*, he advised that he take no further editorial notice of the fulminations of the editor of the *Warsaw Signal* against the people of Nauvoo, but recommended that the advice of Governor

Ford be honored, and that friendship and peace be cultivated with all men.

The Prophet went further than this. He tendered the olive branch of peace even to Missouri. He dictated the following to W. W. Phelps which was published under the title—

A FRIENDLY HINT TO MISSOURI.

One of the most pleasing scenes that can transpire on earth, when a sin has been committed by one person against another, is, *to forgive that sin;* and then, according to the sublime and perfect pattern of the Savior, pray to our Father in heaven *to forgive also.*

Verily, verily, such a friendly rebuke is like the mellow zephyr of summer's eve—it soothes, it cheers and gladdens the heart of the humane and the savage. Well might the wise man exclaim, "A soft answer turneth away wrath;" for men of sense, judgment, and observation, in all the various periods of time, have been witnesses, figuratively speaking, that *water, not wood, checks the rage of fire.*

Jesus said, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." Wherefore, if the nation, a single state, community, or family ought to be grateful for anything, *it is peace.*

Peace, lovely child of heaven!—peace, like light from the same great parent, gratifies, animates, and happifies the just and the unjust; and is the very essence of happiness below, and bliss above.

He that does not strive with all his powers of body and mind, with all his influence at home and abroad, and to cause others to do so too, to seek peace and maintain it for his own benefit and convenience, and for the honor of his State, nation, and country, has no claim on the clemency of man; nor should he be entitled to the friendship of woman or the protection of government.

He is the canker-worm to gnaw his own vitals, and the vulture to prey upon his own body; and he is, as to his own prospects and prosperity in life, a *felo-de-se* of his own pleasure.

A community of such beings are not far from hell on earth, and should be let alone as unfit for the smiles of the free or the praise of the brave. * * * * * * *

So much to preface this friendly hint to the State of Missouri;

for, notwithstanding some of her private citizens and public officers have committed violence, robbery, and even murder upon the rights and persons of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, yet compassion, dignity, and a sense of the principles of religion among all classes, and honor and benevolence, mingled with charity by high-minded patriots, lead me to suppose that there are many worthy people in that State who will use their influence and energies to bring about a settlement of all those old difficulties, and use all consistent means to urge the State, for her honor, prosperity, and good name, to restore every person she or her citizens have expelled from her limits, to their rights, and pay them all damage, that the great body of high-minded and well-disposed Southern and Western gentlemen and ladies—the real peacemakers of a western world, will go forth, good Samaritan-like, and pour in the oil and wine, till all that can be healed are made whole; and, after repentance, they shall be forgiven; for verily the Scriptures say, "Joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repents, more than over ninety-and-nine just persons that need no repentance." * * * * * * *

But the peacemaker, O give ear to him! for the words of his

When you meditate upon the massacre at Haun's mill, forget not that the constitution of your State holds this broad truth to the world, that none shall "be deprived of *life, liberty, or property*, but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land."

And when you assemble together in towns, counties, or districts, whether to petition your legislature to pay the damage the Saints have sustained in your State, by reason of oppression and misguided zeal, or to restore them to their rights according to Republican principles and benevolent designs, reflect, and make honorable, or annihilate, such statute law as was in force in your State in 1838,—viz., "If twelve or more persons shall combine to levy war against any part of the people of this State, or to remove forcibly out of the State or from their habitations, evidenced by taking arms and assembling to accomplish such purpose, every person so offending shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for a period not exceeding five years, or by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, and imprisonment in the county jail not exceeding six months."

Finally, if honor dignifies an honest people, if virtue exalts a

community, if wisdom guides great men, if principle governs intelligent beings, if humanity spreads comfort among the needy, and if religion affords consolation by showing that charity is the first, best, and sweetest token of perfect love, then, O ye good people of Missouri, like the woman in Scripture *who had lost one of her ten pieces of silver*, arise, search diligently till you find the lost piece, and then make a feast, and call in your friends for joy.

With due consideration,

I am the friend of all good men,

JOSEPH SMITH.

Nauvoo, Ill., March 8, 1843.

Surely this was going as far in the interests of peace as men or God could require him to go; but alas! there was to be no peace.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

"IN PERIL AMONG FALSE BRETHREN."

THE winter of 1843-4 was big with events affecting the destinies of Nauvoo. During that winter were set on foot conspiracies which culminated in the destruction of Nauvoo. Men who stood nearest to the Prophet Joseph, and who were bound in honor to defend his life, not bare the knives that were to strike him down, combined together in secret covenant for his overthrow.

Owing to the constant efforts of the Prophet's enemies in Missouri, to capture him and drag him to Missouri where he might be murdered with impunity, the force of police in Nauvoo was increased by the appointment of forty night-guards to patrol the city. These made it less convenient for the conspirators, who worked, as men ever do when engaged in such business—in the darkness. The night guards several times came in contact with men moving about the city in a manner which, to say the least, was suspicious; and soon complaints were made by these same parties that the city government was arbitrary and oppressive; they claimed that these night-watchmen threatened their peace and even started rumors that Joseph had appointed them for the purpose of intimidation.

Among others who complained of the appointment of night-watchmen was William Marks, president of the Nauvoo stake. Joseph, in the course of a speech made at a meeting of the city council at the time of the appointment of the special watchmen, referred to the danger of invasion from Missouri and incidentally remarked: "We have a Judas in our midst." This gave great

offense to both William Marks and the Law brothers. The Prophet in his journal, when speaking of the circumstance, says: "What can be the matter with these men? Is it that the wicked flee when no man pursueth, that hit pigeons always flutter, that drowning men clutch at straws, or that Presidents Law and Marks are absolutely traitors to The Church, that my remarks should produce such excitement in their minds? Can it be possible that the traitor whom Porter Rockwell reports to me as being in correspondence with my Missouri enemies is one of my quorum [the First Presidency]? The people in the town were astonished, almost every man saying to his neighbor, 'Is it possible that Brother Law or Marks is a traitor, and would deliver Brother Joseph into the hands of his enemies in Missouri?' If not what can be the meaning of all this? The righteous are bold as a lion."*

In the spring of 1844, the Prophet was apprised by two young men, Denison L. Harris and Robert Scott, the latter living in the family of William Law, of a secret movement then on foot to take his life, and the lives of several other leading men of The Church; among them the Prophet's brother, Hyrum. These young men were invited to the secret meetings by the conspirators, but before going, conferred with the Prophet, who told them to go, but to take no part in the proceedings of these wicked men against himself. They carried out his advice, and at the risk of their lives attended the secret meetings three

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* Millennial Star, volume xxii: page 631. This Wm. Marks afterwards was prominent among those who induced the Prophet to come back and deliver himself up to his enemies after the Prophet had started west. After the Prophet's death he joined the apostate James J. Strang in his attempt to lead The Church, and still later was a principal factor in bringing into existence the "Josephite" or "Reorganized Church." See the author's work on "Succession in the Presidency of The Church."

times, and brought to Joseph a report of what they had witnessed.*

In addition to the testimonies of these young men was that of M. G. Eaton, who expressed a willingness to make affidavit that there was a plot laid to kill Joseph Smith and others, and would give the names of those who had concocted it. There was also one A. B. Williams who said the same thing. These men went before Daniel H. Wells, at the time a justice of the peace, and made affidavit that such a plot as I have spoken of existed. In their statements they named as leaders of the movement, Chauncey L. Higbee, R. D. Foster, Joseph H. Jackson, and William and Wilson Law. These names correspond with those given by the young men before alluded to, except they also name Austin Cowles, a member of the High Council, at Nauvoo, as one of the active and leading conspirators.

These statements were shortly confirmed by the action of the conspirators themselves, as they soon came out in open as well as secret opposition to the leading Church authorities; and in March a number of them were excommunicated for unchristianlike conduct. Among the number was William Law, a member in the First Presidency, his brother Wilson Law; the Higbee brothers, Chauncey L., and Francis M., and Dr. Robert D. Foster.

An effort was made by these apostates to organize a church after the pattern of the true Church, by the appointment of apostles, prophets, presidents, etc., but it failed miserably, their following was insignificant. These men were desperately wicked; in addition to gross licentiousness they were guilty of theft and of counterfeiting money. They brought much reproach upon the city of Nauvoo, since their crimes were traced to her borders, and that fact went far towards undoing the city's reputa-

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* A full account of this conspiracy written by Horace Cummings was published in the Contributor, vol. v.

tion abroad. But though these men at one time, and indeed up to the time of their excommunication, held high official positions in The Church and the city, their wickedness was not sustained either by The Church laws or by the members of The Church, or citizens of Nauvoo. It was known that there existed a band of desperate men within the city, and these parties were suspected, but it required some time to obtain proof sufficiently positive to act upon; and where the counterfeiting was done was never learned.

The mask having at last fallen from the faces of this coterie of men, they joined with the avowed enemies of the Saints outside of Nauvoo, and openly advocated the repeal of the city charter, which but a short time before they had assisted to obtain. They violated on several occasions the city ordinances, resisted the city officers, and threatened the life of the mayor. These disturbances led to the arrests and trials before the municipal court, from which the accused generally appealed to the circuit courts; and retaliated by counter arrests of the city authorities for false imprisonment, defamation of character, etc. In all these cases the power of the municipal courts to grant writs of *habeas corpus* was freely exercised, and released the city authorities, as the actions were malicious, and without sufficient cause on which to base the complaints. Thus the affairs of Nauvoo became more and more complicated, and the bitterness constantly increased.

At last the disaffected parties imported a press into the city and proposed publishing a paper to be called the *Nauvoo Expositor*. It avowed its intention in the prospectus it published to agitate for the repeal of the Nauvoo charter, and also announced that since its position in the city of the Saints afforded it opportunities of being familiar with the abuses that prevailed, its publishers intended to give a full, candid and succinct statement of facts as they really existed in the city of Nauvoo, regardless of whose standing in the community might be imperiled.

The proprietors of the paper were the band of conspirators already named, and Sylvester Emmons was employed as editor.

The first, and indeed the only number of the *Expositor* was published on the seventh day of June, 1844, and contained a most scandalous attack upon the most respectable citizens of Nauvoo. It at once filled the entire city with indignation, and the city council immediately took into consideration what would be the best method of dealing with it. The result of the council's meditations was this: Blackstone declared a libelous press a nuisance; the city charter gave to city authorities the power to declare what should be considered a nuisance and to prevent and remove the same; therefore it was

Resolved, by the city council of the city of Nauvoo, that the printing office from whence issues the *Nauvoo Expositor* is a public nuisance, and also all of said *Nauvoo Expositors*, which may be or exist, in said establishment; and the mayor is instructed to cause said printing establishment and papers to be removed without delay, in such manner as he may direct.

On receiving this order the mayor issued instructions to the city marshal to destroy the press without delay, and at the same time gave orders to Jonathan Dunham, acting Major-General of the Nauvoo Legion, to assist the marshal with the Legion if called upon to do so.

The marshal with a small force of men appeared before the *Expositor* printing establishment, informed one or more of the proprietors of the character of his mission, and demanded entrance into the building to carry out his instructions from the mayor. This was denied and the door locked; whereupon the marshal broke in the door, carried out the press, broke it in the street, pied the type and burned all the papers found in the office, and then reported to the mayor, who sent an account of these proceedings to the governor of the State.

This act enraged the conspirators to a higher pitch of des-

peration. They set fire to their buildings and then fled to Carthage, the county seat of Hancock County, with the lie in their mouths that their lives were in danger in Nauvoo, and that they were driven away from their homes. Fortunately the police discovered the flames started by these incendiaries in time to extinguish them, so that they failed to have the smoking ruins of their own houses to support their story; but their misrepresentations spread like wild-fire and inflamed the public mind, already blinded with prejudice against the people of Nauvoo, to a point which made violence almost certain.

Francis M. Higbee made a complaint before Thomas Morrison, a justice of the peace, against Joseph Smith and all the members of the Nauvoo city council for riot committed in destroying the anti-Mormon press. The warrant issued by the justice was served by Constable Bettisworth upon Joseph Smith at Nauvoo. It required him and the others named in the warrant to go before the justice issuing the warrant, "*or some other justice of the peace.*" Joseph called the attention of the constable to this clause in the writ, and expressed a willingness to go before Esquire Johnson, or any other justice of the peace in Nauvoo. But Bettisworth was determined to take Joseph to Carthage before Justice Morrison, who had issued the writ. Joseph was equally determined not to go, and petitioned the municipal court for a writ of *habeas corpus* which was granted, and under it the prisoner was honorably discharged The other parties mentioned in the writ followed his example and were also discharged.

Meantime indignation meetings were held first at Warsaw, and afterwards in Carthage. The men who had used their uttermost endeavors, for more than two years to incite the people to acts of mob violence against the Saints, had now a popular war cry—"unhallowed hands had been laid upon the liberty of the press." "The law had ceased to be a protection to lives or property in Nauvoo!" "A mob at Nauvoo, under a city ordinance

had violated the highest privilege in the government; and to seek redress in the ordinary mode would be utterly ineffectual." Therefore those in attendance upon these meetings adopted resolutions announcing themselves at all times ready to co-operate with their fellow-citizens in Missouri and Iowa to exterminate, *utterly exterminate* the wicked and abominable Mormon leaders, the authors of their troubles.

Committees were appointed to notify all persons in the respective townships suspected of being the "tools of the Prophet to leave immediately, on pain of *instant vengeance*." And it was further recommended that the adherents of Joseph Smith as a body, be "driven from the surrounding settlements into Nauvoo; that the Prophet and his miscreant adherents should then be demanded at their hands; and, if not surrendered, a war of entire extermination should be waged to the entire destruction, if necessary for the mob's protection, of his adherents; and to carry out these resolutions every citizen was called upon to arm himself."

The mass meeting at Carthage, which had adopted the Warsaw resolutions was in full blast when the news arrived of the failure of Constable Bettisworth, to drag the Prophet into their midst. This increased the excitement, and poured more gall into the cup of bitterness. It was resolved that the "riot" in Nauvoo was still progressing, and of such a serious character as to demand executive interference; and therefore two discreet citizens were appointed to go to Springfield and lay the case before Governor Ford. But this appeal to the executive was not to interfere with the resolutions before passed—active preparations for the extermination of the Mormons were to be continued.

The athorities at Nauvoo also dispatched trusty messengers to Governor Ford with truthful accounts of their proceedings, both as regards the destruction of the press and their action in refusing to accompany Constable Bettisworth to Car-

thage, that he might not be misled by a false representation of the case, or influenced by the thousand and one falsehoods that had been set on foot by the enemies of the Saints.

Both parties then appealed to the executive of the State: the mob for assistance to carry out their murderous designs, and to give their proceedings a coloring of lawful authority, and the citizens of Nauvoo for protection against the combinations of their avowed enemies bent upon, and publicly pledged to their extermination.

Without waiting the issue of this appeal, however, the mob forces in Carthage, Warsaw and other localities began active operations by sending their committees to the settlements of the Saints outside of Nauvoo, and threatening them with destruction if they did not accept one of three propositions: first, deny that Joseph Smith was a Prophet of God, and take up arms and accompany the mob to arrest him; second, gather up their effects and forthwith remove to the city of Nauvoo; third, give up their arms and remain quiet until the pending difficulties should be settled by the expulsion of their friends. Usually a few days were given the people to consider these propositions, which were utilized by the people in conferring with the Prophet, to know what he advised under the circumstances. The advice given, in its general purport was to yield up none of their rights as American citizens to the demand of mobocrats, but to maintain their rights wherever they were strong enough to resist the mob forces, and when they were not strong enough, retreat to Nauvoo.

Besides the reports which came to Nauvoo from the Saints who were threatened, the air was filled with rumors of mob forces collecting on every hand. Great excitement was reported to exist in upper Missouri, the part of that State from which the Saints had been driven but six years before; and it was reported that the Missourians were going over into Illinois in large numbers to assist the anti-Mormons in and around

Carthage. That arms and ammunition were sent over the Mississippi to the mob, is quite certain; and it is also known that Walter Bagley, the tax-collector for Hancock County, had spent some time in Missouri as an anti-Mormon agent and agitator, seeking to bring about a concerted action between the old enemies of the Saints, and those of like ilk in Illinois.

While these hostile preparations were being made for his destruction, and the extermination of his people, those at all acquainted with the temperament of the Prophet Joseph, might well know that he was not idle. He kept an efficient corps of clerks busy copying reports and affidavits of threatened violence and insurrection, and sent them to the governor, whom he petitioned to come to Nauvoo and in person investigate the causes of the disturbance. Information was also sent to the President of the United States, acquainting him with the prospects of an insurrection, and an invasion of Illinois by Missourians, and asking him for protection.

Nor was Joseph and his associates neglectful of anything that would have a tendency to allay the excitement. Jesse B. Thomas, judge of the circuit in which Hancock County was located, advised him to go before some justice of the peace of the county and have an examination of the charges specified in the writ issued by justice Morrison of Carthage, and that would take away all excuse for a mob, and he would be bound to order them to keep the peace. Some advised the Prophet to go to Carthage, but that he emphatically refused to do. But he and all others named in justice Morrison's warrant went before Squire Wells, a non-Mormon justice of the peace, and after a thorough investigation of the case were acquitted.

In addition to these movements, a mass meeting was held in Nauvoo, at which John Taylor was chairman. Pacific resolutions were adopted, denying the misrepresentations of the apostates, and appointing men to go to the neighboring towns and settlements to present the truth to the people and allay ex-

citement. These men were authorized to say that the members of the city council charged with riot and the violation of law, were willing to go before the circuit court for an investigation of their conduct in respect to the *Nauvoo Expositor*, and refused not to be bound over for such a hearing. But when this announcement was made and it was learned that Judge Thomas had advised this course to allay excitement, the mob threatened that a committee would wait upon the judge and give him a coat of tar and feathers for giving such advice.

These pacific measures appearing to have little or no effect, and active preparations for hostilities continuing on the part of the enemy, Nauvoo was placed under martial law; the Legion was mustered into service, and Joseph in person took command of it. He was in full uniform when he appeared before the Legion, and mounting an unfinished frame building near the Mansion, he took occasion to address the Legion and the people for about an hour and a half; during which time he reviewed the events that had brought upon Nauvoo the issue that confronted them.

To dispel any illusion that any of them might have that he was the only one threatened, he said:

> It is thought by some that our enemies would be satisfied by my destruction, but I tell you as soon as they have shed my blood, they will thirst for the blood of every man in whose heart dwells a single spark of the spirit of the fullness of the Gospel. The opposition of these men is moved by the spirit of the adversary of all righteousness. It is not only to destroy me, but every man and woman who dares believe the doctrines that God hath inspired me to teach to this generation—

Words which subsequent events will prove to have been prophetic. He also said:

> We have forwarded a particular account of all our doings to the governor. We are ready to obey his commands, and we expect that protection at his hands which we know to be our just due.

We may add also, that when a petition was sent to the governor to come to Nauvoo in person to investigate the cause of the disturbance, the service of the Legion was tendered him to keep the peace. But that Joseph had come to a settled determination to maintain the rights of the people at all hazards, and submit no longer to mob violence, may be clearly understood from the spirit of these extracts from the speech made to the Legion on the occasion of his taking command of it.

We are American citizens. We live upon a soil for the liberties of which our fathers periled their lives and spilt their blood upon the battlefield. Those rights so dearly purchased shall not be disgracefully trodden under foot by lawless marauders without at least a noble effort on our part to sustain our liberties. Will you stand by me to the death, and sustain at the peril of our lives, the laws of our country, and the liberties and privileges which our fathers have transmitted unto us, sealed with their sacred blood? (Thousands shouted aye!) It is well. If you had not done it, I would have gone out there, (pointing to the west) and would have raised up a mighty people.

I call upon all men from Maine to the Rocky Mountains, and from Mexico to British America, whose hearts thrill with horror to behold the rights of free men trampled under foot, to come to the deliverance of this people from the cruel hand of oppression, cruelty, anarchy and misrule to which they have long been made subject. * * * I call upon God and angels to witness that I have unsheathed my sword with a firm and unalterable determination that this people shall have their legal rights and shall be protected from mob violence, or my blood shall be spilt upon the ground like water, and my body be consigned to the silent tomb. While I live, I will never tamely submit to the dominion of cursed mobocracy.

There was much more of a like tenor, but this is sufficient to show the determination of the Prophet not to submit to the mobs then rising about him; and the people warmly seconded his resolution.

At this juncture Joseph requested his brother Hyrum to take his family and go with them to Cincinnati. But Hyrum demurred and said, "Joseph, I can't leave you!" Joseph, turning to a number of brethren present, said: "I wish I could get Hyrum out of the way, so that he may live to avenge my blood, and I will stay with you and see it out." But Hyrum Smith was not the kind of man to leave his brother now that the hour of his severest trial had come upon him. His noble nature revolted at the thought, and though the spirit had doubtless whispered Joseph that his life and that of Hyrum's would be sacrificed in the impending crisis, his pathetic words, "Joseph, I can't leave you!" bear testimony to the nobility of the soul that uttered them, and is a witness to the strength of those bonds of love that bound him to his younger brother. Moreover, in consequence of the Prophet's premonitions of his approaching martyrdom, he had ordained his brother Hyrum to succeed him in the presidency of The Church; and hence this consideration as well as his affectionate regard for him as a brother doubtless led him to try to get Hyrum out of harm's way.*

Word was sent to Brigham Young, then on a mission in the eastern States, to return to Nauvoo, and to communicate with the other Apostles and request them also to return to Nauvoo, as likewise all the Elders, and as many more good, faithful men as felt disposed to accompany them, to assist the Saints. Thus every effort was being put forth by the people of Nauvoo to resist oppression and maintain their rights.

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*"If Hyrum had lived he would not have stood between Joseph and the Twelve, but he would have stood for Joseph. Did Joseph ordain any man to take his place? He did. Who was it? It was Hyrum. But Hyrum fell a martyr before Joseph did."—*Brigham Young*, in a speech at the October conference at Nauvoo, 1844. In *Times and Seasons*, Vol. v. p. 683.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

COMPLIANCE WITH THE DEMANDS OF GOVERNOR FORD.

IN the midst of these preparations, a message was received from Governor Ford, stating that he had arrived in Carthage in the interests of peace, and hoped to be able to avert the evils of war by his presence; and that he might the better judge of the situation he asked that well-informed and discreet persons be sent to him at Carthage, where he had established for the time his headquarters. This request of the governor's was gladly complied with on the part of the people of Nauvoo; and John Taylor and Dr. J. M. Bernhisel were appointed to represent their version of the situation, and for that purpose were furnished with a copy of the proceedings of the city council, and the affidavits of a number of citizens bearing on the subjects that would likely be discussed.

These representatives of the citizens of Nauvoo, found the governor surrounded by their enemies—the Laws, Fosters, and Higbees, besides others living at Warsaw and Carthage. The only audience given to Messrs. Taylor and Bernhisel was in the presence of these parties, by whom they were frequently interrupted in the most insulting manner, and the parties insulting and abusing them were unchecked by Governor Ford.

After the governor had heard the statements of these gentlemen and read the documents presented by them, he sent a written communication to the mayor, Joseph Smith, in which he said that by destroying the *Expositor* press, the city council of Nauvoo had committed a gross outrage upon the laws and liberties of the people, and had violated the Constitution in several

particulars. He also claimed that the municipal court of Nauvoo had exceeded its authority in granting writs of *habeas corpus*. He accepted the statement of the mob at Carthage that Joseph Smith refused to be tried by any other court than the municipal court of Nauvoo, although he had before him the most positive proof that Joseph was willing to go before any justice of the peace in Hancock County, except Justice Morrison of Carthage, where an angry mob had collected, and were threatening his destruction, and since the warrant was made returnable to the magistrate who issued it, or any other justice in the county, the Prophet expressed a willingness to go before any other justice, but very properly refused to go to Carthage. He was even willing to be bound over to appear in the circuit court to answer for the part he took in abating the *Expositor* press as a nuisance. Yet in the face of these facts—in the face of the fact that all the parties charged with riot had appeared before D. H. Wells, a justice of the peace and a non-Mormon, and after investigation were acquitted—yet the governor charged the members of the city council with refusing to appear before any other than the municipal court of Nauvoo for an investigation. He demanded that the mayor and all persons in Nauvoo accused or sued submit in all cases implicitly to the process of the courts and to interpose no obstacles to an arrest, either by writ of *habeas corpus* or otherwise. And in the case of the mayor and a number of the city council charged with riot, he required that they should be arrested by the same constable, by virtue of the same warrant, and tried before the same magistrate, whose authority he insisted had been resisted. "Nothing short of this," he added, "can vindicate the dignity of violated law, and allay the just excitement of the people." Messrs. Taylor and Bernhisel called his attention to the state of excitement in Carthage, and informed him that there were men there bent on killing the Prophet, and that to ensure his safety it would be necessary for him to be accompanied by an armed

force which would doubtless provoke a collision. In answer to this the governor advised them to bring no arms, and pledged his faith as governor, and that of the State, to protect those who should go to Carthage for trial. He also made the same pledge in his written communication to Joseph.

The conduct of the governor in thus adopting the reports of the enemies of the citizens of Nauvoo, and menacing the city with destruction, if his arbitrary commands were not complied with, created no small amount of astonishment in Nauvoo. Joseph, however, wrote a courteous reply, corrected the governor's errors, and also represented that the city council of Nauvoo had acted on their best judgment, aided by the best legal advice they could procure; but if a mistake had been made they were willing to make all things right; but asked that the mob might be dispersed, that their lives might not be endangered while on trial. Relative to going to Carthage, however, Joseph pointed out the fact that the governor himself in his written communication had expressed his fears that he could not control the mob; "in which case," he went on to say, "we are left to the mercy of the merciless. Sir, we dare not come for our lives would be in danger, and we are guilty of no crime."

On a hasty consultation with his brother Hyrum, Dr. Richards, and Messrs. Taylor and Bernhisel, after the return of the latter from their conference with Governor Ford it was decided that Joseph should proceed to Washington and lay the case before President Tyler, and he informed Governor Ford of this intention in the letter above referred to. That plan, however, at a subsequent council meeting was abandoned; as Joseph received an inspiration to go to the West, and all would be well. He said to the trusted brethren in that council:

The way is open. It is clear to my mind what to do. All they want is Hyrum and myself; then tell everybody to go about their business, and not collect in groups, but scatter about. There is no danger; they will come here and search for us. Let them search;

they will not harm you in person or in property, and not even a hair of your head. We will cross the river tonight and go away to the West.

This was between nine and ten o'clock on the night of the twenty-second of June, and preparations were at once entered into to carry out this impression of the Spirit. W. W. Phelps was instructed to take the families of the Prophet and his brother to Cincinnati; and that night O. P. Rockwell rowed Joseph, Hyrum and Dr. Richards over the Mississippi to Montrose, and then returned with instructions to procure horses for them and make all necessary preparations to start for "the great basin in the Rocky Mountains."

About ten o'clock the next day the governor's *posse* arrived in Nauvoo to arrest Joseph, but not finding him it returned to Carthage, leaving a man by the name of Yates to watch for the Prophet's appearing. This man said that if the mayor and his brother were not given up, the governor had expressed a determination to send his troops into the city and guard it until they were found, if it took three years.

At this crisis, some of Joseph's friends instead of rendering him all possible assistance to escape from his enemies, complained of his conduct as cowardly and entreated him to return to Nauvoo and not leave them like a false shepherd leaves his flock when the wolves attack them. The parties most forward in making this charge of cowardice were Reynolds Cahoon, L. D. Wasson and Hiram Kimball. Emma Smith, his wife, also sent a letter by the hand of Reynolds Cahoon, entreating him to return and give himself up, trusting to the pledges of the governor for a fair trial. Influenced by these entreaties to return, and stung by the taunts of cowardice from those who should have been his friends, he said: "If my life is of no value to my friends, it is of none to myself." And after a brief consultation with Rockwell and his brother Hyrum,

against his better judgment, and with the conviction fixed in his soul that he would be killed, he resolved to return; and crossed over the river that evening to Nauvoo.

His first act after arriving in the beautiful city of which he was the chief founder, was to send word to the governor, by the hand of Theodore Turley and Jedediah M. Grant that he would be ready to go to Carthage as early on the morrow as his (the governor's) *posse* could meet him—provided he could be assured a fair trial, and his witnesses not be abused. That message was delivered to the governor, and he decided at once to send a *posse* to escort Joseph and his party to Carthage; but through the influence which Wilson Law, Joseph H. Jackson and others of like character had over him, he changed his good intention of sending a *posse*, and ordered Joseph's messengers to return that night with orders to him to be in Carthage the next day by ten o'clock without an escort; and he threatened that if Joseph did not give himself up by that time, Nauvoo would be destroyed.

Owing to the jaded condition of their horses the messengers did not reach Nauvoo until daylight of the twenty-fourth. After the orders of the governor were delivered, the faithful brethren who reported them began to warn the Prophet against trusting himself in the hands of his enemies, but he stopped them and would not hear them further—he had decided on his course.

Early on the morning of the twenty-fourth Joseph and the members of the city council, against whom complaints had been made before Justice Morrison, accompanied by a few friends, started for Carthage to give themselves up. As they passed the temple, the party paused, and the Prophet looked with admiration upon the noble edifice and the glorious landscape, which everywhere from that spot greets the eye, and then said: "This is the loveliest place, and the best people under the heavens; little do they know the trials that await them!" On the outskirts of the city they passed the home of Squire D. H.

Wells, who at the time was sick. Joseph dismounted and called to see him. At parting the Prophet said to him cheerfully: "Squire Wells, I wish you to cherish my memory, and not think me the worst man in the world, either."

About ten o'clock the party arrived within four miles of Carthage and there met a company of sixty mounted militiamen under the command of Captain Dunn, on their way to Nauvoo with orders from Governor Ford to demand the State arms in possession of the Nauvoo Legion. It was on the occasion of meeting these troops that Joseph uttered those prophetic words:

"*I am going like a lamb to the slaughter; but I am calm as a summer's morning; I have a conscience void of offense towards God, and towards all men. I shall die innocent, and it shall yet be said of me—he was murdered in cold blood.*"

At the request of Captain Dunn he countersigned the governor's order for the State arms. But the captain prevailed upon him to return to Nauvoo and assist in collecting the arms, promising that afterwards the militia under his command should escort himself and party into Carthage, and he would protect them even at the risk of his own life, to which his men assented by three hearty cheers. It is supposed that Captain Dunn feared the people in Nauvoo might become exasperated and resent the indignity offered them in demanding the surrender of the State arms. Hence his anxiety to have Joseph return. A message was sent to the governor informing him of this new move.

The arms were collected without any difficulty, though the people unwillingly surrendered them, since disarming them and allowing their enemies who had vowed their extermination to keep their arms, smacked of treachery; but the order of the governor and of their Prophet-leader was complied with.

The arms were taken to the Masonic Hall and stacked up, Quartermaster-General Buckmaster receiving them.

This demand for the State arms stirred the fiery indignation of Squire Wells to the very depths of his soul. He arose

from his bed of sickness and carried what State arms he had—a pair of horse-pistols—to the appointed place, and threw them at the feet of Officer Buckmaster with the remark, "There's your arms!" Then as he glared at the officer, he said: "I have a pair of epaulets at home, and I have never disgraced them, either," and, too full of righteous wrath for further speech, he walked away.

The arms collected, Captain Dunn thanked the people for their promptness in complying with the demands of the governor, and promised them that while they conducted themselves in such a peaceable manner they should be protected. The company of militia accompanied by Joseph and his party started for Carthage about six o'clock in the evening.

Passing the Masonic Hall where a number of the citizens of Nauvoo still lingered, having been attracted there to witness the surrender of the State arms, the Prophet Joseph raised his hat and said: "Boys, if I don't come back, take care of yourselves. I am going like a lamb to the slaughter." When the company was passing his farm Joseph stopped and looked at it for a long time. Then after he had passed he turned and looked again, and yet again several times. His action occasioned some remarks by several of the company, to which, in reply he said: "If some of you had such a farm, and knew you would not see it any more, you would want to take a good look at it for the last time."

It was midnight when the party entered Carthage, but a militia company encamped on the public square—the Carthage Greys—were aroused and gave vent to profane threats as the company passed, of which the following is a specimen: "Where's the d—n Prophet?" "Stand away, you McDonough boys,* and let us shoot the d——n Mormons!" "G—d d——n you, old Joe,

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*Captain Dunn's company was composed chiefly of men from McDonough County, hence the remark.

we've got you now!" Clear the way, and let us have a view of Joe Smith, the Prophet of God. He has seen the last of Nauvoo, we'll use him up now!"

Amid such profanity and abuse, and violent threats, much of which was overheard by Governor Ford, the Prophet's party proceeded to Hamilton's hotel, which it entered and took quarters for the night. Under the same roof were sheltered the wicked apostates of Nauvoo, J. H. Jackson, the Foster brothers, the Higbees and the Laws, besides other desperate men who had sworn to take the life of the Prophet.

The crowd which had followed the Nauvoo party from the public square still hung round the Hamilton House yelling and cursing, and acting like ravenous beasts hungry for their prey. Governor Ford pushed up a window and thus addressed them: "Gentlemen, I know your great anxiety to see Mr. Smith, which is natural enough, but it is quite too late tonight for you to have that opportunity; but I assure you, gentlemen, you shall have that privilege tomorrow morning, as I will cause him to pass before the troops upon the square, and I now wish you, with this assurance, quietly and peaceably to return to your quarters." In answer to this there was a faint "Hurrah, for Tom Ford," and the crowd withdrew. They could afford to wait. God's servants were in the hands of the merciless.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE MARTYRDOM.

EARLY in the morning following their entrance into Carthage, Joseph, his brother Hyrum and the other members of the Nauvoo city council named in the warrant of arrest sworn out by the Higbees, voluntarily surrendered themselves to constable Bettisworth. Shortly afterwards the Prophet was again arrested by the same constable on a charge of treason against the State and people of Illinois, on the oath of Augustine Spencer. Hyrum was arrested on a similar charge, sworn out by Henry O. Norton. And thus the difficulties thickened.

Soon after the second arrest, Governor Ford presented himself at their rooms at the Hamilton house, and requested Joseph to accompany him, as he desired to present him to the troops, to whom he had promised the night before a view of the Prophet. The troops had been drawn up in two lines and Joseph and Hyrum linking arms with Brigadier-General Miner R. Deming passed down them, accompanied by their friends and a company of Carthage Greys. They were introduced as General Joseph and General Hyrum Smith. The Carthage Greys, a few minutes before, at the headquarters of General Deming, had revolted and behaved in an uproarious manner, but were pacified by the governor, and accompanied him, General Deming and the Prophet and his party to where the other troops were drawn up in line. Here they again revolted because the Brothers Smith were introduced to the troops from McDonough County as "Generals" Smith. Some of the officers of the Carthage Greys threw up their hats, drew their swords and said they would introduce themselves to "the

d—ned Mormons in a different style." They were again pacified by the governor, who promised them "full" satisfaction. But they continued to act in such an insubordinate manner that General Deming put them under arrest,* but afterwards released them without punishment.

Shortly after this episode with the Carthage Greys, a number of the officers of other militia companies and other gentlemen curious to see the Prophet crowded into the hotel. Joseph took occasion to ask them if there was anything in his appearance to indicate that he was the desperate character his enemies represented him to be. To which they replied, "No, sir, your appearance would indicate the very contrary, General Smith;

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*The manner of this incident about the revolt of the Carthage Greys is thus related in Gregg's History of Hancock County: "It seems that after the McDonough regiment had been disbanded, and were about to return home, they expressed a desire to see the prisoners, [Joseph and Hyrum] The wish was reasonable, and as the easiest mode of gratifying it, they were drawn up in line, and General Deming with the two prisoners, one on each arm, and the Greys as an escort, passed along the line of troops, Deming introducing them as General Joseph Smith and General Hyrum Smith, of the Nauvoo Legion. The Greys not aware that this was done at the request of the McDonough men, and not satisfied to be made an escort to such a display, exhibited signs of dissatisfaction, and finally gave vent to their feelings by hisses and groans. As a punishment for this offense they were afterward ordered under arrest. In the meantime there was great excitement in the company. As a detachment of the troops was being detailed for the purpose of putting the general's order into execution the officer in command of the Greys addressed them a few words and then said: 'Boys will you submit to an arrest for so trifling an offense?' 'No!' was the unanimous response. 'Then load your pieces with ball,' was the sullen order. In the meantime some explanations had been made, which permitted General Deming to countermand the order of arrest, and the Greys were quietly marched back to their encampment."

This account says nothing of the fact that it was generally known, that the night before, Governor Ford had promised all the troops a

but we cannot see what is in your heart, neither can we tell what are your intentions." "Very true, gentlemen," quickly replied the Prophet, "you cannot see what is in my heart, and you are therefore unable to judge me or my intentions; but I can see what is in your hearts, and will tell you what I see. I can see that you thirst for blood, and nothing but my blood will satisfy you. It is not for crime of any description that I and my brethren are thus continually persecuted, and harrassed by our enemies, but there are other motives, and some of them I have expressed, so far as relates to myself; and inasmuch as you and the people thirst for blood, I prophesy in the name of the Lord that you shall witness scenes of blood and sorrow to your entire satisfaction. Your souls shall be perfectly satiated with blood, and many of you who are now present shall have an opportunity to face the cannon's mouth from sources you think not of, and those people that desire this great evil upon me and my brethren shall be filled with sorrow because of the scenes of desolation and distress that await them. They shall seek for peace

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view of Generals Smith, and the Greys had been in revolt at General Deming's headquarters before the party including Joseph and Hyrum reached the McDonough troops. Moreover, I was informed by Colonel H. G. Ferris, when in Carthage in 1885, investigating these matters, that when word arrived in that place that Joseph Smith would surrender himself to the authorities, if the governor would pledge him protection and a fair trial, the governor made a speech to the mixed multitude of troops and citizens in which he stated the proposition of the Smiths, and wanted to know if they would sustain him in pledging them protection, to which they responded in the affirmative. There was some talk, too, of sending the Greys as a posse to escort the Smiths into Nauvoo. Against this proceeding General Deming protested and told Governor Ford that the pledge of protection made by the crowd and the troops was not to be depended upon, it was insincere, and that the lives of the Smiths were not to be trusted to the Greys. The governor however disregarded the warning of General Deming. Colonel Ferris was present at this meeting.—*B. H. R.*

and shall not be able to find it. Gentlemen, you will find what I have told you will come true." *

The members of the Nauvoo city council under arrest for riot, in destroying the *Expositor* press, were taken before R. F. Smith, justice of the peace and also captain of the Carthage Greys. It will be remembered perhaps that Governor Ford had told Joseph, in a communication referred to in the last chapter, that nothing but his appearing before Justice Morrison, who issued the writ against him would vindicate the majesty of the law, but now the prisoners were at Carthage where Justice Morrison lived, and could have appeared before him, and were willing to do so, they were taken before another justice.

In order to avoid increasing the excitement, the prisoners admitted there was sufficient cause to be bound over to appear at the next term of the circuit court for Hancock County. The bonds amounted to seven thousand five hundred dollars.

Justice Smith dismissed his court without taking any action on the charge of treason under which the Brothers Smith were still held; but about eight o'clock the same evening, Constable Bettisworth appeared at their lodgings at the Hamilton House and insisted on their going to jail. The Prophet demanded to see the copy of the mittimus which was at first denied; but upon his counsel—Messrs Woods & Reid—informing the constable that the accused were entitled to a hearing before a justice, before they could be sent to jail, to the surprise of all present he produced a mittimus, issued by Justice R. F. Smith. It stated that Joseph and Hyrum Smith were under arrest charged with treason; "and have been," so the paper read, "brought before me, a justice of the peace, in and for said county, for trial at the seat of justice hereof, which trial has been necessarily postponed, by reason of the absence of material witnesses." Now, this mittimus, so

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* In view of the great civil war which a few years later desolated the land it is clear that the above utterance was prophetic.

far as it related to the prisoners appearing before Justice Smith was an infamous falsehood, "unless," as Lawyer Reid says, in the account he published of these proceedings—"unless the prisoners could have appeared before the justice *without being present in person or by counsel!*" The same representation of the case was made to me by Lawyer James W. Woods, who, at the time was associated with Mr. Reid as the Prophet's counsel, whom I met in the summer of 1880, in Iowa, and from whom at that time I received a detailed account of the proceedings.

Joseph and his counsel and his friends protested most vigorously against this unlawful proceeding, but to no avail. R. F. Smith finding his mittimus unlawful, appealed to the governor as to what he should do; to which the governor answered: "You have the Carthage Greys at your command." That hint was sufficient. What the *justice* had illegally begun, the same person as *captain* must with unlawful force consummate! Yet when this same governor was appealed to for protection against this unhallowed as well as unlawful proceeding, he expressed himself as being very sorry the circumstance had occurred, but he really could not interfere with the civic powers!

Elder John Taylor went to the governor and reminded him of his pledges of protection. Elder Taylor expressed his dissatisfaction at the course taken, and told the governor that if they were to be subject to mob rule, and to be dragged contrary to law to prison, at the instance of every scoundrel whose oath could be bought for a dram of whisky, his protection availed very little, and they had miscalculated the executive's promises.

In the meantime a drunken rabble had collected in the street in front of the Hamilton House, and Captain Dunn with some twenty men came to guard the prisoners to the jail. The Prophet's friends stood by him in these trying times and followed him through the excited crowd in the direction of the jail. Stephen Markham walked on one side of the Prophet and

his brother Hyrum and Dan Jones on the other, and with their walking sticks kept back the rabble, which several times broke through the guard, while Elder Taylor, Willard Richards and John S. Fullmer walked behind them.

The jail was reached in safety and the prisoners given in charge of Mr. George W. Stigall, who first put them into the criminal's cell, but afterwards gave them the more comfortable quarters known as the "debtors' apartment." When night came the prisoners and their friends stretched themselves out on the floor of the old jail—and so passed the night of the twenty-fifth.

Governor Ford represents in his "History of Illinois," that these men were placed in prison to protect them from the rabble,* but says not a word about the protests of the prisoners against being thrust into jail, or the illegal means employed in putting them there.

In the forenoon of the twenty-sixth, a lengthy interview took place between Governor Ford and Joseph in which the whole cause of the trouble was reviewed, the causes leading up to the destruction of the *Expositor* press, calling out the Legion on which the charge of treason was based, and all other affairs connected with the difficulties. Governor Ford condemned the action of the city council, but the course pursued by that body was ably defended by Joseph, and showed that even if they had been wrong in following the course they had taken, it was a matter for the courts to decide and not a thing for mobs to settle. In conclusion the Prophet told the Governor that he considered himself unsafe in Carthage, as the town was swarming with men who had openly sworn to take his life. He understood the governor contemplated going to Nauvoo, accompanied by the militia, to investigate certain charges about counterfeit-

* Ford's History of Illinois, p. 338.

ing the United States currency, and if possible secure the dies and other implements used in manufacturing it, and Joseph demanded his freedom that he might go with him. The governor promised him that he should go.*

The false mittimus on which Joseph and Hyrum Smith were thrust into prison, ordered the jailor to keep them in custody, "until discharged by due course of law." But on the afternoon of the twenty-sixth, Frank Worrell appeared before the jail in command of the Carthage Greys and demanded that the prisoners be delivered up to the constable to be taken before Justice R. F. Smith for trial. Against this proceeding the jailor protested, as the prisoners were placed in his keeping until "discharged by due course of law," and not at the demand of a constable or military despot. But by threats amounting to intimidation, Worrell compelled the jailor against his conviction of duty to surrender the prisoners to him.

Meantime a mob had gathered at the door of the jail and seeing that things had assumed a threatening aspect, the Prophet stepped into the crowd, locked arms with one of the worst mobocrats, and with his brother Hyrum on the other arm, and followed by his faithful friends, proceeded to the court house. He had been unlawfully thrust into prison, and as illegally dragged out of it and exposed to imminent danger among his worst enemies.

The counsel for the Brothers Smith asked for a continuance until the next day as they were without witnesses, not having been notified when they would come to trial. A continuance was granted until noon the next day. A new mittimus was made out and the prisoners committed again to prison—their old quarters. But after the prisoners were again lodged in jail, and without consulting either them or their counsel,

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* For this conversation in *extenso* as reported by Elder John Taylor who was present, see Appendix IV.

Justice R. F. Smith changed the time of trial from noon on the twenty-seventh until the twenty-ninth.

This change was made in consequence of a decision reached by Governor Ford and his military council to march all his troops into Nauvoo, except a company of fifty of the Carthage Greys that would be detailed to guard the prisoners. So Mr. R. F. Smith, acting, it will be remembered, in the double capacity of a justice of the peace and captain of the Carthage Greys, as a justice altered the date of the return of the subpœnas and excused the court until the twenty-ninth; that as a captain of a company of militia he might attend the military train entering Nauvoo in triumph!

The evening of the twenty-sixth was spent very pleasantly by the prisoners and their friends—John Taylor, Willard Richards, John S. Fullmer, Stephen Markham and Dan Jones. Hyrum occupied the principal part of the time in reading accounts from the Book of Mormon of the deliverance of God's servants from prison, and in commenting upon them, with a view, doubtless, of cheering his brother Joseph, since the Prophet had expressed himself as having a presentiment of uneasiness as to his safety, that he had never before experienced when in the hands of his enemies.

Late at night all retired to rest except Willard Richards, who by the flickering flame of a tallow candle continued his work of writing out some important documents. Joseph and Hyrum occupied the only bedstead in the room, and their friends lay side by side on the mattresses spread out on the floor. Sometime after midnight a single gun was fired near the prison. Elder Richards started in his chair, and Joseph rose from the bed where he had been lying, and stretched himself out on the floor between Fullmer and Jones.

"Lay your head on my arm for a pillow, Brother John," said the Prophet to Fullmer as he kindly placed his arm under that person's head. Soon all became quiet, except in a low tone

Fullmer and the Prophet continued to talk of presentiments the latter had received of approaching death. "I would like to see my family again," said he, "and I would to God that I could preach to the Saints in Nauvoo once more." Fullmer tried to cheer him by saying he thought he would have that privilege many times.

Again all was silent, and everybody apparently asleep. But Joseph turned to Dan Jones and was heard to say, "Are you afraid to die?" To which the one addressed said: "Has that time come, think you? Engaged in such a cause I do not think death would have many terrors." And then the Prophet said: "You will yet see Wales"—his native land—"and fill the mission appointed you, before you die."* So passed away the night preceding the day which saw enacted that tragedy which robbed earth of two of the noblest men that ever lived upon it.

As the morning light struggled through the windows of Carthage jail, the prisoners and their friends awoke, and the Prophet required Dan Jones to go down stairs and enquire of the guard about the gun that was fired in the night, what the meaning of it was, etc.

Jones went accordingly, and found Frank Worrell in command of the guard and the answer he received to his inquiry was this: "We have had too much trouble to get old Joe here to let him ever escape alive, and unless you want to die with him, you had better leave before sun down; and you are not a d——n bit better than him for taking his part; and you'll see that I can prophesy better than old Joe, for neither he nor his brother, nor anyone who will remain with them, will see the sun set today." This answer Jones related to Joseph, who told him to go to the governor at once and report the words of the guard. On his

* This prediction was fulfilled. Elder Dan Jones went on a mission to Wales starting on the 28th of August, 1844, in company with Wilford Woodruff, and performed a most wonderful mission in his native land.

way to the governor's quarters at the Hamilton House, Jones passed a crowd of men who were being addressed by a person unknown to him. He paused long enough to hear these words:

"Our troops will be discharged this morning in obedience to orders, and for a sham we will leave the town; but when the governor and the McDonough troops have left for Nauvoo this forenoon, we will return and kill those men if we have to tear the jail down," (applause.) These words and what the captain of the guard said were faithfully reported to Governor Ford, in reply to which he said: "You are unnecessarily alarmed for the safety of your friends, sir, the people are not that cruel."

Angered at such an answer the following conversation occurred:

Jones. The Messrs. Smith are American citizens, and have surrendered themselves to your excellency upon your pledging your honor for their safety; they are also master Masons, and as such I demand of you the protection of their lives. If you do not this, I have but one more desire, and that is, if you leave their lives in the hands of those men to be sacrificed—

Governor Ford. What is that, sir?

Jones. It is that the Almighty will preserve my life to a proper time and place, that I may testify that you have been timely warned of their danger.

The governor manifested some excitement during this conversation, turning pale at the Masonic warning Jones gave him. The effect, however, was but momentary.

Jones returned to the jail after his conversation with the governor, but was denied admission. He then returned to the governor to secure a pass; and arrived at the square just as that officer was disbanding the militia. It is customary when the militia has been called together to assist in execution of the laws, or to suppress an insurrection, to dismiss the respective companies in charge of their several commanders to be

marched home and there be disbanded. But in this instance the governor disbanded all the troops, except the Carthage Greys whom, it appears, he had selected to guard the jail, and the McDonough troops who were to accompany him to Nauvoo.

Governor Ford himself, in his history of Illinois, represents that there were about twelve or thirteen hundred of the militia at Carthage and some five hundred at Warsaw. As the disbanded militia left the square, they acted in a boisterous manner, shouting that they would only go a short distance from town. and then come back and kill old Joe and Hyrum as soon as the governor was far enough out of town. Dan Jones called the attention of the governor to these threats, but he ignored them. I suppose these are the threats of which Governor Ford himself speaks in his history of these unfortunate events, when he says:

> I had heard of some threats being made, but none of an attack upon the prisoners whilst in jail. These threats seemed to be made by individuals not acting in concert. They were no more than the bluster which might have been expected, and furnished no indication of numbers combining for this or any other purpose.

It will be remembered that Governor Ford expressed a determination to march with all his forces into Nauvoo, and Joseph having heard of this, in the interview at the jail before alluded to, expressed a desire to accompany him, and the governor promised him he should go. This promise the governor failed to keep because a council of his officers convinced him that to take the Prophet with him to Nauvoo "would be highly inexpedient and dangerous." Indeed the whole plan of marching all his forces into Nauvoo, was abandoned. The expedition had been formed for the purpose of striking terror into the hearts of the citizens of Nauvoo, by a display of military force in their midst, and to satisfy the wishes of the anti-Mormons.

Speaking of this projected semi-invasion of Nauvoo and the preparations made for the start, Governor Ford says:

I observed that some of the people became more and more excited and inflammatory the further the preparations were advanced. Occasional threats came to my ears of destroying the city and murdering or expelling the inhabitants.

I had no objection to ease the terrors of the people by such a display of force, and was most anxious also to search for the alleged apparatus for making counterfeit money; and in fact to inquire into all the charges made against that people, if I could have been assured of my command against mutiny and insubordination. But I gradually learned to my entire satisfaction that there was a plan to get the troops into Nauvoo, and there to begin the war, probably by some of our own party, or some of the seceding Mormons, taking advantage of the night to fire on our own force, and then lay it on the Mormons.

I was satisfied that there were those amongst us fully capable of such an act, hoping that in the alarm, bustle and confusion of a militia camp, the truth could not be discovered, and that it might lead to the desired collision.*

Such are the reasons assigned by Governor Ford for abandoning his plan of marching all his forces into Nauvoo. If he could persuade himself to believe that he had those under his command, who would resort to the means he himself alludes to in the foregoing, to bring about a collision with the citizens of Nauvoo; and that he was fearful that his whole command would mutiny when once in the city of the Saints, it is unfortunate for the fame of Governor Ford that his fears could not be aroused for the safety of his prisoners, who were left at the mercy of those same militia forces, of which he himself was distrustful, the only barrier between them and the fury of this mob-militia being a guard made up of their bitterest enemies.

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* Ford's History of Illinois, page 340.

To satisfy the anti-Mormons the governor told them he would take a small force with him and go in search of counterfeiting apparatus and would make a speech to the citizens of Nauvoo, detailing to them the consequences of any acts of violence on their part. *En route* for Nauvoo, however, some of his officers expressed fears that the Smiths would be killed, and the governor informs us that he reduced his forces, leaving part of his command on the way, and pushed with all speed for Nauvoo; that he might make a speech to the people there and return to Carthage that night, giving up the idea of remaining several days to search for counterfeiting apparatus and making inquiries into the charges against the Mormon people. Leaving him to pursue to his journey to Nauvoo, I return to note the events which took place at the jail.

Cyrus H. Wheelock visited Carthage jail early on the morning of the 27th, and when he departed for Nauvoo to secure witnesses and documents for the impending trial on the charge of treason, he left with the prisoners an old-fashioned, pepper-box revolver. Before leaving Carthage, however, he went to Governor Ford, (he leaving Carthage before the governor started,) and expressed his fears for the safety of the prisoners. He then started for Nauvoo, but with a heavy heart.

Dan Jones was sent to Quincy by the Prophet with a letter to lawyer O. H. Browning, applying for his professional services in the pending trial. The letter was handed to Jones by A. W. Babbitt, the former not being allowed to enter the jail after leaving it in the morning. The mob being informed by the guard of the letter, set up the cry that Joe Smith was sending an order by Jones to the Nauvoo Legion to come and rescue him. A crowd surrounded Jones and demanded the letter but the fearless Welshman refused to give it up; whereupon some were in favor of forcing it from him, but there was a disagreement in the crowd about that, and while they were discussing the point, Jones mounted his horse and rode away.

Stephen Markham being seen on the streets in the afternoon, a number of the Carthage Greys captured him, put him on his horse and forced him out of town at the point of the bayonet, notwithstanding he held a pass from the governor to go in and out of the jail at pleasure. This left but Elders Richards and Taylor with the Prophet and his brother in the prison. They passed the afternoon in pleasant conversation, reading and singing. Elder Taylor sang a hymn entitled "A poor wayfaring man of grief:" a peculiarly plaintive piece of poetry, and admirably suited to their circumstances:

A poor wayfaring man of grief
  Hath often crossed me on the way,
Who sued so humbly for relief
  That I could never answer, Nay.

I had not power to ask His name,
Whereto He went or whence He came,
Yet there was something in His eye
That won my love, I knew not why.

Once when my scanty meal was spread,
  He entered, not a word He spake;
Just perishing for want of bread,
  I gave Him all, He blessed it, brake,

And ate, but gave me part again;
Mine was an angel's portion then,
For while I fed with eager haste,
The crust was manna to my taste.

I spied Him where a fountain burst
  Clear from the rock; His strength was gone,
The heedless water mocked His thirst,
  He heard it, saw it hurrying on.

I ran and raised the suff'rer up;
Thrice from the stream He drained my cup,
Dipped, and returned it running o'er;
I drank and never thirsted more.

'Twas night; the floods were out; it blew
A winter-hurricane aloof;
I heard His voice abroad, and flew
To bid Him welcome to my roof.

I warmed and clothed and cheered my guest,
And laid Him on my couch to rest,
Then made the earth my bed, and seemed
In Eden's garden while I dreamed.

Stript, wounded, beaten nigh to death,
I found Him by the highway side;
I roused His pulse, brought back His breath,
Revived His spirit, and supplied

Wine, oil, refreshment—He was healed;
I had myself a wound concealed,
But from that hour forgot the smart,
And peace bound up my broken heart.

In prison I saw Him next, condemned
To meet a traitor's doom at morn;
The tide of lying tongues I stemmed,
And honored Him 'mid shame and scorn.

My friendship's utmost zeal to try,
He asked if I for Him would die;
The flesh was weak, my blood ran chill,
But the free spirit cried, "I will!"

Then in a moment to my view,
The stranger darted from disguise;
The tokens in His hands I knew,
The Savior stood before mine eyes.

He spake, and my poor name He named,
"Of Me thou hast not been ashamed;
These deeds shall thy memorial be,
Fear not, thou didst them unto Me."

Late in the afternoon Mr. Stigall, the jailor, came in and suggested that they would be safer in the cells. Joseph told him they would go in after supper. Turning to Elder Richards the Prophet said; "If we go to the cell will you go in with us?"

Elder Richards. "Brother Joseph, you did not ask me to cross the river with you [referring to the time when they crossed the Mississippi, *en route* for the Rocky Mountains]—you did not ask me to come to Carthage—you did not ask me to come to jail with you—and do you think I would forsake you now? But I will tell you what I will do; if you are condemned to be hung for treason, I will be hung in your stead, and you shall go free."

Joseph. "But you cannot."

Richards. "I will, though."

This conversation took place a little after five o'clock, and very soon afterwards the attack was made on the jail. It appears that a crowd came from the direction of Warsaw that evidently had an understanding with the Carthage Greys and the members of that company on guard at the jail, since the latter, without question, had but blank cartridges in their guns; and the attack was made under the very eyes of the rest of the company encamped but two or three hundred yards away on the public square, and they made no effort whatever to prevent the assaults on the prison.

The guard at the jail played their part well. They fired blank shots at the advancing mob, or discharged their pieces in the air. They were "overpowered" (?), and the prison was in the hands of an infuriated mob. A rush was made for the room where the prisoners were lodged, and a shower of lead was sent

in through the door and the windows from those on the outside.

As no account that I could possibly write would equal that given by an eye-witness of the whole transaction, I here quote entire the account of the tragedy by Elder Willard Richards, as it appeared in the *Times and Seasons* soon after the event, under the caption,

TWO MINUTES IN JAIL.

A shower of musket balls was thrown up the stairway against the door of the prison in the second story, followed by many rapid footsteps.

While Generals Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Mr. Taylor and myself, who were in the front chamber, closed the door of our room against the entry at the head of the stairs, and placed ourselves against it, there being no lock on the door, and no catch that was unsealable.

The door is a common panel, and as soon as we heard the feet at the stair's head, a ball was sent through the door, which passed between us, and showed that our enemies were desperadoes and we must change our position.

General Joseph Smith, Mr. Taylor and myself sprang back to the front part of the room. General Hyrum Smith retreated two-thirds across the chamber directly in front of and facing the door. A ball was sent through the door which hit Hyrum on the side of his nose, when he fell backwards, extending at full length without moving his feet. From the holes in his vest (the day was warm and no one had their coats on but myself) pantaloons, drawers, and shirt, it appeared that a ball must have been thrown from without through the window, which entered the back of his right side, and passing through, lodged against his watch, which was in the right vest pocket, completely pulverizing the crystal and face, tearing off the hands and mashing the whole body of the watch. At the same instant the ball from the door entered his nose.

As he struck the floor he exclaimed emphatically, "*I am a dead*

man." Joseph looked towards him and responded, "*Oh dear! Brother Hyrum,*" and opening the door two or three inches with his left hand, discharged one barrel of a six-shooter (the pistol left him by C. H. Wheelock) at random in the entry, from whence a ball grazed Hyrum's breast, and entering his throat passed into his head, while other muskets were aimed at him as some balls hit him.

Joseph continued snapping his revolver round the casing of the door into the space as before, three barrels of which missed fire, while Mr. Taylor with a walking stick stood by his side and knocked down the bayonets and muskets, which were constantly discharging through the doorway, while I stood by him ready to lend any assistance, with another stick, but could not come within striking distance without going directly in front of the muzzles of the guns.

When the revolver failed, we had no more firearms, and expected an immediate rush of the mob, and the doorway full of muskets half way in the room, and no hope but instant death from within. Mr. Taylor rushed into the window, which is some fifteen or twenty feet from the ground. When his body was nearly on a balance, a ball from the door within entered his leg, and a ball from without struck his watch, a patent lever, in his vest pocket near his left breast, and smashed it into "pie," leaving the hands standing at five o'clock, sixteen minutes, and twenty-six seconds, the force of which ball threw him back on the floor, and he rolled under the bed which stood by his side, where he lay motionless, the mob continuing to fire upon him, cutting away a piece of flesh from his left hip as large as a man's hand, and were hindered only by my knocking down their muzzles with a stick; while they continued to reach their guns into the room, probably left handed, and aimed their discharge so far round as almost to reach us in the corner of the room to where we retreated and dodged, and there I commenced the attack with my stick.

Joseph attempted as a last resort to leap the same window from which Mr. Taylor fell, when two balls pierced him from the door, and one entered his right breast from without, and he fell outward exclaiming, "*O Lord, my God!*" As his feet went out of the window my head went in, the balls whistling all round. He fell on his left side a dead man. At this instant the cry was raised, "*He's leaped the window,*" and the mob on the stairs and in the entry ran out.

I withdrew from the window thinking it no use to leap out on a hundred bayonets, then round Gen. Smith's body. Not satisfied with this, I again reached my head out of the window, and watched some seconds to see if there were any signs of life, regardless of my own, determined to see the end of him I loved. Being fully satisfied that he was dead, with a hundred men near his body and more coming round the corner of the jail, and expecting a return to our room, I rushed toward the prison door at the head of the stairs, and through the entry from whence the firing had proceeded, to learn if the doors into the prison were open. When near the entry Mr. Taylor cried out "*Take me!*" I pressed my way until I found all doors unbarred, returning instantly, caught Mr. Taylor under my arm, and rushed up the stairs into the dungeon, or inner prison, stretched him on the floor and covered him with a bed in such a manner as not likely to be perceived, expecting an immediate return of the mob. I said to Mr. Taylor, "This is a hard case to lay you on the floor, but if your wounds are not fatal, I want you to live to tell the story." I expected to be shot the next moment, and stood before the doors awaiting the onset.

There was, however, no further onset made on the jail.

Three minutes after the attack was commenced, Hyrum Smith lay stretched out on the floor of the prison dead, Elder Taylor lay not far from him savagely wounded, the Prophet was lying by the side of the well curb,* just under the window from

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* It is said that after Joseph fell by the well curb under the window from which he attempted to leap, he was set up against that curb and Colonel Levi Williams ordered four men to fire at him, which they did. It is then said that a ruffian bareheaded and barefooted, his pantaloons rolled up above his knees and his shirt sleeves above his elbows, approached the dead Prophet bowie-knife in hand with the intention it is supposed of severing the head from the body. He had raised his hand to strike, when a light so sudden and powerful flashed upon the bloody scene that the mob was terror-stricken. The arm of the would-be mutilator of the dead fell powerless at his side, the four muskets of those who fired at him fell to the ground, while their

which he had attempted to leap, the plighted faith of a State was broken, its honor trailed in the dust, and a stain of innocent blood affixed to its escutcheon which shall remain a disgrace forever.

When it was known that the Prophet was killed, consternation seemed to seize the mob and they fled, for the most part, in the direction of Warsaw, in the utmost confusion. Such wild confusion reigned in Carthage that it was nearly midnight before Elder Richards could obtain any help or refreshments for Elder Taylor. At last the wounded man was taken to the Hamilton House and his wounds dressed. The bodies of Joseph and Hyrum were also taken to the same place and laid out.

Meantime Governor Ford had gone to Nauvoo, where he arrived some time in the afternoon. Several thousands assem-

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owners stood like marble statues unable to move, or join their companions in the hurried and confused retreat they were then making, and Colonel Williams had to call upon some of the retreating mob to carry them away. The history is based upon the statements of Wm. M. Daniels, ——Blackenberry and a Miss Graham, but how far their statements are correct I have no means of judging. When at Carthage I became acquainted with W. R. Hamilton, son of the Mr. Hamilton who kept the Hamilton House, referred to several times in these pages, and who just previous to the murder of the Prophet and his brother had been enrolled as a member of the company of Carthage Greys. At the time of the attack on the jail he was on the public square and at once ran in the direction of the jail and was in full view of it all the time. He saw the Prophet appear at the window and half leap and half fall out of it. After which the mob fled precipitously. According to his statement there was no such an occurrence as setting the body against the well, etc. He claims to have been about the first who went to the body of the murdered man, and afterwards rendered some assistance in removing Elder Taylor and the bodies of the martyrs to his father's house.

It is worthy of note that nothing of all this is recorded by Willard Richards, and it smacks too much of the fanciful. There is too much deliberation in it to believe it to be the action of a mob.—*R.*

bled to hear his speech, that he went there to deliver; and he insulted them, by assuming that all that their worst enemies had said of them was true, and threatened them with most dire calamities. He himself in his history of Illinois, says the people manifested some impatience and anger when he referred to the misconduct alleged against them by their enemies; and well they might, for baser falsehoods were never put in circulation to slander a people.

The governor was invited to stay all night, but he refused and left the city about 6:30 in the evening for Carthage, his escort riding full speed up Main street performing the sword exercise; they passed the temple, and so left the city.

Three miles out the governor and his escort met George D. Grant and David Bettisworth, riding toward Nauvoo like madmen with the sad news of the death of Joseph and Hyrum. The governor took them back with him to Grant's house, one and one half miles east of Carthage, that the news might not reach Nauvoo until he had had time to have the county records removed from the court house, and warn the people of Carthage to flee, as he expected an immediate attack from the Nauvoo Legion, and that the whole country would be laid waste.

After being taken back to Carthage, George D. Grant mounted another horse and rode that night with the awful news to Nauvoo.

On the arrival of Governor Ford at Carthage the following note was addressed to Mrs. Emma Smith and Major-General Dunham of the Nauvoo Legion, dated Midnight, Hamilton House, Carthage:

The governor has just arrived; says all things shall be inquired into, and all right measures taken. I say to all citizens of Nauvoo—My brethren, be still, and know that God *reigns*. *Don't rush out of the city*—don't rush to Carthage—stay at home and be prepared for an attack from Missouri mobbers. The governor will render every

assistance possible—has sent orders for troops. Joseph and Hyrum are dead, will prepare to move the bodies as soon as possible.

The people of the county are greatly excited, and fear the Mormons will come out and take vengeance. I have pledged my word the Mormons will stay at home as soon as they can be informed, and no violence will be on their part, and say to my brethren in Nauvoo, in the name of the Lord, be still; be patient, only let such friends as choose come here to see the bodies. Mr. Taylor's wounds are dressed, and not serious. I am sound.

WILLARD RICHARDS.

After the note was prepared the governor wrote an order to the people of Nauvoo to defend themselves, and then about one o'clock in the morning went out on the public square and advised all present to disperse, as he expected the Mormons would be so exasperated that they would burn the town. Upon this the people of Carthage fled in all directions, and the governor and his *posse* took flight in the direction of Quincy; but there was no uprising and violence on the part of the Saints.

The next day the bodies of the murdered men were taken to Nauvoo. About one mile east of the temple, on Mullholland street, they were met by the people in solemn procession, under the direction of the city marshal. Neither tongue nor pen can ever describe the scene of sorrow and lamentation which was there beheld. The love of Joseph and Hyrum for the Saints was unbounded, and it had begotten in the people an affection for them that was equally dear and unselfish. They lived in the hearts of the Saints, and thousands would have laid down their lives willingly to have saved theirs. With their beloved and trusted leaders thus brutally snatched from them; under such circumstances of cruelty and official treachery, imagine, if you can, the mingled feelings of sorrow and righteous indignation that struggled in every heart, and sought expression!

Arriving at the Mansion, the bodies were taken into it to be prepared for burial; and Elder Willard Richards and

others addressed some eight or ten thousand of the people in the open air. The Saints were advised to keep the peace. Elder Richards stated that he had pledged his honor and his life for their conduct. When the multitude heard that, notwithstanding the sense of outraged justice under which they labored, and this cruel invasion of the rights of liberty and life —in the very midst of their grief and excitement, with the means in their right hands to wreak a terrible vengeance, they voted to a man to trust to the LAW to deal with the assassins, and if that failed them, they would call upon God to avenge them of their wrongs! History records few actions so sublime as this; and it stands to this day a testimony of the devotion of the Latter-day Saints to law and order, the like of which is not paralleled in the history of our country, if in the world.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CONFUSION—CHOOSING A LEADER.

THE Saints at Nauvoo were now as sheep without a shepherd. They had never contemplated such a crisis as this. That their Prophet would be taken from them had not entered their minds, although in the closing days of his career he had frequently spoken of his fate if again he should fall into the hands of his enemies. On the twenty-second of June, five days preceding his death, at the conclusion of the consultation with several of Nauvoo's leading citizens, and at which time it was decided that the safest thing for himself and Hyrum to do was to go West, he remarks in his journal: "I told Stephen Markham that if I and Hyrum were ever taken again we should be massacred, or I was not a Prophet of God."

When the cowardly appeal made to him by false friends to return to Nauvoo, after he had crossed the Mississippi on his way to the West, was under consideration by himself and a few friends, he said to his brother, Hyrum Smith: "Brother Hyrum, you are the oldest, what shall we do?" Hyrum replied, "Let us go back and give ourselves up, and see the thing out." "If you go back," replied the Prophet, "I shall go with you, but we shall be butchered." Then again, after it was determined to adopt the course suggested by Hyrum, and the party was on the way to the river where they were to take boats for the Nauvoo side, the Prophet lingered behind the rest of the party talking with O. P. Rockwell. Those in advance shouted to them to come on. Joseph replied, "It is no use to hurry, for we are going back to be slaughtered."

On arriving at Nauvoo, Hyrum, too, seemed to have been impressed with a sense of their approaching fate, for on the morning of the twenty-fourth of June, when the first start was made for Carthage, he read the following significant passage in the Book of Mormon, and turned down the leaf upon it:

And it came to pass that I prayed unto the Lord that he would give unto the Gentiles grace, that they might have charity. And it came to pass that the Lord said unto me, if they have not charity it mattereth not unto you, thou hast been faithful; wherefore thy garments are clean. And because thou hast seen thy weakness, thou shalt be made strong, even to the sitting down in the place which I have prepared in the mansions of my father. And now I * * * * bid farewell unto the Gentiles; yea and also unto my brethren whom I love, until we shall meet before the judgment seat of Christ, when all men shall know that my garments are not spotted with your blood.*

I have already quoted the pathetic words of the Prophet on meeting Captain Dunn's company of militia four miles out from Carthage, when he said: "I am going like a lamb to the slaughter; but I am calm as a summer's morning; I have a conscience void of offense towards God and towards all men. I shall die innocent, and it shall yet be said of me—He was murdered in cold blood."

I have also related the circumstance of his lingering to look at his farm as he left Nauvoo for the last time, and clearly intimated that he would never see it again. But notwithstanding these very plain intimations concerning his approaching death, the Saints apparently could not comprehend them. They did not sense them; and when his death so sudden and pitiful did come, it scarcely seemed possible to them that it had taken place. They were unprepared for it, and, as I say, were now like sheep without a shepherd.

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*Book of Mormon, Ether, Chap. xii.

Sidney Rigdon, the Prophet's first counselor, was in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. He had removed from Nauvoo to Pittsburg, notwithstanding in a revelation* from God he had been required to make his home in Nauvoo, and stand in his office and calling of counselor and spokesman to the Prophet. The truth is that from the expulsion of the Saints from Missouri in 1838-9, Sidney Rigdon had been of but little service either to the Church or to the Prophet as a counselor. He was a man of admitted ability as an orator, but lacked discretion; a man of fervid imagination, but of inferior judgment; ambitious of place and honor, but without that steadiness of purpose and other qualities of soul which in time secure them. In the early years of The Church he suffered much for the cause of God, but he also complained much; especially was this the case in respect to the hardships endured in Missouri, and subsequently of his poverty and illness at Nauvoo. This habit of complaining doubtless did much to deprive him of the Spirit of the Lord; for at times it bordered upon blasphemy. More than once he was heard to say that Jesus Christ was a fool in suffering as compared with himself! Having lost, in part at least, the Spirit of the Lord, his interest in The Church and its work waned, and after the settlement at Nauvoo he was seldom seen in the councils of the Priesthood. Moreover, it was known that he was in sympathy and even in communication with some of the avowed enemies of Joseph, among others with that arch traitor, John C. Bennett, who was plotting the overthrow of both Joseph and The Church. It was doubtless these considerations which led Joseph to make an effort to get rid of Sidney Rigdon as counselor at the October conference in 1843.

On that occasion the Prophet represented to The Church that such had been the course of Sidney Rigdon that he considered it no longer his duty to sustain him as his counselor.

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* Doc. & Cov., Sec. cxxiv, 103-106.

Hyrum Smith, however, pleaded the cause of his fellow-counselor, and so strongly urged the Saints to deal mercifully with Sidney Rigdon, that when the question of sustaining him was presented to the conference, the Saints voted in his favor. "I have thrown him off my shoulders, and you have again put him on me," said Joseph. "You may carry him, but I will not." And so confident was he that Sidney Rigdon would continue to fail in the performance of his duty, that he ordained Elder Amasa Lyman to succeed him, both as counselor and spokesman. "Some of the Elders did not understand how Elder Lyman could be ordained to succeed Elder Rigdon, as The Church had voted to try him another year. Elder Joseph Smith was requested to give an explanation. Why, said he, by the same rule that Samuel anointed David to be king over Israel, while Saul was yet crowned. Please read the sixteenth chapter of first Samuel. Elder Smith's explanation, though short, proved a quietus to all their rising conjectures."*

Notwithstanding all his fair promises of amendment, Sidney Rigdon continued neglectful of his high duties, and if for a time his old-time enthusiasm revived—as it seemed to at the April conference following, it was as the flickering flame of a tallow dip only—not the steady rays of the ever-shining sun. He longed to return to the East; and notwithstanding the word of the Lord commanding him to make his home at Nauvoo, he frequently talked with Joseph about going to Pittsburg to live, and finally obtained his consent to go there, and take his family with him, and, as I said before, he was there when the martyrdom occurred.

William Law, who had been the Prophet's second counselor, was in open apostasy and rebellion against him. He had been and was the associate of a corrupt band of men bent on the destruction of the Prophet. Prompted by a spirit of mercy, the

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*Tract on Sidney Rigdon, by Jedediah M. Grant, pp. 15, 16.

April conference of 1843 had passed without taking action against either William Law, or any of the other apostates; but on the eighteenth of April, at a council of the Priesthood, when six of the Twelve Apostles were present, William Law and several other apostates were excommunicated from The Church; and later William Law undertook the organization of a church after the pattern of the Church of Christ, but it was a miserable failure.

The Twelve Apostles were nearly all absent in the Eastern States on missions; and although messengers were sent to call them to Nauvoo immediately after the Prophet's martyrdom, it would be some time before they could arrive. So that it was a time of general anxiety and depression.

It was in the midst of such circumstances as these that Sidney Rigdon arrived in Nauvoo and demanded that he be appointed "guardian" of The Church. He ignored the members of the quorum of the Twelve who were in the city—Elders Willard Richards, John Taylor and Parley P. Pratt; he conferred with Elder William Marks, president of the stake of Nauvoo, and at once began agitating the question of appointing a "guardian" to The Church. He arrived in Nauvoo on Saturday, the third of August; next day he harangued the Saints, who assembled in the grove near the temple, upon the necessity of appointing a "guardian" to build up The Church to the martyred Prophet, and in the afternoon meeting urged William Marks to make a special appointment for the Saints to assemble on the following Tuesday for that purpose. Elder Marks was in sympathy with Sidney Rigdon, but for some reason he refused to make the appointment for Tuesday, but made it for Thursday, the eighth of August. This was a most fortunate circumstance, since a sufficient number of the Twelve to make a majority of that quorum arrived on the evening of the sixth, and, of course, they were in time to be present at the meeting to be held on the eighth. The day previous to that meeting, however—the

seventh of August—the Twelve called a meeting of the high council and high priests, before which they called on Sidney Rigdon to make a statement of his purposes and relate the revelation he claimed to have received at Pittsburg, which prompted his journey to Nauvoo. In substance he replied that the object of his visit was to offer himself to the Saints as a "guardian;" that it had been shown to him in vision at Pittsburg, that The Church must be built up to Joseph the martyr; that all the blessings the Saints could receive would be through their late Prophet; that no man could be a successor to Joseph; that The Church was not disorganized, though the head was gone; that he had been commanded to come to Nauvoo and see that The Church was governed properly, and propose himself to be a "guardian" to the people.*

To this Elder Brigham Young replied:

I do not care who leads this Church, even though it were Ann Lee; but one thing I must know, and that is, what God says about it. I have the keys and the means of obtaining the mind of God on the subject. * * * Joseph conferred upon our heads all the keys and powers belonging to the Apostleship which he himself held before he was taken away, and no man nor set of men can get between Joseph and the Twelve in this world or in the world to come. How often has Joseph said to the Twelve, I have laid the foundation and you must build thereon, for upon your shoulders the Kingdom rests.†

The next day was the one appointed by Sidney Rigdon for The Church to assemble and choose a "guardian." The attendance was large, as intense interest had been awakened upon the

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*History of Joseph Smith, Millennial Star, Volume xxv, page 215.

†History of Joseph Smith, Millennial Star, Volume xxv, page 215.

subject to be considered. Sidney Rigdon addressed the assembly, setting forth his claim to the "guardianship" of The Church. He had full opportunity to present his case and for one hour and a half spoke without interruption; but despite his reputation as an orator, he failed to convince the Saints that he was sent of God.

As soon as Sidney Rigdon had closed his speech, Elder Brigham Young arose and made a few remarks. It was on that occasion that he was transfigured before the people, so that through him the Saints heard the voice and felt the presence of their departed leader. George Q. Cannon, who was present on that occasion, says:

> If Joseph had risen from the dead and again spoken in their hearing, the effect could not have been more startling than it was to many present at that meeting, it was the voice of Joseph himself; and not only was it the voice of Joseph which was heard, but it seemed in the eyes of the people as if it were the very person of Joseph which stood before them. A more wonderful and miraculous event than was wrought that day in the presence of that congregation, we never heard of. The Lord gave His people a testimony that left no room for doubt as to who was the man chosen to lead them. They both saw and heard with their natural eyes and ears, and the words which were uttered came, accompanied by the convincing power of God, to their hearts, and they were filled with the Spirit and with great joy. There had been gloom, and in some hearts, probably, doubt and uncertainty, but now it was plain to all that here was the man upon whom the Lord had bestowed the necessary authority to act in their midst in Joseph's stead. On that occasion Brigham Young seemed to be transformed, and a change such as that we read of in the scriptures, as happening to the Prophet Elisha, when Elijah was translated in his presence, seemed to have taken place with him. The mantle of the Prophet Joseph had been left for Brigham. * * * The people said one to another: "The spirit of Joseph rests on Brigham;" they knew that he was the man chosen to lead them and they honored him accordingly. * * * As far as our observation went

(we were only a boy at the time) the people were divided into three classes from the time of the death of Joseph up to this meeting of which we speak. One class felt clearly and understandingly that President Brigham Young was the man whose right it was to preside, he being the president of the Twelve Apostles, and that body being, through the death of Joseph and Hyrum, the presiding quorum of The Church. Another class were not quite clear as to who would be called to preside, but they felt very certain that Sidney Rigdon was not the man. They did not believe that God would choose a coward and traitor to lead His people, to both of which characters they believed Rigdon had a claim. The third class, and we think its members were few, was composed of those who had no clear views one way or the other. They were undecided in their feelings. * * * With very few exceptions, then, the people returned to their homes from that meeting filled with great rejoicing. All uncertainty and anxiety were removed. They had heard the voice of the shepherd and they knew it.

In the journal of Elder William C. Staines, of that date, the following statement is recorded:

Brigham Young said: "I will tell you who your leaders or guardians will be. The Twelve—I at their head!" This was with a voice like the voice of the Prophet Joseph. I thought it was he, and so did thousands who heard it. This was very satisfactory to the people, and a vote was taken to sustain the Twelve in their office, which, with a few dissenting voices, was passed."

President Wilford Woodruff, describing the event, says:

When Brigham Young arose and commenced speaking * * * if I had not seen him with my own eyes, there is no one that could have convinced me that it was not Joseph Smith; and anyone can testify to this who was acquainted with these two men.*

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* The above remark of President Woodruff's is taken from a testimony of his following a discourse on the subject of Priesthood and the right of succession, delivered by the writer.—*Deseret Evening News*, March 12, 1892.

The remarks of Elder Young, during which he was transfigured before the people, closed the forenoon meeting. When in the afternoon The Church again assembled Elder Young addressed them at some length on the subject of appointing a leader for The Church, representing the claims of the Twelve as the quorum having the right to act in the absence of the late Prophet-President. Following are some quotations from a summary of his speech taken down at the time:

For the first time in my life, for the first time in your lives, for the first time in the Kingdom of God in the nineteenth century, without a prophet at our head, do I step forth to act in my calling in connection with the quorum of the Twelve, as Apostles of Jesus Christ unto this generation—Apostles whom God has called by revelation through the Prophet Joseph, who are ordained and anointed to bear off the keys of the Kingdom of God in all the world.

* * * If any man thinks he has influence among this people, to lead away a party, let him try it, and he will find out that there is a power with the Apostles, which will carry them off victorious through all the world, and build up and defend The Church and Kingdom of God.

* * * If the people want President Rigdon to lead them, they may have him; but I say unto you that the Quorum of the Twelve have the keys of the Kingdom of God in all the world. The Twelve were appointed by the finger of God. Here is Brigham, have his knees ever faltered? Have his lips ever quivered? Here is Heber,* and the rest of the Twelve, an independent body, who have the keys of the Priesthood—the keys of the Kingdom of God—to deliver to all the world; this is true, so help me God. They stand next to Joseph, and are as the First Presidency of The Church.

* * * You must not appoint any man at our head; if you should, the Twelve must ordain him. You cannot appoint a man at our head; but if you do want any other man or men to lead you,

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* Heber C. Kimball.

take them and we will go our way to build up the Kingdom in all the world.

* * * Brother Joseph, the Prophet, has laid the foundation for a grand work, and we will build upon it; you have never seen the quorums built one upon another. There is an almighty foundation laid, and we can build a kingdom such as there never was in the world; we can build a kingdom faster than the devil can kill the Saints off.

Now if you want Sidney Rigdon or William Law* to lead you, or anybody else, you are welcome to them; but I tell you in the name of the Lord, that no man can put another between the Twelve and the Prophet Joseph. Why? Because Joseph was their file leader, and he has committed into their hands the keys of the Kingdom in this last dispensation, for all the world; don't put a thread between the Priesthood and God.†

Elder Amasa Lyman spoke in support of the Twelve; and then Sidney Rigdon was granted the privilege of speaking; he declined personally, but called on Elder W. W. Phelps to speak in his behalf. Elder Phelps, while evidently having some sympathy with Elder Rigdon, supported the claims of the Twelve. After further discussion Elder Young arose to put the question as to whether The Church would sustain the Twelve or Sidney Rigdon:

I do not ask you to take my counsel or advice alone, but every one of you act for yourselves; but if Brother Rigdon is the person you want to lead you, vote for him, but not unless you intend to follow him and support him as you did Joseph. * * * And I would say the same of the Twelve, don't make a covenant to support them unless you intend to abide by their counsel. * * * I want

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* William Law had been a counselor to the Prophet Joseph, but was found in transgression and apostasy, had been excommunicated, and was among those who brought about the martyrdom at Carthage.

† Millennial Star, volume xxv: pages 216, 231-32-33.

every man before he enters into a covenant, to know what he is going to do; but we want to know if this people will support the Priesthood in the name of Israel's God. If you say you will, do so.*

Elder Young was then about to put the question to the assembled quorums as to whether they wanted Elder Rigdon for a leader, when, at the request of the latter, the question on supporting the Twelve as the presiding quorum in The Church was first put in the following manner:

Do The Church want, and is it their only desire, to sustain the Twelve as the First Presidency of this people? * * * If The Church want the Twelve to stand as the head of this Kingdom in all the world, stand next to Joseph, walk up into their calling, and hold the keys of this Kingdom—every man, every woman, every quorum is now put in order, and you are now the sole controllers of it—all that are in favor of this in all the congregation of the Saints, manifest it by holding up the right hand. (There was a universal vote.) If there are any of a contrary mind—every man and every woman who does not want the Twelve to preside, lift up your hands in like manner. (No hands up.) This supersedes the other question, and trying it by quorums.†

This disposed of Sidney Rigdon. He had full opportunity to present his case before The Church. The Saints had full opportunity and liberty to vote for him had they wanted him for their leader; but they rejected him and sustained the Twelve.

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* Millennial Star, volume xxv: page 264.

† That is, whether The Church wanted to have Sidney Rigdon for a "guardian" or leader.

CHAPTER XL.

THE TRIAL OF THE MURDERERS.

MEANTIME there was considerable excitement in Hancock County, since the mob party were determined to elect officers who would screen the murderers of the Prophets. The Saints were equally determined to vote for those whom they believed would sustain law and order; and the following were put forward as candidates for the county and district offices and elected: M. R. Deming, sheriff; D. H. Wells, coroner; George Coulson, commissioner; J. B. Backenstos and A. W. Babbitt, representatives.

The account of the trial of the miscreants charged with the murder of the Prophet I take from Gregg's "History of Hancock County," beginning at page 328:

TRIALS AND ACQUITTALS.

At the October [1844] term of the Hancock Circuit Court—present Jesse B. Thomas, judge; William Elliott, prosecuting attorney; Jacob B. Backenstos, clerk; General Minor R. Deming, sheriff.

The following is the grand jury:

Abram Lincoln, Jas. Reynolds, Th. J. Graham, Wm. M. Owens, Ebenezer Rand, Th. Brawner, Ralph Gorrell, Brant Agnert, Martin Getter, Wm. Smith, Th. Gilmore, Benj. Warrington, Reuben H. Loomis, Samuel Scott, Jas. Ward, Samuel Ramsy, Th. H. Owen, David Thompson, John J. Hickok.

Abraham Golden, E. A. Bedell and Geo. Walker excused for cause. Samuel Marshall refused to serve, and fined $5.00.

The court began its session on Monday the 21st. There had been rumors industriously circulated that the old citizens intended to rally and interpose obstacles in the way of the court and considerable anx-

iety was felt. The judge in his charge to the grand jury alluded to this rumor and said he was glad to see that no such demonstration was made. He charged them to do their duty in the case likely to come before them and leave the consequences. His charge gave general satisfaction.

There was a rumor that a lot of Mormons and Indians were encamped near the town and this rumor occasioned considerable uneasiness. Orders were issued to investigate. The facts turned out to be that a number of Mormons had come down from Nauvoo to attend court, and had gone into camp to save expense. As to the Indians it was ascertained that a company of them had gone through the county on their way to Iowa, for some purpose unknown; but the two facts had no connection with each other.

On Tuesday the grand jury began their work, and on Saturday about noon they brought into court two bills of indictment against nine individuals—one for the murder of Joseph Smith and the other for the murder of Hyrum Smith. The persons indicted were as follows: Levi Williams, Jacob C. Davis, Mark Aldrich, Thomas C. Sharp, Wm. Voras, John Wills, Wm. N. Grover, ——— Gallaher and ——— Allen.

Murry McConnell, Esq., of Jacksonville by special appointment of the governor was present assisting Mr. Elliot in the prosecution. Messrs. Bushnell and Johnson of Quincy and Calvin A. Warren, and perhaps others appeared for the defendants.

Immediately on announcement of the indictments most of the defendants appeared and asked for an immediate trial. This Mr. McConnell objected to on the grounds of not being ready. His witnesses before the grand jury had departed without being recognized, and besides, Mr. Elliot had gone. It was finally agreed that the causes should be postponed until next term, and that no *capias* should issue from the clerk in the interim if the defendents would pledge themselves to appear at the time. Agreed on—a compact which was afterwards violated by the prosecution.

Subpœnas were asked for by the prosecution for between thirty and forty witnesses, among whom were William M.Daniels and Brackenberry, the two miracle men, and John Taylor, Mrs. Emma Smith and Governor Ford.

On May 19, 1845, court again met in special term at Carthage. Present, Richard M. Young, judge; James H. Ralston, prosecuting attorney; David E. Head, clerk; and R. H. Deming, sheriff. The cause of the people *vs.* Williams *et al* coming up, Messrs. Williams, Davis, Aldrich, Sharp and Grover appeared and were admitted to bail on personal recognizance in the sums of $5,000.00 jointly and severally. Josiah Lamborn of Jacksonville as assistant prosecuting attorney and William A. Richardson, O. H. Browning, Calvin A. Warren, Archibald Williams, O. C. Skinner and Tho. Morrison for defendants. Motion of defendants to quash the array of jurors for first week, on account of supposed prejudice of county commissioners who selected them and of the sheriff and deputies was sustained. Also motion for the appointment of elisors for the same cause, and absence of coroner from county. The array was set aside, and Tho. H. Owen and Wm. D. Arbenethy appointed elisors for the case. These gentlemen had a thankless and arduous duty to perform. Usually it is not difficult to find men willing to sit on juries; in this case few were willing to try the experiment of going into court, with the almost certainty of being rejected by one or the other party, and the position was not an enviable one, if taken. Ninety-six men were brought into court before the requisite panel of 12 was full. The following are names of the jurors chosen:

Jesse Griffiths, Joseph Jones, Wm. Robertson, William Smith, Joseph Massey, Silas Griffiths, Jonathan Foy, Solomon J. Hill, James Gittings, F. M. Walton, Jabez A. Beebe, Gilmore Callison.

The trial lasted till the 30th when the jury was instructed by the court and after a deliberation of several hours returned a verdict of *not guilty.*

Instructions to the jury had been asked by both parties, the following among a list of nine asked by defendants' counsel, were given, and probably had most influence on the verdict.

"That where the evidence is circumstantial admitting all to be proven that the evidence tends to prove, if then the jury can make any supposition consistent with the facts, by which the murder might have been committed without the agency of the defendants, it will be their duty to make that supposition, and find defendants not guilty.

"That in making up their verdict, they will exclude from their

consideration all that was said by Daniels, Brackenberry and Miss Graham. [Witnesses, see note, p. 319.]

"That whenever the probability is of a definite and limited nature whether in proportion of 100 to 1 or 1,000 to 1 or any rate is immaterial, it cannot be made the ground of conviction, for to act upon it in any case would be to decide that for the sake of convicting many criminals, the life of one innocent man might be sacrificed [Starkie 508.]"

Same defendants, for murder of Hyrum Smith were requested to enter into recognizance of $5,000 each (with fourteen sureties) to the June term, 1845. At said term case was called, and Elliot and Lamborn not answering, the cause was dismissed for want of prosecution and defendants discharged.

Colonel John Hay, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for December, 1869, published an article on this subject. Although but a mere boy at the time of this trial he had within his reach sources of correct information. (He was a member of the State department subsequently.)

He says: "The case was closed. There was not a man on the jury, in the court, in the county, that did not know the defendants had done the murder. But it was not proven, and the verdict of not guilty was right in law. * * * The elisors presented 99 men before 12 were found ignorant enough and indifferent enough to act as jurors."

The fact is, the trial amounted to nothing more than a farce. The law had been outraged, the honor of the State betrayed, her plighted faith was shamefully broken, and there was not virtue enough in the people to demand its vindication. Nor is this at all an exaggerated statement of the matter. The governor of Illinois himself—Thomas Ford—admits all that is here said. Of the atrocious deed itself and his determination to bring the murderers to justice he says:

I had determined from the first that some of the ringleaders in the foul murder of the Smiths should be brought to trial. If these men had been the incarnation of Satan himself, as was believed by many, their murder was a foul and treacherous action,

*alike disgraceful to those who perpetrated the crime, to the State, and to the governor, whose word had been pledged for the protection of the prisoners in jail, and which had been so shamefully violated; and required that the most vigorous means should be used to bring the assassins to punishment.**

Speaking of the trial, Governor Ford says:

Accordingly, I employed able lawyers to hunt up the testimony, procure indictments, and prosecute the offenders. A trial was had before Judge Young in the summer of 1845. The sheriff and panel of jurors, selected by the Mormon court, were set aside for prejudice, and elisors were appointed to select a new jury. One friend of the Mormons and one anti-Mormon were appointed for this purpose; but as more than a thousand men had assembled under arms at the court, to keep away the Mormons and their friends, the jury was made up of these military followers of the court, who all swore that they had never formed or expressed any opinion as to the guilt or innocence of the accused. The Mormons had one principal* witness who was with the troops at Warsaw, had marched with them until they disbanded heard their consultations, went before them to Carthage, and saw them murder the Smiths. But before the trial came on, they induced him to become a Mormon; and being much more anxious for the glorification of the Prophet than to avenge his death, the Mormons made him publish a pamphlet giving an account of the murder; in which he professed to have seen a bright and shining light descend upon the head of Joe Smith to strike some of the conspirators with blindness; and that he heard supernatural voices in the air confirming his mission as a Prophet! Having published this in a book, he was compelled to swear to it in court, which of course destroyed the credit of his evidence. This witness was afterwards expelled by the Mormons, but no doubt they will cling to his evidence in favor of the divine mission of the Prophet.† Many other wit-

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*Ford's History of Illinois, page 367.

† This the "Mormons," however, have not done; and no well informed "Mormon," regards the story as being vouched for in any

nesses were examined who knew the facts, but under the influence of the demoralization of faction, denied all knowledge of them. It has been said, that faction may find men honest, but it scarcely ever leaves them so. This was verified to the letter in the history of the Mormon quarrel. The accused were all acquitted.

During the progress of these trials, the judge was compelled to permit the courthouse to be filled and surrounded by armed bands who attended court to browbeat and overawe the administration of justice. The judge himself was in a duress, and informed me that he did not consider his life secure any part of the time. The consequence was that the crowd had everything their own way; the lawyers for the defense defended their clients by a long and elaborate attack upon the governor; the armed mob stamped with their feet and yelled their approbation at every sarcastic and smart thing that was said, and the judge was not only forced to hear it, but to lend it a kind of approval.*

And now in conclusion, as promised in the footnote on this page, I quote the statement of the martyrdom as vouched for by The Church, and published in the book of Doctrine and Covenants:

To seal the testimony of this book and the Book of Mormon, we announce the martyrdom of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and Hyrum Smith the Patriarch. They were shot in Carthage jail, on the 27th of June, 1844, about five o'clock p. m., by an armed mob, painted black—of from 150 to 200 persons. Hyrum was shot first and fell calmly, exclaiming, "I am a dead man!" Joseph leaped from the window, and was shot dead in the attempt, exclaiming, "O Lord, my God!" They were both shot after they were dead in a brutal manner and both received four balls.

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authoritative way by The Church. The only authoritative account of the sad martyrdom of the Prophets for which The Church stands responsible is that published in the Doctrine and Covenants, section CXXXV (and which is published at the close of this chapter); and in that account the element of the miraculous enters not at all.

*Ford's History of Illinois, pages 367, 368.

John Taylor and Willard Richards, two of the Twelve, were the only persons in the room at the time; the former was wounded in a savage manner with four balls, but has since recovered; the latter, through the providence of God, escaped, "without even a hole in his robe."

Joseph Smith, the Prophet and Seer of the Lord, has done more (save Jesus only,) for the salvation of men in this world, than any other man that ever lived in it. In the short space of twenty years, he has brought forth the Book of Mormon, which he translated by the gift and power of God, and has been the means of publishing it on two continents; has sent the fullness of the everlasting gospel which it contained to the four quarters of the earth; has brought forth the revelations and commandments which compose this Book of Doctrine and Covenants, and many other wise documents and instructions for the benefit of the children of men; gathered many thousands of the Latter-day Saints, founded a great city; and left a fame and name that cannot be slain. He lived great, and he died great in the eyes of God and his people, and like most of the Lord's anointed in ancient times, has sealed his mission and his works with his own blood—and so has his brother Hyrum. In life they were not divided, and in death they were not separated!

When Joseph went to Carthage to deliver himself up to the pretended requirements of the law, two or three days previous to his assassination, he said, "I am going like a lamb to the slaughter; but I am calm as a summer's morning; I have a conscience void of offense towards God, and towards all men. I SHALL DIE INNOCENT, AND IT SHALL YET BE SAID OF ME—HE WAS MURDERED IN COLD BLOOD." The same morning, after Hyrum had made ready to go—shall it be said to the slaughter? Yes, for so it was,—he read the following paragraph, near the close of the fifth chapter of Ether, in the Book of Mormon, and turned down the leaf upon it:—

"And it came to pass that I prayed unto the Lord that he would give unto the Gentiles grace, that they might have charity. And it came to pass that the Lord said unto me, if they have not charity, it mattereth not unto you, thou hast been faithful; wherefore thy garments are clean. And because thou hast seen thy weakness, thou shalt be made strong, even unto the sitting down in the place which

I have prepared in the mansions of my Father. And now I * * bid farewell unto the Gentiles; yea and also unto my brethren whom I love, until we shall meet before the judgment-seat of Christ, where all men shall know that my garments are not spotted with your blood." The testators are now dead, and their testament is in force.

Hyrum Smith was 44 years old, February, 1844, and Joseph Smith was 38 in December, 1843; and henceforward their names will be classed among the martyrs of religion; and the reader in every nation will be reminded that the "Book of Mormon," and this book of Doctrine and Covenants of the Church, cost the best blood of the nineteenth century to bring them forth for the salvation of a ruined world: and that if the fire can scathe a *green tree* for the glory of God, how easy it will burn up the "dry trees" to purify the vineyard of corruption. They lived for glory; they died for glory; and glory is their eternal reward. From age to age shall their names go down to posterity as gems for the sanctified.

They were innocent of any crime, as they had often been proved before, and were only confined in jail by the conspiracy of traitors and wicked men; and their *innocent blood* on the floor of Carthage jail, is a broad seal affixed to "Mormonism" that cannot be rejected by any court on earth; and their *innocent blood* on the escutcheon of the State of Illinois, with the broken faith of the State as pledged by the governor, is a witness to the truth of the everlasting Gospel, that all the world cannot impeach; and their *innocent blood* on the banner of liberty, and on the *magna charta* of the United States, is an ambassador for the religion of Jesus Christ, that will touch the hearts of honest men among all nations; and their *innocent blood*, with the innocent blood of all the martyrs under the altar that John saw, will cry unto the Lord of hosts, till He avenges that blood on the earth. Amen.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE EXODUS—THE FALL OF NAUVOO.

IT is thought by some that our enemies would be satisfied with my destruction; but I tell you that as soon as they have shed my blood, they will thirst for the blood of every man in whose heart dwells a single spark of the spirit of the fullness of the Gospel. The opposition of these men is moved by the spirit of the adversary of all righteousness. It is not only to destroy me, but every man and woman who dares believe the doctrines that God hath inspired me to teach in this generation.

Such were the words of the Prophet Joseph Smith to the Nauvoo Legion on the eighteenth of June, 1844. And the action of the old citizens of Hancock and the surrounding counties subsequent to the murder of the Prophet, prove how truly inspired were the words we have quoted. For no sooner did they discover that the work which Joseph had begun refused to die with him, than they renewed hostilities, and sought by every means their wicked hearts could devise to harass and destroy those who devoted their energies to the consummation of the work which had been started.

The mockery of a trial given those who had murdered the Prophets, emboldened the enemies of the Saints, for they saw justice powerless to vindicate outraged law, and that with impunity they could prey upon the citizens of Nauvoo, whom, it would seem, their hatred had selected for a sacrifice. Thieves and blacklegs generally, saw the opportunity of having their crimes charged upon an innocent people, and established them-

selves in the vicinity of Nauvoo, though principally on the Iowa side of the river, and all the thefts and acts of violence committed by those renegades were charged up to the account of the citizens of Nauvoo, and too gladly believed by the people in the surrounding counties.

Not only were the charges of theft and robbery made against the Sainst, but they were also accused of hiding from justice any and all criminals who came into their midst—that Nauvoo, in short, was a rendezvous for outlaws, counterfeiters and desperate men generally. These charges led the city council on the thirteenth of January, 1845, to investigate the allegations and a series of resolutions were adopted stating that the charges of theft for the most part were fabrications of their enemies bent on ruining the reputation of the city, and defied those who made the charges to sustain with proof a single case where the citizens of Nauvoo had screened criminals from justice.

The council also extended an invitation to all who had reasons to believe that their stolen property was concealed in Nauvoo to come and make diligent search for it, and pledged them the assistance of the council. To hunt out crime and put away everything that could give rise to even a suspicion of concealing criminals, the mayor was authorized to increase the force of police if necessary to five hundred; and the people were called upon to redouble their diligence in preventing criminals from coming among them, and all such persons as soon as discovered were to be given up to the officers of the law.

The next day the action of the city council was submitted to the citizens of Nauvoo, and they approved of it. Fifty delegates were chosen and sent into the surrounding counties to disabuse the public mind relative to the false accusations made against the Saints, and to ask their co-operation in ridding the country of the counterfeiters and thieves which infested it. But all these efforts were fruitless. The falsehoods of their ene-

mies outweighed the truths of the Saints, and prejudice more cruel than hell itself hardened the hearts of the people of Illinois against the appeals of the citizens of Nauvoo, and made them deaf to all entreaties for justice.

Twice during the summer of 1845, Governor Ford himself went to Nauvoo to investigate these charges against her people; and when he came to deal with the "Mormon troubles," in his message to the legislature that fall, after speaking of the charges made, he said:

> Justice, however, requires me to say that I have investigated the charge of promiscuous stealing, and find it to be greatly exaggerated. I could not ascertain that there were a greater proportion of thieves in that community than in any other of the same number of inhabitants, and perhaps if the city of Nauvoo were compared with St. Louis, or any other western city, the proportion would not be so great.

The prejudice, not to say bitterness, of Governor Ford against the Saints would rob his statement of any suspected exaggeration favorable to them.

Nor is Governor Ford's voice the only one which vindicates the character of the citizens of Nauvoo. The deputy sheriff of Hancock County exonerated the Mormon people from any participation in the thefts perpetrated in the surrounding country. He testified that stolen property was brought through the country *via* Nauvoo, passed over the river to the Iowa side and taken into the interior, where it was concealed. He also stated that there were some five or six persons in Nauvoo who were assisting in this nefarious business, but said he, "they are not Mormons nor are they fellowshiped by them."

Notwithstanding all this, misrepresentation so far succeeded in poisoning the minds of the public and the leading men in the State, that in January, 1845, the city charter of Nauvoo and the charter of the Legion were both repealed, and thus

the protecting ægis of the city government was snatched away from her citizens, when most they needed it, and left them exposed to the fury of their enemies.

Of this act of punic faith on the part of the State legislature, the State attorney, Josiah Lamborn, in a letter to Brigham Young, said:

I have always considered that your enemies have been prompted by political and religious prejudices, and by a desire for plunder and blood, more than for the common good. By the repeal of your charter, and by refusing all amendments and modifications, our legislature has given a kind of sanction to the barbarous manner in which you have been treated. Your two representatives exerted themselves to the extent of their ability in your behalf, but the tide of popular passion and frenzy was too strong to be resisted. It is truly a melancholy spectacle to witness the law-makers of a sovereign State condescending to pander to the vices, ignorance and malevolence of a class of people who are at all times ready for riot, murder and rebellion.

Senator Jacob C. Davis was one among those who had been indicted for the murder of Joseph and Hyrum, and of him the attorney-general said:

Your senator, Jacob C. Davis, has done much to poison the minds of members against anything in your favor. He walks at large in defiance of law an indicted murderer. If a Mormon was in his position, the senate would afford no protection, but he would be dragged forth to jail or the gallows, or be shot down by a cowardly and brutal mob.

In the meantime the Twelve Apostles, sustained by the Saints, put forth every exertion to carry out the designs of their martyred Prophet respecting Nauvoo. The Nauvoo House was hurried on, and the walls were growing rapidly under the constant labor of the masons. Work, too, was vigorously prosecuted at the temple. At the time of Joseph's death that edifice was but one story high, yet on the twenty-fourth of May, 1845,

about six o'clock in the morning the cap-stone was laid amid the general rejoicing and shouts of "Hosanna" from the assembled thousands of the Saints. As President Brigham Young finished laying the cap-stone he stood upon it and said:

The last stone is laid upon the temple, and I pray the Almighty in the name of Jesus to defend us in this place, and sustain us until the temple is finished and we have all got our endowments.

The whole congregation then following the motion of President Young shouted as loud as possible: Hosanna! Hosanna! Hosanna! to God and the Lamb! Amen! Amen! and Amen!*

"So let it be, thou Almighty God," solemnly concluded President Young.

Thus the world began to understand that Mormonism was not born to die with its earthly leaders. And it began to be whispered that the Prophet Joseph dead was even more potent than when living. His testimony had been sealed with his blood, and it gave to his life and his labors an additional sanctity in the eyes of his followers, as well as making it more binding upon the world.

Seeing then the continued prosperity of Nauvoo and her citizens, the people in the vicinity of that city and in the surrounding counties again commenced hostilities, if, indeed, it may be said that they had ever ceased. The enormity of the murder at Carthage jail had checked them temporarily; for an instant the torch and assassin's knife had dropped from their nerveless hands and they stood aghast, at that deed of blood. But seeing the work the murdered Prophet had started surviving his fall, they took up again the weapons of fell destruction and rushed once more upon their victims.

Early in September, 1845, mobbing the scattered families of the Saints began in earnest. A meeting was held by anti-

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* Wm. Clayton's journal, under date of May 24, 1845.

Mormons near what was called the "Morley settlement," to devise means of getting rid of the Mormons. During the meeting guns were fired at the house where it was held, and the assault charged upon the Saints, though most likely it was done by some of their own party—that they might have an excuse for their meditated acts of violence upon the people of Nauvoo. Such was the general belief at the time; and Governor Ford in his "History of Illinois," speaking of this circumstance, says:

In the fall of 1845, the anti-Mormons of Lima and Green Plains, held a meeting to devise means for the expulsion of the Mormons from their neighborhood. They appointed some persons of their own number to fire a few shots at the house where they were assembled; but to do it in such a way as to hurt none who attended the meeting. The meeting was held, the house was fired at, but so as to hurt no one; and the anti-Mormons suddenly breaking up their meeting, rode all over the country spreading the dire alarm, that the Mormons had commenced the work of massacre and death.*

The attack was made upon the Morley settlement, and on the eleventh of the month twenty-nine houses were burned down, while their occupants were driven into the bushes where men, women and children laid drenched with rain, anxiously awaiting the breaking of day.

Speaking of this outrage, the editor of the Quincy *Whig*, Mr. Bartlett, said:

Seriously, these outrages should be put a stop to at once; if the Mormons have been guilty of crime why punish them, but do not visit their sins upon defenseless women and children. This is as bad as the savages. * * * It is feared that this rising against the Mormons is not confined to the Morley settlement, but that there is an understanding among the anties in the northern part of this [Adams] and Hancock counties to make a general sweep, burning and destroying the property of the Mormons wherever it can be found. If this

* Ford's History of Illinois, p. 406.

is the case, there will be employment of the executive of the State, and that soon. * * * Still later news from above [referring to Hancock County] was received late on Monday night. The outrages were still continued. The flouring mill, carding machine, etc., of Norman Buel, a Mormon, one mile and a half west of Lima is now a heap of ashes. Colonel Levi Williams, of Green Plains has ordered out his brigade, it is said to aid the anti-Mormons. The anti-Mormons from Shuyler [county] and the adjoining counties, are flocking in and great distress of life and property may be expected. Heaven only knows where these proceedings will end. It is time the strong arm of power was extended to quell them.*

In the midst of the exciting scenes which followed, the sheriff of Hancock County, Mr. J. B. Backenstos proved himself a friend to law and order. He did all in his power to arrest the spread of violence and called upon all law-abiding citizens to act as a *posse comitatus*, but announced it as his opinion that the citizens of Nauvoo had better take no part in suppressing the mob-violence, since that might lead to a civil war. At the same time he told the people of Hancock, that "the Mormon community had acted with more than ordinary forbearance, remaining perfectly quiet, and offering no resistance when their dwellings, their buildings, stacks of grain, etc., were set on fire in their presence. They had forborne until forbearance was no longer a virtue." His vigorous efforts were making headway against the violators of the law; but in consequence of some parties who had sought his life, while acting in his official capacity, being killed, he was arrested† by General John J. Hardin and placed on trial for murder; after which mob-violence went unchecked of justice.

In the midst of these tumultuous scenes a mass meeting of the citizens was convened at Quincy on the twenty-second of

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* The Hancock Mob., p 4, by J. B. Conyers, M. D.

† He was acquitted at his trial which took place at Peoria.

September. It was generally known that the Prophet Joseph had contemplated going west with the main body of The Church, and it was one of the objects of this meeting to appoint a committee to confer with The Church authorities and learn what their present intentions were as to leaving the State. It was expressed as the opinion of that meeting that the only basis upon which the Mormon troubles could be settled would be the removal of that people from Illinois. "It is a settled thing," said Mr. Bartlett, editor of the Quincy *Whig*, in his issue following the meeting of the above date—

> It is a settled thing that the public sentiment of the State is against the Mormons, and it will be in vain for them to contend against it; and to prevent bloodshed, and the sacrifice of many lives on both sides, it is their duty to obey the public will, and leave the State as speedily as possible. That they will do this we have a confident hope—and that too, before the last extreme is resorted to—that of force.

We are sorry to say that many of the leading men of Quincy, principally prominent members of the bar, who before had been kindly disposed towards the citizens of Nauvoo, now turned against them, and became the advocates of violence, and lent the weight and influence of their characters to the support and spread of mob-law. Among such we are sorry to publish Major Warren and O. H. Browning, the latter having defended the Prophet Joseph on more than one occasion when unjustly charged with crime before the courts of the country. His burning words of eloquence, in reciting the wrongs of the Saints, when cruelly expelled from Missouri, would, one would think, have enlisted the sympathy of adamantine hearts; and now to see him leagued with those bent upon bringing about a repetition of these sorrows, is an event to be truly deplored.

In answer to the Quincy committee to state what their pre-

sent intentions were relative to leaving the State, the Twelve handed them the following communication:

NAUVOO, September 24, 1845.

Whereas, a council of the authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, at Nauvoo have this day received a communication from Messrs. Henry Asbury, John P. Robins, Albert G. Pearson, P. A. Goodwin, J. N. Ralston, M. Rogers and E. Congers, committee of the citizens of Quincy, requesting us to communicate in writing our disposition and intention at this time, particularly with regard to removing to some place where the peculiar organization of our Church will not be likely to engender so much strife and contention as unhappily exists at this time in Hancock and some of the adjoining counties;

And, whereas, said committee have reported to us the doings of a public meeting of the citizens of Quincy on the twenty-second inst., by which it appears there are some feelings concerning us as a people, and in relation to which sundry resolutions were passed, purporting to be for the purpose of maintaining or restoring peace to the country;

And, whereas, it is our desire and ever has been, to live in peace with all men, so far as we can, without sacrificing the right to worship God according to the dictates of our own consciences which privilege is granted by the Constitution of these United States; and, whereas, we have time and again, been driven from our peaceful homes, and our women and children have been obliged to live on the prairies, in the forests, on the roads and in tents, in the dead of winter, suffering all manner of hardships—even to death itself—as the people of Quincy well know; the remembrance of whose hospitality, in former days, still causes our hearts to burn with joy, and raise the prayer to heaven for blessing on their heads; and, whereas, it is now so late in the season that it is impossible for us, as a people, to remove this fall without causing a repetition of like sufferings; and, whereas, it has been represented to us from other sources than those named, and even in some communications from the executive of the State, that many of the citizens of the State were unfriendly to our views and principles; and, whereas, many scores of our homes in this

country have been burned to ashes without any justifiable cause or provocation, and we have made no resistance, till compelled by the authorities of the county so to do, and that authority not connected with our Church; and, whereas, said resistance to mobocracy, from legally constituted authority, appears to be misunderstood by some, and misconstrued by others, so as to produce an undue excitement in the public mind; and, whereas, we desire peace above all earthly blessings;

Therefore, we would say to the committee above mentioned, and to the governor, and all the authorities and people of Illinois, and the surrounding States and Territories that we propose to leave this county next spring, for some point so remote, that there will not need be any difficulty with the people and ourselves, provided certain propositions necessary for the accomplishment of our removal shall be observed, as follows, to-wit:

That the citizens of this and surrounding counties, and all men, will use their influence and exertion to help us to sell or rent our properties, so as to get means enough that we can help the widow, the fatherless and the destitute to remove with us.

That all men will let us alone with their vexatious law-suits so that we may have time, for we have broken no laws; and help us to cash, dry goods, groceries, etc., to good oxen, beef cattle, sheep, wagons, mules horses, harness, etc., in exchange for our property, at a fair price, and deeds given on payment, that we may have means to accomplish a removal without the suffering of the destitute to an extent beyond the endurance of human nature.

That all exchange of property shall be conducted by a committee, or by committees of both parties; so that all the business may be transacted honorably and speedily.

That we will use all lawful means, in connection with others to preserve the public peace while we tarry; and shall expect, decidedly, that we be no more molested with house-burning, or any other depredations, to waste our property and time, and hinder our business.

That it is a mistaken idea, that we have proposed to leave in six months, for that would be so early in the spring that grass may not grow nor water run; both of which would be necessary for our removal. But we propose to use our influence, to have no more seed

time and harvest among our people in this county after gathering our present crops; and that all communications be made to us in writing.

By order of the council,

BRIGHAM YOUNG,
President.

W. RICHARDS,
Clerk.

The Quincy committee reported to the citizens of that city, the propositions of The Church authorities, which were regarded as satisfactory in part, but thought they were not so full or decisive as was necessary. The mass meeting to which they reported, however, accepted the propositions and decided to recommend the people in the surrounding counties to do the same. "But," said one of the resolutions:

We accept it [the proposition of The Church authorities] as an unconditional proposition to remove. We do not intend to bring ourselves under any obligation to purchase their property or furnish purchasers for the same, but we will in no way hinder or obstruct them in their efforts to sell; and will expect them to dispose of their property, and remove at the time appointed.

Resolved, that it is now too late to attempt the settlement of the difficulties in Hancock County upon any other basis than that of the removal of the Mormons from the State.

Resolved, that whilst we shall endeavor, by all the means in our power, to prevent the occurrence of anything which might operate against their removal, and afford the people of Nauvoo any grounds of complaint, we shall equally expect good faith upon their part; and if they shall not comply with their own proposition, the consequence must rest upon those who violate faith. And we now solemnly pledge ourselves to be ready at the appointed time to act, as the occasion may require, and that we will immediately adopt a preliminary military organization, for prompt future action, if occasion should demand it.

Resolved, that in our opinion, the peace of Hancock County cannot so far be restored as to allow the desired progress to be made, in preparing the way for the removal of the Mormons, while J. B.

Backenstos remains sheriff of said county: and that he ought to resign said office.

Of the first of these resolutions Josiah B. Conyers, the author of "A Brief History of the Hancock Mob," says with just indignation and sarcasm:

> The first one, in our opinion, is unique. They accepted and recommended to the people of the surrounding counties to accept an unconditional proposition to remove. But understand, Mr. Mormon, though we accept it and recommend the surrounding counties to do so, likewise, (reprobate you, unconditionally) we do not intend to bring ourselves under any obligation to purchase your property, or to furnish purchasers; but we will be very kind and obliging, and will in no way, hinder or obstruct you in your efforts to sell, provided, nevertheless, this shall not be so construed as to prevent us from running off the purchaser. But we expect this small favor of you, viz., that you must dispose of your property, and leave at the appointed time.*

This mass meeting closed its business by arranging a plan for adopting a preliminary military organization for prompt future action, if occasion should demand.

On the first and second of October an anti-Mormon convention assembled at Carthage, in which nine counties, those immediately surrounding Hancock, were represented. A committee on evidence, was appointed, on which Archibald Williams, one of the Saints' bitterest enemies, was chairman. It was its business to collect evidence in relation to the depredations of the Mormons. The chairman made a report to which were appended a number of affidavits, charging various crimes on the people of Nauvoo. It is needless to say that the whole thing was an *ex patre* affair, and sustained by the men who had assisted in the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith; and it was upon their evidence the convention acted.

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* Hancock Mob, Conyers, pp. 13, 14.

The convention adopted the course followed by the mass meeting at Quincy—that is, it agreed to accept the propositions of The Church authorities, to remove, in the same spirit they were received at Quincy, and proceeded to prepare a preliminary military organization to act with promptitude, provided the Saints did not remove. The convention also,

Resolved, that it is expected as an indispensable condition to the pacification of the county, that the old citizens be permitted to return to their homes unmolested by the present sheriff (Backenstos,) and the Mormons, for anything alleged against them; any attempt on their part to arrest or prosecute such persons for pretended offenses, will inevitably lead to a renewal of the late disorder.

O. H. Browning moved the following:

Resolved, that the Hon. W. N. Purple, judge of this judicial circuit court be requested not to hold a court in Hancock County this fall; as, in the opinion of this convention, such court could not be holden without producing a collision between the Mormons and anti-Mormons, and renewing the excitement and disturbances which have recently affected said county.

And thus those guilty of mob violence and house burning were to be protected by the Carthage convention from prosecution before the courts; and those who might have the temerity to prosecute them and vindicate the law, were threatened by a renewal of that same lawless violence! Where, then, proud State of Illinois, was your majesty! Your honor! Can you answer? If you, out of very shame, cannot look up and reply, history answers for you, and tells you it was trailed in the dust, under the very feet of as vile a set of traitors as ever brought shame to their country! And where was your virtuous populace, the true watch and guard of a State's honor? Alas, they were blinded by the falsehoods prompted by malice and envy, and started on foot to shield the guilty murderers of innocence,

or quelled by the bold front of a traitorous but successful mob.

In the meantime every exertion was made by the citizens of Nauvoo, to be ready for the great exodus in the spring. The temple had been so far completed that a conference was held in it on the sixth of October, and committees appointed to negotiate the sale of property and attend to other branches of business.

Nauvoo presented a busy scene in those days. Men were hurrying to and fro collecting wagons and putting them in repair; the roar of the smith's forge was well nigh perpetual, and even the stillness of night was broken by the steady beating of the sledge and the merry ringing of the anvil. Committees were seeking purchasers of real estate and converting both that and personal property into anything that would be of service to those just about to plunge into an unknown and boundless wilderness.

But while these efforts were being put forth on the part of the people of Nauvoo, to fulfill their agreement with the mob forces, the conditions of removal on the part of the old settlers were frequently violated; and instances of mob violence were almost every day occurrences. The people, who were making preparations to leave the farms, gardens and homes they had redeemed from the wilderness, were constantly threatened with destruction by the hostile demonstrations of their heartless neighbors.

To give an earnest of the intentions of the Mormons to leave the State where they had suffered so much, and to thereby remove all occasion for the implacable wrath of their enemies, that was so impatient that it could not wait for the springtime to come, for the sacrifice of its victims, the Twelve and the High Council, with about four hundred families, crossed the Mississippi on the ice, on the eleventh of February, 1846, and were soon lost to view in the wilderness of Iowa. Others

continued to follow as fast as they could make ready, until by the latter part of April, the great body of The Church at Nauvoo had gone.

But now, purchasers for their property failed those who remained. The people surrounding Nauvoo saw no need of purchasing that which inevitably must become theirs. The result was that it became impossible for this remnant, consisting for the most part, of the destitute, the aged, infirm and sick, to remove. And surely a people who had still any faith left in humanity, would be justified in the belief that these could remain until an asylum was found for them by their friends, who had already gone in search of new homes. But in this, be it said, to the shame of Illinois, they were deceived. In the hardened hearts of their enemies, however, there was no mercy, even for the helpless; no pity for the sick or destitute. In their enemies' veins the milk of human kindness had dried up.

During the preparations for the exodus, Major Warren had been stationed with a small military force in Hancock, to keep the peace; but about the middle of April he received orders to disband his force on the first of May, as that was adjudged by "the public expectation," to use a phrase of Major Warren's, when the last of the Mormons should have left the State. So soon as it was understood that there were still left in Nauvoo a number of Mormons who would likely remain through the summer to continue their efforts to dispose of property, an uproar was raised in the surrounding counties, meetings were held and resolutions adopted, demanding that they leave at once, under threats of extermination. When the governor saw this new furore breaking out, he countermanded the order for Major Warren to disband his forces, and commanded him to hold his position and to preserve the peace until he received further orders.

The new impetus given to mob violence, however, was not to spend its force without perpetrating some outrage, and a number of cowardly attacks were made upon Mormons. On the

eleventh of May, Major Warren found it necessary to issue a circular from which I quote the following:

The undersigned again deems it his duty to appear before you in a circular. It may not be known to all of you, that the day after my detachment was disbanded at Carthage, I received orders from the executive to muster them into service again, and remain in the county until further orders.

I have now been in Nauvoo with my detachment a week and can say to you with perfect assurance that the demonstrations made by the Mormon population, are unequivocal. They are leaving the State, and preparing to leave, with every means that God and nature has placed in their hands. * * * The anti-Mormons desire the removal of the Mormons; this is being effected peaceably and with all possible dispatch. All aggressive movements, therefore, against them at this time, must be actuated by a wanton desire to shed blood, or to plunder. * * *

A man of near sixty years of age, living about seven miles from this place, was taken from his house a few nights since, stripped of his clothing, and his back cut to pieces with a whip, for no other reason than because he was a Mormon, and too old to make successful resistance. Conduct of this kind would disgrace a horde of savages. * * * To the Mormons I would say, go on with your preparations and leave as fast as you can. Leave the fighting to be done by my detachment. If we are overpowered, then recross the river, and defend yourselves and property.

To those busy trying to raise mob forces, principally Squire M'Calla and Colonel Levi Williams, Major Warren gave warning that a previous order to the effect that not more than four armed men, other than State troops, should assemble together, would be enforced; and that any mob which assembled would be dispersed; his force or the mob would leave the field in double quick time. This had the effect of quieting matters down for a season, but only until Major Warren's detachment was disbanded.

A meeting was held at Carthage on the sixth of June, to

make preparations for celebrating the fourth of July, the nation's natal day. It was suggested at that meeting that, as all the Mormons had not left the State, the people of Hancock County could not be considered free; and under those circumstances, they ought not to celebrate the fourth with the usual rejoicings. The meeting was therefore adjourned to meet on the twelfth, for the purpose of taking into consideration why it was that all Mormons had not left the city of Nauvoo. That happened to be the day fixed by the governor on which to raise volunteers for the Mexican war, which, in the meantime, had broken out; so that there was considerable excitement among the militia of Hancock County, and the mob leaders doubtless thought the time propitious for making a demonstration against the few Saints still remaining in Nauvoo.

A large body of men were found willing to march into Nauvoo, but it was learned that the new citizens who had purchased much of the property of the now exiled people, were unwilling to allow the mob forces to enter the city, and meeting with this unexpected opposition, the mob forces marched to Golden's point, distant from Nauvoo some five or six miles down the river. At this juncture, Stephen Markham returned to Nauvoo from the camp of the Apostles for some Church property; but it was rumored that he had returned with a large body of men, and as Markham's name was a terror among the enemies of the Saints, the mob took to flight, though no one was in pursuit. It was a case of the wicked fleeing when no man pursued.

The committee at Quincy having control of the mob forces, either chagrined by the cowardice of those who had collected at Golden's point, or appalled at the prospect of innocent blood being found upon their skirts, retired from the position which had been assigned them. This disorganized the mob and they dispersed to their homes, but agreed to assemble again at the call of their leaders; and laid an injunction upon the Mormons

in Nauvoo not to go outside of the city limits, except in making their way westward.

This order of the mob was disregarded by a party of new citizens and a few Saints who went into the country several miles, to harvest a field of grain. While engaged in their work, they were surrounded by a mob and captured. They were robbed of their arms, stripped of their clothing, and cruelly beaten with hickory goads. This outrage created intense excitement in Nauvoo, and the new citizens and Saints made common cause in bringing the perpetrators of it to justice. But while the parties accused of the crime were under arrest in the hands of the officers, a second party, consisting of P. H. Young and his son, Richard Ballantyne, James Standing and Mr. Herring were kidnapped, and held by their tormentors fourteen days, during which time they were constantly threatened with death. They finally escaped, however, and returned to Nauvoo.

The parties accused of making the assault on those in the harvest field, took a change of venue to Quincy, but whether they were ever brought to trial or not, I cannot learn, but think they were not.

Among those arrested for attacking the party of harvesters was Major M'Calla; and in his possession was found a gun taken from the party. The gun was recognized by several persons, among whom was Wm. Pickett, and taken from him. The mobbers then and there made out a charge of stealing, and got out warrants for the arrest of Pickett, Furness and Clifford. Pickett, it would seem, had incurred the hatred of the mob, and they desired to get him into their power. Word was brought to him by a friend that the warrant was merely a subterfuge to get him into the hands of his enemies; consequently, when one John Carlin, a special constable from Carthage, undertook to arrest him, he asked if he would guarantee his safety; being answered in the negative, he resisted the officer and would not be taken. Though it is claimed that afterwards, in company with

several friends he went before the magistrate of Green Plains, who, it was said, issued the warrant for his arrest. But as he had no record of the warrant he refused to put him under arrest. The other parties accused were acquitted on examination.

The mob now, however, saw an opportunity to accomplish their full purpose of destroying the city of Nauvoo. An officer had been resisted by a citizen, and his fellow citizens approved his course! "Nauvoo was in rebellion against the laws!" Carlin issued a proclamation calling upon the citizens to come as a *posse comitatus*, to assist him in executing the law. And to his clarion call,

There was mounting in hot haste.

The old mob forces were soon assembled at Carthage, and the command given to Captain Singleton.

The citizens of Nauvoo petitioned the governor for protection, and he sent to them Major J. R. Parker, with a force of ten men from Fulton County, and also authorized him to take command of such forces as might volunteer to defend the city against any attacks that might be threatened. He was also empowered "to pursue, and in aid of any peace officer with a proper warrant, arrest the rioters who may threaten or attempt such an attack, and bring them to trial;" and to assist with an armed posse any peace officer in making an arrest, and with a like force to guard the prisoners, during the trial, and as long as he believed them in danger of mob violence. The commission bears date August 24, 1846.

Thus equipped, Major Parker went to Nauvoo and issued a proclamation calling upon the mobs then collecting, "*in the name of the people of Illinois, and by virtue of the authority vested in him by the governor of the State to disperse.*" The issue, then, was no longer between the mob forces and the Mormons; it was between the recognized authority of the State and this lawless

banditti. Major Parker also announced that he was authorized and prepared to assist the proper officers in serving any writs in their hands.

In answer to this proclamation Carlin issued a counter one to the effect that if he met with resistance from Parker, he would consider his detachment as a mob, and proceed accordingly. To which Parker replied, if the forces under Carlin undertook to enter Nauvoo, he would treat them as a mob. Parker also wrote to Singleton, and expressed a desire to bring about a settlement of the difficulty without shedding blood. To this communication Singleton replied that in Parker's proposition he saw nothing looking to the expulsion of the remnant of the Mormon people left in Nauvoo, and "that is," said he "a *sine qua non* with us." It will be remembered that Carlin's professed object in calling for a posse was to arrest William Pickett; but now something more is demanded—the immediate removal of the Mormons, the surrender of Nauvoo, etc. Singleton concluded his terms to Parker, the representative of the governor of the State, in these words:

> When I say to you, the Mormons must go, I speak the mind of the camp and the country. They can leave without force or injury to themselves or their property, but I say to you, sir, with all candor, *they shall go*—they may fix the time within sixty days, or I will fix it for them.

At this juncture a committee of one hundred, which had been appointed by the citizens of Quincy, arrived on the scene, to act—ostensibly—as mediators, to bring about a peaceful solution of the trouble, but one cannot help thinking their true mission was to insiduously carry out the project of the mob. But I leave the reader to draw his own inference respecting that; when he hears the terms proposed by that committee, and which all classes of citizens in Nauvoo, seeing no alternative, accepted:

The terms offered were that the Mormons move out of the city, or disperse within sixty days. A force of twenty-five to remain in the city during that time, half the expense of maintaining them was to be paid by the people of Nauvoo; for which amount they were to give bond; that the Mormons surrender their arms, which should be returned to them after they left the State; that as soon as those arms were surrendered, the forces under Singleton were to disperse; that all hostilities cease between the respective parties as soon as the agreement was accepted.

The singularity about this agreement is that not one word is said about giving up Pickett, to arrest whom the forces under Singleton were ostensibly called out. Does it not reveal the fact that the Pickett episode was merely a ruse—a pretext for gathering a mob to sack Nauvoo and drive away the Mormons?

This proposed settlement, however, was rejected by the mob forces. It did not sufficiently gratify their implacable hatred. They did, in very deed, as the Prophet Joseph foretold his people they would, thirst for the blood of every man in whose heart dwelt a single spark of the spirit of the fullness of the Gospel. But when the mob rejected these terms, Singleton and other leaders left them; saying the Mormons had done all that could be required of them.

On the retirement of Singleton and others, the command of the mob was given to Thomas S. Brockman, a Campbellite preacher, known familiarly as "Old Tom," among his followers. He at once went into active preparations for bombarding the city; and with a force of more than one thousand men, and six pieces of cannon, took up a position about one mile east of the city, in a cornfield just at the head of Mulholland street; and not far from the house of Squire D. H. Wells.

From this position Brockman issued the terms upon which he would grant peace. The terms he offered were much more outrageous than those proposed by the Quincy committee, and

therefore were rejected by the people of Nauvoo, both by Mormon and non-Mormon. Brockman addressed his insolent terms of peace to "the commanding officer of Nauvoo, and the trustees of the Mormon Church." The "commanding officer" was Major Clifford, who had succeeded Major Parker in that position. He was vested with the governor's commission as Parker had been, and it was to this representative of Illinois' executive that the demand of Brockman to surrender the city, and stack his arms, was addressed; so that he and his mob forces were pitted against the laws and lawful authority of the State, and we shall see, as we proceed, how mobs were more powerful than the State authorities; or rather, how the lawful authorities of the State were so lost to all sense of shame, so recreant to the trust reposed in them, so neglectful of the honor and dignity of the State, that they permitted their own representatives to be driven in disgrace from the field by the mob led by Brockman: and furthermore, those same authorities were so lost to every principle of humanity, that they permitted the helpless and unoffending people to be driven from their homes out into the wilderness to perish from exposure.

The citizens of Nauvoo were not willing to allow Brockman's mob to enter the city without making some effort to prevent him; and although their forces numbered not more than three or four hundred, they presented a determined front to the mob. They converted some steam-boat shafts into cannon—five pieces in all—and threw up some fortifications on the north of Mulholland street, facing the mob's camp. These works were under command of Captain Lamareux. On the south of of Mulholland street, the companies of Gates and Cutler were stationed.

On September 10th, 11th, and 12th, there was some desultory firing on both sides, without much advantage being gained. On the thirteenth, however, the mob-forces advanced in solid

column, making a desperate effort to reach Mulholland street, the principal street leading into Nauvoo from the east. If the onset was desperate, the resistance was equally determined. The main shock of the conflict was sustained for a time by Gates' and Cutler's companies, and they must inevitably have been overpowered by the superior numbers of the mob, had not Squire Wells come up with Lamareux's company to reinforce them. The doughty squire had ridden across an open field exposed to the fire of the enemy, to where Lamareux's company lay behind their fortifications. He called upon them to advance at once to check the approach of the mob. There was one brave spirit who needed no second call to perform his duty. That was William Anderson, captain of what was known as the "Spartan Band." He leaped from behind the trenches and calling on his men to follow, started for the front. The rest of Lamareux's company did not so readily respond, and manifested a disposition to retreat rather than advance. Squire Wells, observing this, and seeing Anderson and his few brave followers rushing headlong into the conflict, raised in his stirrups, and swinging his hat, shouted: "Hurrah for Anderson! Who wouldn't follow the brave Anderson!" This rallied their spirits, and they followed the squire to the front, where they were soon firing at the enemy as steadily as their comrades.

The mob forces by this time had nearly reached Mulholland street, but now they recoiled from the rapid firing of the reinforcements and beat a retreat to the house of a Mr. Carmichael, but a short distance from Squire Wells' house. Here they waited until wagons came from their camp, and putting their dead and wounded into them, returned to where they were encamped in the morning. The number of killed and wounded of the mob has never been ascertained, as the facts were kept concealed. The intrepid Anderson and his equally brave son, a lad not more than fifteen years of age, fell in the engagement; and one Morris was killed while crossing a field by a cannon ball.

Negotiations were now renewed, and the citizens of Nauvoo, seeing that the State authorities rendered them no assistance, but permitted even their own authority to be braved by a lawless mob, and knowing that they would eventually be overpowered, accepted the following terms of settlement, in order to stop the further effusion of blood:—

1. The city of Nauvoo will surrender. The force of Colonel Brockman to enter and take possession of the city tomorrow, the seventeenth of September, at three o'clock p. m.

2. The arms to be delivered to the Quincy committee, to be returned on the crossing of the river.

3. The Quincy committee pledge themselves to use their influence for the protection of persons and property from all violence, and the officers of the camp and the men pledge themselves to protect all persons and property from violence.

4. The sick and helpless to be protected and treated with humanity.

5. The Mormon population of the city to leave the State or disperse as soon as they can cross the river.

6. Five men, including the Trustees of The Church, and five clerks, with their families (Wm. Pickett not one of the number) to be permitted to remain in the city, for the disposition of property, free from all molestation and personal violence.

7. Hostilities to cease immediately, and ten men of the Quincy committee to enter the city, in the execution of their duty as soon as they think proper.

These terms of capitulation were signed on the part of the citizens of Nauvoo, by Almon W. Babbitt, Joseph L. Heywood and John S. Fullmer; and on the part of the mob by Thomas S. Brockman and John Carlin; and by Andrew Johnson on behalf of the Quincy committee.

The rest of my story is soon told. There was a hasty flight of the "Mormon" population and a number of the new citizens who had assisted in the defense of Nauvoo. They left their homes without being able to carry with them anything

for their comfort. The sick, aged and infirm, together with the youth, without regard to sex or condition, shared the same fate; they had to lie out on the Mississippi bottoms where many perished through exposure, and beyond all doubt, all would have famished from hunger, had not their camp been filled with innumerable flocks of quail, so tame that women and children caught hundreds of them in their hands, and thus was the cry of hunger relieved, by what would generally be regarded as a miraculous occurrence.*

Brockman and his forces entered the city, and once in, he insolently violated every condition of the treaty of surrender. But lest I should be charged with inaccuracy—for such events as I am recording seem almost too much to believe—I quote from the report made by Mr. Brayman to Governor Ford. Mr. Brayman had acted as the Governor's agent, for some time, in a secret capacity from the commencement of the difficulties at Nauvoo, and the following abstract is from an elaborate report he gives of the final struggle for the defense of the city. Moreover, the fact that I have never seen this matter reproduced in any of our books encourages me to insert it here:

The force of General Brockman marched into the city at three o'clock. From fifteen hundred to two thousand men marched in procession, through the city, and encamped on the south side, near the river. The march was conducted without the least disorder or trespass upon persons or property. The streets were deserted—the obnoxious persons had left the city, leaving but little to provoke the resentment of the victors. But a few Mormons remained in the city, and these were hastening their preparations for crossing the river as soon as possible. On my return from Carthage to the city, about noon, I learned that the Quincy committee had closed its labors at sunrise and had left for home, leaving a sub-committee to complete

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* The condition of the exiled Saints at this period is graphically described by General Thomas L. Kane, see appendix—

the reception and delivery of the arms of those Mormons who had not yet departed.

I also learned that in addition to the duty General Brockman had assumed, under the treaty, of superintending the removal of the Mormons from the State, he had issued an order for the expulsion from the State, of all who had borne arms in defense of the city against his force, and all who were in any manner identified with the Mormons.

It could scarcely be believed that such an order in such palpable and gross violation of the unanimous pledge which had been signed by the officers, agreed to by the whole force, and endorsed by the Quincy committee, had been given. But on applying to General Brockman, I learned that such an order had been given, and would be executed. This order was rigorously enforced throughout the day, with many circumstances of the utmost cruelty and injustice. Bands of armed men traversed the city, entering the houses of citizens, robbing them of arms, throwing their household goods out of doors, insulting them, and threatening their lives. Many were seized and marched to the camp, and after military examination, set across the river, for the crime of sympathizing with the Mormons, or the still more heinous offense of *fighting in the defense of the city, under command of officers commissioned by* YOU, [Governor Ford], and instructed to make that defense. It is, indeed, painfully true, that many citizens of this State, have been driven from it by an armed force, because impelled by our encouragement, and a sense of duty, they have bravely defended their homes and homes of their neighbors from the assaults of a force assembled for unlawful purposes.

In the face of the pledge given to protect persons and property from all violence, (excepting of course Mormon persons and property), it may be estimated that nearly one half of the new citizens of Nauvoo have been forced from their homes and dare not return. Thus far, these citizens have appealed in vain for protection and redress.

It remains yet to be seen whether there is efficacy in the law, power in the executive arm, or potency in public opinion sufficient to right their grievous wrongs. It is disgraceful to the character of the State, and a humiliation not to be borne, to permit a military

leader, acting without a shadow of lawful authority, but in violation of law and right, not only to thwart the will of the executive, but to impose upon citizens the penalty of banishment, for acting under it.*

Was this arch traitor, Brockman, hung for his treason against the State? No; nor even tried or questioned, neither he nor his followers. Perhaps it was thought that an investigation might reveal the fact to the world that many high officials, and chief among them the governor of the State, had been engaged in an unlawful conspiracy to drive from Illinois an innocent community, whose rights they had not the moral courage to defend against the fierce attacks of lawless mobs, whose hands were crimson in the blood of innocence; and who repeatedly trampled the honor and dignity of the State under their feet.

After a time the most of the new citizens returned to the homes they had purchased for little or nothing from the now exiled founders of the beautiful city. But Nauvoo never prospered under its new masters. Out of sympathy for those who had redeemed it from a wilderness, and some portions of it from a swamp, its fields and gardens refused to yield in their strength to the industry of other hands. Its decline was as rapid and disastrous as its rise had been sudden and glorious.

A French communistic society had purchased considerable property in the deserted city, and into their hands passed the splendid temple the Saints at such sacrifice had erected. Externally, the building had been completed in the spring of 1846, even to the gilding of the angel and the trumpet at the top of the spire. During the winter of 1845-6 various rooms of the temple were dedicated for ordinance work, and there hundreds of the faithful Saints received their endowments—the sacred

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*The Hancock Mob, by J. B. Conyers, M. D., pages 73, 74.

mysteries of the faith. The main court of worship was also prepared; and on the evening of April 30th, 1846, the building was privately dedicated, Joseph Young, the senior president of the First Council of Seventy, offering the dedicatory prayer. On the first of May, 1846, under the direction of Apostles Orson Hyde and Wilford Woodruff, the edifice was publicly dedicated, according to the order of the Holy Priesthood, revealed through the Prophet Joseph Smith.

The temple was always a source of envy to the enemies of the Saints, and it was feared that if it continued to stand it would be a bond between its exiled builders and the city from which they had been cruelly driven, and an inducement for them to return. On the tenth of November, 1848, an incendiary, therefore, set it on fire, and the tower was destroyed, and the whole building so shattered, that on the twenty-seventh of May, 1850, a tornado blew down the north wall. I was informed by M. M. Morrill, who at the time of my visit was mayor of Nauvoo, and, by the way, one who had assisted in its defense when attacked by the mob, that one Joseph Agnew, confessed to being the incendiary. Finally all the walls were pulled down and the stone hauled away for building purposes, until now, not one stone stands upon another. Even the very foundation has been cleared away, and the excavation for the basement filled up and the site covered with inferior buildings.

At the time of my visit, in the summer of 1885, the population of Nauvoo numbered about seventeen hundred, nine-tenths of whom were Germans. The principal occupation is grape-growing, vineyards covering some portions of the city plat, which was once the principal business center. The whole place has a half-deserted, half-dilapidated appearance, and seems to be withering under a blight, from which it refuses to recover.

Such is the fate of Nauvoo, which once promised to be the first city of Illinois, and beyond all question would have been so

had there existed sufficient virtue and honor in that State to have protected its founders in their rights.

* * * * * * *

Still stands the forest primeval; but under the
Shade of its branches
Dwells another race, with other customs
And languages.

The quotation connects me with my introduction, and reminds me that I have completed the task proposed in these pages. But in the fate which overtook the survivors of the Acadian peasant-exiles from Nova Scotia, and the Mormon exiles from Illinois, the former fails altogether to suggest the faintest hint of a parallel.

Only along the shores of the mournful and
mystic Atlantic
Linger a few Acadian peasants, whose fathers
from exile
Wandered back to their native land to die
in its bosom,

Finishes the story of the Acadian exiles. Not so the story of the exiles from Illinois. They did not perish in exile, nor did merely a handful of them, broken in spirits as in fortunes return to live silent and sad on the site of their former homes. The Mormon exiles were not broken and scattered—they remained a people; beyond their exile they were destined to have a glorious history. Their faith in their religion was not shattered. Their church was not disrupted. Their hearts were not turned against their prophets. Their spirits were not blighted nor their hearts bowed down beyond the power of recovery; nor their fortunes so blasted that they could not hope for prosperity—for God was with them.

The institution—The Church—brought into existence, and its doctrines developed amid so much of spiritual tempest and pursued so relentlessly by mob violence, and which may be said to have had a second birth at Nauvoo, and to have received sanctification from the martyrdom of her earthly founder—The Church which these exiles bore with them into the western wilderness was not born to die. Whatever might be the fate of The Church and the Saints in other dispensations of the Gospel, God had now introduced the Dispensation of the Fullness of Times, in which He has decreed that all things in Christ shall be gathered together in one—even in Him.* A dispensation in which the salvation of man and the redemption of the earth itself shall be consummated. And the earth and men made ready for the all glorious reign of truth and righteousness so long promised by God and His prophets. Hence The Church was not destroyed; and the people who fled with her to the wilderness did not perish. The blinding storms of sleet and rain which enveloped their principal companies as in melancholy trains they penetrated the wilderness of the then territory of Iowa, might easily have been taken for God's curtain rung down upon the most melancholy scene in America's history—the scene of a people in free America—the boasted asylum for the oppressed, where religious freedom is guaranteed by express constitutional provision—fleeing from the worst forms of oppression—the oppression of mob violence invoked in Illinois to crush their religious faith. But the curtain so rung down was not upon the final act. The hand of God again rolled it up; and when He did, it was to reveal to the world the exiles as the redeemers of desert wastes; the planters of cities; the builders of temples, the founders of States; and for themselves and for their religious faith so entrenched, so strengthened, so enlarged that the world shall never, while the earth itself remains, or sun or stars en-

* Eph. 1: 9, 10.

dure be rid of that faith founded—under God—by JOSEPH SMITH, THE PROPHET-MARTYR OF NAUVOO.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN JOSEPH SMITH AND JOHN C. CALHOUN.

HON. JOHN C. CALHOUN.

DEAR SIR,—As we understand you are a candidate for the Presidency at the next election; and as the Latter-day Saints (sometimes called Mormons, who now constitute a numerous class in the school politic of this vast republic,) have been robbed of an immense amount of property, and endured nameless sufferings by the State of Missouri, and from her borders have been driven by force of arms, contrary to our national covenants; and as in vain we have sought redress by all constitutional, legal, and honorable means, in her courts, her executive councils and her legislative halls; and as we have petitioned Congress to take cognizance of our sufferings without effect, we have judged it wisdom to address you this communication, and solicit an immediate, specific and candid reply to "*What will be your rule of action relative to us as a people,*" should fortune favor your ascension to the chief magistracy?

Most respectfully, sir, your friend,
and the friend of peace, good order,
and constitutional rights,
JOSEPH SMITH.

In behalf of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

FORT HILL, 2ND DECEMBER, 1843.

SIR,—You ask me what would be my rule of action relative to the Mormons or Latter-day Saints, should I be elected President; to

which I answer, that if I should be elected, I would strive to administer the government according to the Constitution and the laws of the Union; and that as they make no distinction between citizens of different religious creeds, I should make none. As far as it depends on the executive department, all should have the full benefit of both, and none should be exempt from their operation.

But as you refer to the case of Missouri, candor compels me to repeat what I said to you at Washington, that, according to my views, the case does not come within the jurisdiction of the federal government, which is one of limited and specific powers.

With respect, I am, &c., &c.,

J. C. CALHOUN.

Mr. Joseph Smith.

NAUVOO, ILLINOIS, JANUARY 2, 1844.

SIR,—Your reply to my letter of last November, concerning your rule of action towards the Latter-day Saints, if elected president, is at hand; and that you and your friends of the same opinion relative to the matter in question may not be disappointed as to me or my mind upon so grave a subject, permit me, as a law-abiding man, as a well-wisher to the perpetuity of constitutional rights and liberty, and as a friend to the free worship of Almighty God by all, according to the dictates of every person's own conscience, to say *I am surprised* that a man or men in the highest stations of public life should have made up such a fragile "view" of a case, than which there is not one on the face of the globe fraught with so much consequence to the happiness of men in this world or the world to come.

To be sure, the first paragraph of your letter appears very complacent and fair on a white sheet of paper. And who, that is ambitious for greatness and power, would not have said the same thing? Your oath would bind you to support the Constitution and laws; and as all creeds and religions are alike tolerated, they must, of course, all be justified or condemned according to merit or demerit. But why—tell me why are all the principal men held up for public stations *so cautiously careful* not to publish to the world that they *will judge a righteous judgment*, law or no law? for laws and opinions, like the vanes of steeples, change with the wind.

One Congress passes a law, another repeals it; and one statesman says that the Constitution means this, and another that; and who does not know that all may be wrong? The opinion and pledge, therefore, in the first paragraph of your reply to my question, like the forced steam from the engine of a steam-boat, makes the show of a bright cloud at first; but when it comes in contact with a purer atmosphere, dissolves to common air again.

Your second paragraph leaves you naked before yourself, like a likeness in a mirror, when you say that, "according to your view, the federal government is one of limited and specific powers," and has no jurisdiction in the case of the Mormons. So then a State can at any time expel any portion of her citizens with impunity, and, in the language of Mr. Van Buren, frosted over with your gracious "*views of the ease,*" though the cause is ever so just, Government can do nothing for them, because it has no power.

Go on, then, Missouri, after another set of inhabitants (as the Latter-day Saints did,) have entered some two or three hundred thousand dollars' worth of land; and made extensive improvements thereon. Go on, then, I say; banish the occupants or owners, or kill them, as the mobbers did many of the Latter-day Saints, and take their land and property as spoil; and let the legislature, as in the case of the Mormons, appropriate a couple of hundred thousand dollars to pay the mob for doing that job; for the renowned senator from South Carolina, Mr. J. C. Calhoun, says the powers of the federal government are so *specific and limited that it has no jurisdiction of the ease!* O ye people who groan under the oppression of tyrants!—ye exiled Poles, who have felt the iron hand of Russian grasp! —ye poor and unfortunate among all nations! come to the asylum of the oppressed; buy ye lands of the general government; pay in your money to the treasury to strengthen the army and the navy; worship God according to the dictates of your own consciences; pay in your taxes to support the great heads of a glorious nation: but remember a "*sovereign State*" is so much more powerful than the United States, the parent government, that it can exile you at pleasure, mob you with impunity, confiscate your lands and property, have the legislature sanction it,—yea, even murder you as an edict of an emperor, *and it does no wrong;* for the noble senator of South

Carolina says the power of the federal government is *so limited and specific that it has no jurisdiction of the case!* What think ye of *imperium in imperio?*

Ye spirits of the blessed of all ages, hark! Ye shades of departed statesmen listen! Abraham, Moses, Homer, Socrates, Solon, Solomon, and all that ever thought of right and wrong, look down from your exaltations, if you have any; for it is said, "In the midst of counsellors there *is safety*;" and when you have learned that fifteen thousand innocent citizens, after having purchased their lands of the United States and paid for them, were expelled from a "sovereign State," by order of the governor, at the point of the bayonet, their arms taken from them by the same authority, and their right of migration into said State denied, under pain of imprisonment, whipping, robbing, mobbing, and even death, and no justice or recompense allowed; and, from the legislature with the governor at the head, down to the justice of the peace, with a bottle of whisky in one hand and a bowie-knife in the other, hear them all declare that there is no justice for a Mormon in that State; and judge ye a righteous judgment, and tell me when the virtue of the States was stolen, where the honor of the general government lies hid, and what clothes a senator with wisdom. O nullifying Carolina! O little tempestuous Rhode Island! Would it not be well for the great men of the nation to read the fable of the *partial judge;* and when part of the free citizens of a State had been expelled contrary to the Constitution, mobbed, robbed, plundered, and many murdered, instead of searching into the course taken with Joanna Southcott, Ann Lee, the French Prophets, the Quakers of New England, and rebellious niggers in the slave states, to hear both sides and then judge, rather than have the mortification to say, "Oh, it is *my* bull that has killed *your* ox! That alters the case! I must inquire into it; *and if, and if*——

If the general government has no power to reinstate expelled citizens to their rights, there is a monstrous hypocrite fed and fostered from the hard earnings of the people! A real "bull beggar" upheld by sycophants. And although you may wink to the priests to stigmatize, wheedle the drunkards to swear, and raise the hue-and-cry of—"Impostor! false prophet! G— d— old Joe Smith!" yet remember, if the Latter-day Saints are not restored to all their rights and paid

for all their losses, according to the known rules of justice and judgment, reciprocation and common honesty among men, that God will come out of His hiding place, and vex this nation with a sore vexation: yea, the consuming wrath of an offended God shall smoke through the nation with as much distress and woe as independance has blazed through with pleasure and delight. Where is the strength of government? Where is the patriotism of a Washington, a Warren, and Adams? And where is a spark from the watch-fire of '76, by which one candle might be lit that would glimmer upon the confines of Democracy? Well may it be said that one man is not a state, nor one state the nation.

In the days of General Jackson, when France refused the first installment for spoliations, there was power, force, and honor enough to resent injustice and insult, and the money came; and shall Missouri, filled with negro-drivers and white men stealers, go "unwhipped of justice" for tenfold greater sins than France? No! verily, no! While I have power of body and mind—while water runs and grass grows—while virtue is lovely and vice hateful, and while a stone points out a sacred spot where a fragment of American liberty once was, I or my posterity will plead the cause of injured innocence, until Missouri makes atonement for all her sins, or sinks disgraced, degraded, and damned to hell, "where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched."

Why, sir, the power not delegated to the United States and the States belong to the people, and Congress sent to do the people's business have all power; and shall fifteen thousand citizens groan in exile? O vain men! will ye not, if ye do not restore them to their rights and two million dollars' worth of property, relinquish to them (the Latter-day Saints,) as a body, their portion of power that belongs to them according to the Constitution? Power has its convenience as well as inconvenience. "The world was not made for Cæsar alone, but for Titus too.

I will give you a parable. A certain lord had a vineyard in a goodly land, which men labored in at their pleasure. A few meek men also went and purchased with money from some of these chief men that labored at pleasure a portion of land in the vineyard, at a very remote part of it, and began to improve it, and to eat and drink

the fruit thereof,—when some vile persons, who regarded not man, neither feared the lord of the vineyard, rose up suddenly and robbed these meek men, and drove them from their possessions, killing many.

This barbarous act made no small stir among the men in the vineyard; and all that portion who were attached to that part of the vineyard where the men were robbed rose up in grand council, with their chief man, who had firstly ordered the deed to be done, and made a covenant not to pay for the cruel deed, but to keep the spoil, and never let those meek men set their feet on that soil again, neither recompense them for it.

Now, these meek men, in their distress, wisely sought redress of those wicked men in every possible manner, and got none. They then supplicated the chief men, who held the vineyard at pleasure, and who had the power to sell and defend it, for redress and redemption; and those men, loving the fame and favor of the multitude more than the glory of the lord of the vineyard, answered—"Your cause is just, but we can do nothing for you, because we have no power."

Now, when the lord of the vineyard saw that virtue innocence was not regarded, and his vineyard occupied by wicked men, he sent men and took the possession of it to himself, and destroyed these unfaithful servants, and appointed them their portion among hypocrites.

And let me say that all men who say that Congress has no power to restore and defend the rights of her citizens have not the love of the truth abiding in them. Congress has power to protect the nation against foreign invasion and internal broil; and whenever that body passes an act to maintain right with any power, or to restore right to any portion of her citizens, it is the SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND; and should a State refuse submission, that State is guilty of *insurrection or rebellion*, and the President has as much power to repel it as Washington had to march against the "whisky boys at Pittsburg," or General Jackson had to send an armed force to suppress the rebellion of South Carolina.

To close, I would admonish you, before you let your "*candor compel*" you again to write upon a subject great as the salvation of man, consequential as the life of the Savior, broad as the principles of

eternal truth, and valuable as the jewels of eternity, to read in the eighth section and first article of the Constitution of the United States, the *first, fourteenth,* and *seventeenth* "specific" and not very "limited powers" of the federal government, what can be done to protect the lives, property, and rights of a virtuous people, when the administrators of the law and law-makers are unbought by bribes, uncorrupted by patronage, untempted by gold, unawed by fear, and uncontaminated tangling alliances—even like Cæser's wife, not only *unspotted, but unsuspected!* And God, who cooled the heat of a Nebuchadnezzar's furnace or shut the mouths of lions for the honor of a Daniel, will raise your mind above the narrow notion that the general government has no power, to the sublime idea that Congress, with the President as executor, is as almighty in its sphere as Jehovah is in His.

With great respect, I have the honor to be

Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH SMITH.

Hon. ("Mr.") J. C. Calhoun,
Fort Hill, S. C.

APPENDIX II.

CLAY'S LETTER TO JOSEPH SMITH AND THE LATTER'S REPLY.

ASHLAND, November 15, 1843.

DEAR SIR:—I have received your letter in behalf of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, stating that you understand that I am a condidate for the presidency, and inquiring what will be my rule of action relative to you as a people, should I be elected.

I am profoundly grateful for the numerous and strong expressions of the people in my behalf as a candidate for President of the United States; but I do not so consider myself. That must depend upon future events and upon my sense of duty.

Should I be a condidate, I can enter into no engagements, make no promises, give no pledges to any particular portion of the people of the United States. If I ever enter into that high office, I must go into it free and unfettered, with no guarantees but such as are to be drawn from my whole life, character and conduct.

It is not inconsistent with this declaration to say that I have viewed with a lively interest the progress of the Latter-day Saints; that I have sympathized in their sufferings under injustice, as it appeared to me, which has been inflicted upon them; and I think, in common with other religious communities, they ought to enjoy the security and protection of the Constitution and the laws.

I am, with great respect, your friend and obedient servant,

H. CLAY.

To Joseph Smith, Esq.

NAUVOO, ILL., May 13, 1844.

SIR:—Your answer to my inquiry, "What would be your rule of action towards the Latter-day Saints, should you be elected President of the United States?" has been under consideration since last November, in the fond expectation that you would give (for every hon-

est citizen has a right to demand it,) to the country a manifesto of your views of the best method and means which would secure to the people, *the whole people*, the most freedom, the most happiness, the most union, the most wealth, the most fame, the most glory at home, and the most honor abroad, at the least expense. But I have waited in vain. So far as you have made public declarations, they have been made, like your answer to the above, soft to flatter, rather than solid to feed the people. You seem to abandon all former policy which may have actuated you in the discharge of a statesman's duty, when the vigor of intellect and the force of virtue should have sought out an everlasting habitation for liberty; when, as a wise man, a true patriot, and a friend to mankind, you should have resolved to ameliorate the lawful condition of our *bleeding* country by a mighty plan of wisdom, righteousness, justice, goodness and mercy, that would have brought back the golden days of our nation's youth, vigor and vivacity, when prosperity crowned the efforts of a youthful republic, when the gentle aspirations of the sons of liberty were, "We are one!"

In your answer to my questions last fall, that peculiar tact of modern politicians declaring, "*If you ever enter into that high office, you must go into it free and unfettered, with no guarantees but such as are to be drawn from your whole life, character and conduct*," so much resembles a lottery-vendor's sign, with the goddess of good luck sitting on the car of fortune, a-straddle of the horns of plenty, and driving the merry steeds of beatitude, without reins or bridle, that I cannot help exclaiming--O frail man, what have you done that will exalt you? Can anything be drawn from your *life, character or conduct* that is worthy of being held up to the gaze of this nation as a model of *virtue*, charity and wisdom? Are you not a lottery picture, with more than two blanks to a prize? Leaving many things prior to your Ghent treaty, let the world look at that, and see where is the wisdom, honor and patriotism which ought to have characterized the plenipotentiary of the only free nation upon the earth? A quarter of a century's negotiation to obtain our rights on the north-eastern boundary, and the motley manner in which Oregon tries to shine as American territory, coupled with your presidential race and some-by-chance secretaryship in 1825, all go to convince the friends

of freedom, the golden patriots of Jeffersonian democracy, free trade and sailors' rights, and the protectors of person and property, that an honorable war is better than a dishonorable peace.

But had you really wanted to have exhibited the wisdom, clemency, benevolence and dignity of a great man in this boasted republic, when fifteen thousand free citizens were exiled from their own homes, lands and property, in the wonderful patriotic State of Missouri, and you then upon your oath and honor occupying the exalted station of a Senator of Congress from the noble-hearted State of Kentucky, why did you not show the world your loyalty to law and order, by using all honorable means to restore the innocent to their rights and property? Why, sir, the more we search into your character and conduct, the more we must exclaim from Holy Writ, "The tree is known by its fruit."

Again: this is not all. Rather than show yourself an honest man, by guaranteeing to the people what you will do in case you should be elected president, "you can enter into no engagement, make no promises, and give no pledges as to what you will do. Well, it may be that some hot-headed partisan would take such nothingarianism upon trust; but sensible men and even *ladies* would think themselves insulted by such an evasion of coming events! If a tempest is expected, why not prepare to meet it, and, in the language of the poet, exclaim—

> Then let the trial come; and witness thou
> If terror be upon me,—If I shrink
> Or falter in my strength to meet the storm
> When hardest it besets me.

True greatness never wavers; but when the Missouri compromise was entered into by you for the benefit of *slavery*, there was a mighty shrinkage of *western honor*; and from that day, sir, the sterling Yankee, the struggling Abolitionist, and the staunch Democrat, with a large number of the liberal-minded Whigs, have marked you as a *black-leg* in politics, begging for a chance to *shuffle* yourself into the Presidential chair, where you might deal out the destinies of our beloved country for a *game of brag* that would end in—"*Hark from the tombs a doleful sound.*" Start not at this picture: for your "whole life, character and conduct" have been spotted with deeds that cause a

blush upon the face of a virtuous patriot. So you must be contented in your lot, while crime, cowardice, cupidity or low cunning have handed you down from the high tower of a statesman to the black-hole of a gambler. A man that accepts a challenge or fights a duel is nothing more nor less than a murderer; for Holy Writ declares that, "*Whoso sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed:*" and when in the renowned city of Washington the notorious *Henry Clay* dropped from the summit of a Senator to the sink of a scoundrel to shoot at that chalk-line of a Randolph, he not only disgraced his own fame, family and friends, but he polluted the *sanctum sanctorum* of American glory; and the kingly blackguards throughout the whole world are pointing the finger of scorn at the boasted "asylum of the oppressed," and hissing at American statesmen as *gentlemen vagabonds and murderers*, holding the olive branch of peace in one hand and a pistol for death in the other! Well might the Savior rebuke the heads of this nation with "*Wo unto you scribes, Pharisees, hyyocrites!*" for the United States Government and Congress, with a few honorable exceptions, have gone the way of Cain, and must perish in their gainsayings, like Korah and his wicked host. And honest men of every clime, and the innocent, poor and oppressed, as well as heathens, pagans and Indians, everywhere, who could but hope that the tree of liberty would yield some precious fruit for the hungry human race, and shed some balmy leaves for the healing of nations, have long since given up all hopes of equal rights, of justice and judgment, and of truth and virtue, when such polluted, vain, heaven-daring, bogus patriots are forced or flung into the front rank of Government to guide the destinies of millions. Crape the heavens with weeds of wo, gird the earth with sack-cloth, and let hell mutter one melody in commemoration of fallen splendor! for the glory of America has departed, and God will set a flaming sword to guard the tree of liberty, while such mint-tithing Herods as Van Buren, Boggs, Benton, Calhoun and Clay are thrust out of the realms of virtue as fit subjects for the kingdom of fallen greatness. *Vox reprobi, vox Diaboli!*

In your late addresses to the people of South Carolina, where rebellion budded, but could not blossom, you "renounced ultraism," "high tariff," and almost banished your "banking system" for the more certain standard of "public opinion." This is all very well, and marks

the intention of a politician, the calculations of a demagogue, and the allowance for leeings of a shrewd manager, just as truly as the weathercock does the wind when it turns upon the spire. Hustings for the South, barbacues for the West, confidential letters for the North and "American System" for the East.

Lull-a-by baby upon the tree top,
And when the wind blows the cradle will rock.

Suppose you should also, taking your "whole life, character and conduct" into consideration, and, as many hands make light work, stir up the old "Clay party," the "National Republican party," the "High Protective Tariff party," and the late coon-skin party, with all their paraphernalia, *ultraism, ne plus ultraism, sine qua non,* which have grown with your growth, strengthened with your strength, and shrunk with your shrinkage, and ask the people of this enlightened republic what they think of your powers and policy as a statesman; for verily it would seem, from all past remains of parties, politics, projects and pictures, that you are the *Clay*; and the people the *potter*; and as some vessels are marred in the hands of the potter, the natural conclusion is that *you are a vessel of dishonor.*

You may complain that a close examination of your "whole life, character and conduct" places you, as a Kentuckian would pleasantly term it, "in a bad fix." But, sir, when the nation has sunk deeper and deeper into the mud at every turn of the great wheels of the Union, while you have acted as one of the principal drivers, it becomes the bounden duty of the whole community, as one man, to whisper you on every point of government, to uncover every act of your life, and inquire what mighty acts you have done to benefit the nation, how much you have tithed the mint to gratify your lust, and why the fragments of your raiment hang upon the thorns by the path as signals to *beware.*

But your *shrinkage* is truly wonderful! Not only your banking system and high tariff project have vanished from your mind "like the baseless fabric of a vision," but the "annexation of Texas" has touched your pathetic sensibilities of national pride so acutly, that the poor Texans, your own *brethren,* may fall back into the ferocity of Mexico, or be sold at auction to British stock-jobbers, and all is

well. For "I," the old Senator from Kentucky, and fearful it would militate against my interest in the north to enlarge the borders of the Union in the south. Truly "a poor wise child is better than an old foolish king who will be no longer admonished." Who ever heard of a nation that had too much territory? Was it ever bad policy to make friends? Has any people ever become too good to do good? No, never. But the ambition and vanity of some men have flown away with their wisdom and judgment, and left a croaking *skeleton* to occupy the place of a noble *soul!*

Why, sir, the condition of the whole earth is lamentable. Texas dreads the teeth and the nails of Mexico. Oregon has the rheumatism, brought on by a horrid exposure to the heat and cold of British and American trappers. Canada has caught a bad cold from extreme fatigue in the patriot war. South America has the headache cause by bumps against the beams of Catholicity and Spanish Sovereignty. Spain has the gripes from age and inquisition. France trembles and wastes under the effects of contagious diseases. England groans with the gout, and wiggles with wine. Italy and the German States are pale with the consumption. Prussia, Poland, and the little contiguous dynasties, duchies and domains, have the mumps so severely, that "the whole head is sick, and the whole heart is faint." Russia has the cramp by lineage. Turkey has the numb palsy. Africa, from the curse of God, has lost the use of her limbs China is ruined by the queen's evil, and the rest of Asia fearfuly exposed to the small-pox, the natural way, from British peddlers. The islands of the sea are almost dead with the scurvy. The Indians are blind and lame; and the United States, which ought to be the good physician with "balm from Gilead" and an "*asylum for the oppressed,*" has boosted and is boosting up into the council chamber of the Government a clique of political gamblers, to play for the old clothes and old shoes of a sick world, and "*no pledge, no promise to any particular portion of the people*" that the rightful heirs will ever receive a cent of their Father's legacy. Away with such self-important, self-aggrandizing and self-willed demagogues! Their friendship is colder than polar ice, and their profession meaner than the damnation of hell.

O man! when such a great dilemma of the globe, such a tremendous convulsion of kingdoms shakes the earth from centre to circum-

ference; when castles, prison-houses, and cells raise a cry to God against the cruelty of man; when the mourning of the fatherless and the widow causes anguish in heaven; when the poor among all nations cry day and night for bread, and a shelter from the heat and storm; and when the degraded black slave holds up his manacled hands to the great statesmen of the United States, and sings—

"O liberty, where are thy charms,
That sages have told me are sweet?"

And when fifteen thousand free citizens of the high-blooded republic of North America are robbed and driven from one State to another without redress or redemption, it is not only time for a candidate for the presidency to pledge himself to execute judgment and justice in righteousness, law or no law; but it is his bounden duty as a man, for the honor of a disgraced country, and for the salvation of a once virtuous people, to call for a union of all honest men, and appease the wrath of God by acts of wisdom, holiness, and virtue! "The fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much."

Perhaps you may think I go too far with my strictures and innuendos, because in your concluding paragraph you say "it is not inconsistent with your declarations to say that you have viewed with a lively interest the progress of the Latter-day Saints, that you have sympathized in ther sufferings under injustice; as it appeared to you, which has been inflicted upon them, and that you *think*, in common with all other religious communities, they ought to enjoy the security and protection of the Constitution and the laws." If words were not wind, and imagination not a vapor, such "views" "*with a lively interest*" might coax out a few Mormon votes; such "sympathy" for their suffering under injustice might heal some of the sick yet lingering amongst them, raise some of the dead, and recover some of their property from Missouri; and finally, if thought was not a phantom, we might, in common with other religious communities, "*you think, enjoy the security* and *protection of the Constitution and laws.*" But during ten years, while the Latter-day Saints have bled, been robbed, driven from their own lands, paid oceans of money into the treasury to pay your renowned self and others for legislating and *dealing* out equal rights and privileges to those *in common with all other religious*

communities, they have waited and expected in vain! If you have possessed any patriotism, it has been veiled by your *popularity*, for fear the Saints would fall in love with its charms. Blind charity and dumb justice never do much towards alleviating the wants of the needy; but straws show which way the wind blows. It is currently rumored that your *dernier resort* for the Latter-day Saints is to migrate to Oregon or California. Such cruel humanity, such noble injustice, such honorable cowardice, such foolish wisdom, and such vicious virtue could only emanate from Clay. After the Saints have been plundered of three or four millions of land and property by the people and powers of the *sovereign* State of Missouri—after they have sought for redress and redemption, from the county court to Congress, and been denied through religious prejudice and sacerdotal dignity— after they have builded a city and two temples at an immense expense of labor and treasure—after they have increased from hundreds to hundreds of thousands, and after they have sent missionaries to the various nations of the earth to gather Israel, according to the predictions of all the holy prophets since the world began, that great plenipotentiary, the renowned secretary of state, the ignoble duelist, the gambling senator, and Whig candidate for the presidency, *Henry Clay*, the wise Kentucky lawyer, advises the Latter-day Saints to go to Oregon to obtain justice and set up a government of their own.

O ye crowned heads among all nations, is not Mr. Clay a wise man, and very patriotic? Why, great God! to transport 200,000 people through a vast prairie, over the Rocky Mountains, to Oregon, a distance of nearly two thousand miles, would cost more than *four millions!* or should they go by Cape Horn in ships to California, the cost would be more than *twenty millions!* and all this to save the United States from inheriting the disgrace of Missouri for murdering and robbing the Saints with impunity! Benton and Van Buren, who make no secret to say that if they get into power they will carry out Boggs' exterminating plan to rid the country of the Latter-day Saints, are

"Little nipperkins of milk,"

compared to "Clay's" great aquafortis jars. Why, he is a real giant

in humanity! "Send the Mormons to Oregon, and free Missouri from debt and disgrace!" Ah! sir, let this doctrine go to-and-fro throughout the whole earth—that we, as Van Buren said, know your cause is just, but the United States government can do nothing for you, because it has no power. *"You must go to Oregon, and get justice from the Indians!"*

I mourn for the depravity of the world; I despise the hypocrisy of Christendom; I hate the imbecility of American statesmen; I detest the shrinkage of candidates for office from pledges and responsibility; I long for a day of righteousness, when "He whose right it is to reign shall judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth;" and I pray God, who hath given our fathers a promise of a perfect government in the last days, to purify the hearts of the people and hasten the welcome day.

With the highest consideration for virtue and unadulterated freedom,

I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH SMITH.

Hon. Henry Clay, Ashland, Ky.

APPENDIX III.

JOSEPH SMITH'S VIEWS OF THE POWERS AND POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

BORN in a land of liberty, and breathing an air uncorrupted with the sirocco of barbarous climes, I ever feel a double anxiety for the happiness of all men, both in time and in eternity.

My cogitations, like Daniel's have for a long time troubled me, when I viewed the condition of men throughout the world, and more especially in this boasted realm, where the Declaration of Independence "holds these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" but at the same time some two or three millions of people are held as slaves for life, because the spirit of them is covered with a darker skin than ours; and hundreds of our own kindred for an infraction, or supposed infraction, of some over-wise statute, have to be incarcerated in dungeon glooms, or suffer the more moral penitentiary gravitation of mercy in a nutshell, while the duelist, the debauchee, and the defaulter for millions, and other criminals, take the uppermost rooms at feasts, or, like the bird of passage, find a more congenial clime by flight.

The wisdom which ought to characterize the freest, wisest, and most noble nation of the nineteenth century, should, like the sun in his meridian splendor, warm every object beneath its rays; and the main efforts of her officers, who are nothing more or less than the servants of the people, ought to be directed to ameliorate the condition of all, black or white, bond or free; for the best of books says, "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

Our common country presents to all men the same advantages,

the same facilities, the same prospects, the same honors, and the same rewards; and without hypocrisy, the Constitution, when it says, "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America," meant just what it said without reference to color or condition, *ad infinitum*.

The aspirations and expectations of a virtuous people, environed with so wise, so liberal, so deep, so broad, and so high a charter of *equal rights* as appear in said Constitution, ought to be treated by those to whom the administration of the laws is entrusted with as much sanctity as the prayers of the Saints are treated in heaven, that love, confidence, and union, like the sun, moon, and stars, should bear witness,

(For ever singing as they shine,)
"*The hand that made us is divine.*"

Unity is power; and when I reflect on the importance of it to the stability of all governments, I am astounded at the silly moves of persons and parties to foment discord in order to ride into power on the current of popular excitement; nor am I less surprised at the stretches of power or restrictions of right which too often appear as acts of legislators to pave the way to some favorite political scheme as destitute of intrinsic merit as a wolf's heart is of the milk of human kindness. A Frenchman would say, "*Presque tout aimer richesses et pouvoir.*" (Almost all men like wealth and power.)

I must dwell on this subject longer than others; for nearly one hundred years ago that golden patriot, Benjamin Franklin, drew up a plan of union for the then colonies of Great Britain, that *now* are such an independent nation, which, among many wise provisions for obedient children under their father's more rugged hand, had this:—"They have power to make laws, and lay and levy such general duties, imports, or taxes as to them shall appear most equal and just, (considering the ability and other circumstances of the inhabitants in the several colonies,) and such as may be collected with the least inconvenience to the people, rather discouraging luxury than loading industry with unnecessary burdens." Great Britain surely lacked the

laudable humanity and fostering clemency to grant such a just plan of union; but the sentiment remains, like the land that honored its birth, as a pattern for wise men *to study the convenience of the people more than the comfort of the cabinet.*

And one of the most noble fathers of our freedom and country's glory, great in war, great in peace, great in the estimation of the world, and great in the hearts of his countrymen, (the illustrious Washington,) said in his first inaugural address to Congress—"I behold the surest pledges that as, on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views or party animosities will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests, so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the pre-eminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world."

Verily, here shine the virtue and wisdom of a statesman in such lucid rays, that had every succeeding Congress followed the rich instruction, in all their deliberations and enactments, for the benefit and convenience of the whole community and the communities of which it is composed, no sound of rebellion in South Carolina, no rupture in Rhode Island, no mob in Missouri expelling her citizens by executive authority, corruption in the ballot boxes, a border warfare between Ohio and Michigan, hard times and distress, outbreak upon outbreak in the principal cities, murder, robbery, and defalcation, scarcity of money, and a thousand other difficulties, would have torn asunder the bonds of the Union, destroyed the confidence of man with man, and left the great body of the people to mourn over misfortunes in poverty brought on by corrupt legislation in an hour of proud vanity for self-aggrandizement.

The great Washington, soon after the foregoing faithful admonition for the common welfare of his nation, further advised Congress that "among the many interesting objects which will engage your attention, that of providing for the common defense will merit particular regard. To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace." As the Italian would say—"*Buono aviso.*' (Good advice.)

The elder Adams, in his inaugural address, gives national pride such a grand turn of justification, that every honest citizen must look back upon the infancy of the United States with an approving smile, and rejoice that patriotism in their rulers, virtue in the people, and prosperity in the Union once crowned the expectations of hope, unveiled the sophistry of the hypocrite, and silenced the folly of foes. Mr. Adams said, "If national pride is ever justifiable or excusable, it is when it springs not from *power* or riches, grandeur or glory, but from conviction of national innocence, information and benevolence."

There is no doubt that such was actually the case with our young realm at the close of the last century. Peace, prosperity, and union filled the country with religious toleration, temporal enjoyment, and virtuous enterprise; and grandly, too, when the deadly winter of the "Stamp Act," "Tea Act," and other *close communion* acts of royalty had chocked the growth of freedom of speech, liberty of the press, and liberty of conscience, did light, liberty, and loyalty flourish like cedars of God.

The respected and venerable Thomas Jefferson, in his inaugural address, made more than forty years ago, shows what a beautiful prospect an innocent, virtuous nation presents to the sage's eye where there is space for enterprise, hands for industry, heads for heroes, and hearts for moral greatness. He said, "A rising nation spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye,—when I contemplate these transcedent objects, and see the honor, the happiness of this beloved country committed to the issue and auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking."

Such a prospect was truly soul-stirring to a good man. But "since the fathers have fallen asleep," wicked and designing men have unrobed the government of its glory; and the people if not in dust and ashes, or in sackcloth have to lament in poverty her departed greatness while demagogues build fires in the north and the south, east and west to keep up their spirits *till it is better times.* But year after year has left the people to *hope* till the very name of *Congress* or *State Legis-*

lature is as horrible to the sensitive friend of his country as the house of "Bluebeard" is to his children, or "Crockford's Hell of London" to meek men.

When the people are secure and their rights properly respected, then the four main pillars of prosperity—viz., agriculture, manufactures, navigation, and commerce, need the fostering care of government; and in so goodly a country as ours, where the soil, the climate, the rivers, the lakes, and the sea coast, the productions, the timber, the minerals, and the inhabitants are so diversified, that a pleasing variety accomodates all tastes, trades, and calculations, it certainly is the highest point of supervision to protect the whole northern and southern, eastern and western, center and circumference of the realm, by a judicious tariff. It is an old saying and a true one, "If you wish to be *respected*, respect yourselves."

I will adopt in part the language of Mr. Madison's inaugural address—"To cherish peace and friendly intercourse with all nations, having corresponding dispositions; to maintain sincere neutrality towards beligerant nations; to prefer in all cases amicable discussion and reasonable accommodation of differences to a decision of them by an appeal to arms; to exclude foreign intrigues and foreign partialities, so degrading to all countries, and so baneful to free ones; to foster a spirit of independence too just to invade the rights of others, too proud to surrender our own, too liberal to indulge unworthy prejudices ourselves, and too elevated not to look down upon them in others; to hold the union of the States as the basis of their peace and happiness; to support the Constitution, which is the cement of the Union, as well in its limitations as in its authorities; to respect the rights and authorities reserved to the States and to the people as equally incorporated with and essential to the success of the general system; to avoid the slightest interference with the rights of conscience or the functions of religion, so wisely exempted from civil jurisdiction; to preserve in their full energy the other salutary provisions in behalf of private and personal rights, and of the freedom of the press,"—so far as intention aids in the fulfillment of duty, are consummations too big with benefits not to captivate the energies of all honest men to achieve them, when they can be brought to pass by

reciprocation, friendly alliances, wise legislation, and honorable treaties.

The government has once flourished under the guidance of trusty servants; and the Hon. Monroe, in his day, while speaking of the Constitution, says, "Our commerce has been wisely regulated with foreign nations and between the States. New States have been admitted into our Union. Our territory has been enlarged by fair and honorable treaty, and with great advantage to the original States; the States respectively protected by the national government, under a mild paternal system against foreign dangers, and enjoying within their separate spheres, by a wise partition of power, a just proportion of the sovereignty, have improved their police, extended their settlements, and attained a strength and maturity which are the best proofs of wholesome laws well administered. And if we look to the condition of individuals, what a proud spectacle does it exhibit! On whom has oppression fallen in any quarter of the Union? Who has been deprived of any right of person or property?—who restrained from offering his vows in the mode which he prefers to the divine Author of his being? It is well known that all these blessings have been enjoyed in their fullest extent; and I add, with peculiar satisfaction, that there has been no example of a capital punishment being inflicted on any one for the crime of high treason." What a delightful picture of power, policy, and prosperity! Truly the wise man's proverb is just—"*Sedaukauh teromain goy, veh-ka-sade le-u-meem khahmaut.*" (Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.)

But this is not all. The same honorable statesman, after having had about forty years' experience in the government, under the full tide of successful experiment, gives the following commendatory assurance of the efficacy of the *Magna Charta* to answer its great end and aim—*to protect the people in their rights.* "Such, then, is the happy government under which we live; a government adequate to every purpose for which the social compact is formed; a government elective in all its branches, under which every citizen may by his merit obtain the highest trust recognized by the Constitution, which contains within it no cause of discord, none to put at variance one portion of the community with another; a government which pro-

tects every citizen in the full enjoyment of his rights, and is able to protect the nation against injustice from foreign powers."

Again, the younger Adams, in the silver age of our country's advancement to fame, in his inaugural address (1825), thus candidly declares the majesty of the youthful republic in its increasing greatness:—"The year of jubilee, since the first formation of our union, has just elapsed: that of the Declaration of Independence is at hand. The consummation of both was effected by this Constitution. Since that period, a population of four millions has multiplied to twelve. A territory, bounded by the Mississippi, has been extended from sea to sea. New States have been admitted to the Union, in numbers nearly equal to those of the first confederation. Treaties of peace, amity, and commerce have been concluded with the principal dominions of the earth. The people of other nations, the inhabitants of regions acquired, not by conquest, but by compact, have been united with us in the participation of our rights and duties, of our burdens and blessings. The forest has fallen by the ax of our woodsman. The soil has been made to teem by the tillage of our farmers. Our commerce has whitened every ocean. The dominion of man over physical nature has been extended by the invention of our artists. Liberty and law have marched hand in hand. All the purposes of human association have been accomplished as effectively as under any other government on the globe, and at a cost little exceeding, in a whole generation, the expenditures of other nations in a single year."

In continuation of such noble sentiments, General Jackson, upon his ascension to the great chair of the chief magistracy, said, "As long as our government is administered for the good of the people, and is regulated by their will, as long as it secures to us the rights of person and property, liberty of conscience, and of the press, it will be worth defending; and so long as it is worth defending, a patriotic militia will cover it with an impenetrable *ægis*."

General Jackson's administration may be denominated the *acme* of American glory, liberty, and prosperity; for the national debt, which in 1815, on account of the late war, was $125,000,000, and being lessened gradually, was paid up in his golden day, and preparations were made to distribute the surplus revenue among the several States; and that august patriot, to use his own words in his farewell

address, retired, leaving "a great people prosperous and happy, in the full enjoyment of liberty and peace, honored and respected by every nation of the world."

At the age, then, of sixty years, our blooming republic began to decline under the withering touch of Martin Van Buren! Disappointed ambition, thirst for power, pride, corruption, party spirit, faction, patronage, perqisites, fame, tangling alliances, priestcraft, and spiritual wickedness in *high places*, struck hands and revelled in midnight splendor.

Trouble, vexation, perplexity, and contention, mingled with hope, fear, and murmuring, rumbled through the Union and agitated the whole nation, as would an earthquake at the center of the earth, the world heaving the sea beyond its bounds and shaking the everlasting hills; so, in hopes of better times, while jealousy, hypocritical pretensions, and pompous ambition were luxuriating on the ill-gotten spoils of the people, they rose in their majesty like a tornado, and swept through the land, till General Harrison appeared as a star among the storm-clouds for better weather.

The calm came, and the language of that venerable patriot, in his inaugural address, while descanting upon the merits of the Constituiton and its framers, thus expressed himself:—"There were in it features which appeared not to be in harmony with their ideas of a simple representative democracy or republic. And knowing the tendency of power to increase itself, particularly when executed by a single individual, predictions were made that, at no very remote period, the government would terminate in virtual monarchy.

"It would not become me to say that the fears of these patriots have been already realized. But as I sincerely believe that the tendency of measures and of men's thanions for some years past has been in that direction, it is, I conceive, strictly proper that I should take this occasion to repeat the assurances I have heretofore given of my determination to arrest the progress of that tendency, if it really exists, and restore the government to its pristine health and vigor."

This good man died before he had the opportunity of applying one balm to ease the pain of our groaning country, and I am willing the nation should be the judge, whether General Harrison, in his ex-

alted station, upon the eve of his entrance into the world of spirits, *told the truth, or not*, with acting President Tyler's three years of perplexity, and pseudo-Whig-Democrat reign to heal the breaches or show the wounds, *secundum artem* (according to art).

Subsequent events, all things considered, Van Buren's downfall, Harrison's exit, and Tyler's self-sufficient turn to the whole, go to show, as a Chaldean might exclaim—"*Beram etai elaugh beshmayauh gauhah rauzeen.*" (Certainly there is a God in heaven to reveal secrets.)

No honest man can doubt for a moment but the glory of American liberty is on the wane, and that calamity and confusion will sooner or later destroy the peace of the people. Speculators will urge a national bank as a savior of credit and comfort. A hireling psuedo-priesthood will plausibly push abolition doctrines and doings and "human rights" into Congress, and into every other place where conquest smells of fame, or opposition swells to popularity. Democracy, Whiggery, and cliquery will attract their elements and foment divisions among the people, to accomplish fancied schemes and accumulate power, while poverty, driven to despair, like hunger forcing its way through a wall, will break through the statutes of men to save life, and mend the breach in prison glooms.

A still higher grade of what the "nobility of nations" call "great men" will dally with all rights, in order to smuggle a fortune at "one fell swoop," mortgage Texas, possess Oregon, and claim all the unsettled regions of the world for hunting and trapping; and should an humble, honest man, red, black, or white, exhibit a better title, these gentry have only to clothe the judge with richer ermine, and spangle the lawyer's finger with finer rings, to have the judgment of his peers and the honor of his lords as a pattern of honesty, virtue, and humanity, while the motto hangs on his nation's escutcheon—"*Every man has his price!*"

Now, O people! people! turn unto the Lord and live, and reform this nation. Frustrate the designs of wicked men. Reduce Congress at least two-thirds. Two senators from a State and two members to a million of population will do more business than the army that now occupy the halls of the national legislature. Pay them two dollars and their board per diem (except Sundays). That is more

than the farmer gets, and he lives honestly. Curtail the officers of government in pay, number, and power; for the Philistine lords have shorn our nation of its goodly locks in the lap of Delilah.

Petition your State legislatures to pardon every convict in their several penitentiaries, blessing them as they go, and saying to them, in the name of the Lord, *Go thy way, and sin no more.*

Advise your legislators, when they make laws for larceny, burglary, or any felony, to make the penalty applicable to work upon roads, public works, or any place where the culprit can be taught more wisdom and more virtue, and become more enlightened. Rigor and seclusion will never do as much to reform the propensities of men as reason and friendship. Murder only can claim confinement or death. Let the penitentiaries be turned into seminaries of learning, where intelligence, like the angels of heaven, would banish such fragments of barbarism. Imprisonment for debt is a meaner practice than the savage tolerates, with all his ferocity. "*Amor vincit omnia.*" (Love conquers all.)

Petition, also, ye goodly inhabitants of the slave States, your legislators to abolish slavery by the year 1850, or now, and save the abolitionist from reproach and ruin, infamy and shame.

Pray Congress to pay every man a reasonable price for his slaves out of the surplus revenue arising from the sale of public lands and from the deduction of pay from the members of Congress.

Break off the shackles from the poor black man, and hire him to labor like other human beings; for "an hour of virtuous liberty on earth is worth a whole eternity of bondage." Abolish the practice in the army and navy of trying men by court-martial for desertion. If a soldier or marine runs away, send him his wages, with this instruction, that *his country will never trust him again; he has forfeited his honor.*

Make HONOR the standard with all men. Be sure that good is rendered for evil in all cases; and the whole nation, like a kingdom of kings and priests, will rise up in righteousness, and be respected as wise and worthy on earth, and as just and holy for heaven, by Jehovah, the Author of perfection.

More economy in the national and state governments would make less taxes among the people; more equality through the cities,

towns, and country, would make less distinction among the people; and more honesty and familiarity in societies would make less hypocrisy and flattery in all branches of the community; and open, frank, candid decorum to all men, in this boasted land of liberty, would beget esteem, confidence, union, and love; and the neighbor from any State or from any country, of whatever color, clime, or tongue, could rejoice when he put his foot on the sacred soil of freedom, and exclaim, The very name of "*American*" is fraught with *friendship!* Oh, then, create confidence, restore freedom, break down slavery, banish imprisonment for debt, and be in love, fellowship, and peace with all the world! Remember that honesty is not subject to law. The law was made for transgressors. Wherefore a Dutchman might exclaim—"*Ein eherlicher name ist besser als Reichthum.*" (A good name is better than riches.)

For the accommodation of the people in every State and Territory let Congress show their wisdom by granting a national bank, with branches in each State and Territory, where the capital stock shall be held by the nation for the mother bank, and by the States and Territories for the branches; and whose officers and directors shall be elected yearly by the people, with wages at the rate of two dollars per day for services; which several banks shall never issue any more bills than the amount of capital stock in her vaults and the interest.

The net gain of the mother bank shall be applied to the national revenue, and that of the branches to the States' and Territories' revenues. And the bills shall be par throughout the nation, which will mercifully cure that fatal disorder known in cities as *brokerage*, and leave the people's money in their own pockets.

Give every man his constitutional freedom, and the President full power to send an army to suppress mobs, and the States authority to repeal and impugn that relic of folly which makes it necessary for the governor of a State to make the demand of the President for troops, in case of invasion or rebellion.

The governor himself may be a mobber; and instead of being punished, as he should be, for murder or treason, he may destroy the very lives, rights, and property he should protect. Like the good Samaritan, send every lawyer, as soon as he repents and obeys the ordinances of heaven, to preach the Gospel to the destitute, without

purse or scrip, pouring in the oil and the wine. A learned priesthood is certainly more honorable than "*an hireling clergy.*"

As to the contiguous territories to the United States, wisdom would direct no tangling alliance. Oregon belongs to this government honoraby; and when we have the red man's consent, let the Union spread from the east to the west sea; and if Texas petitions Congress to be adopted among the sons of liberty, give her the right hand of fellowship, and refuse not the same friendly grip to Canada and Mexico. And when the right arm of freemen is stretched out in the character of a navy for the protection of rights, commerce and honor, let the iron eyes of power watch from Maine to Mexico, and from California to Columbia. Thus may union be strengthened, and foreign speculation prevented from opposing broadside to broadside.

Seventy years have done much for this goodly land. They have burst the chains of oppression and monarchy, and multiplied its inhabitants from two to twenty millions, with a proportionate share of knowledge keen enough to circumnavigate the globe, draw the lightning from the clouds, and cope with all the crowned heads of the world.

Then why—oh, why will a once floushing people not arise, phœnix-like, over the cinders of Martin Van Buren's power, and over the sinking fragments and smoking ruins of other catamount politicians, and over the windfalls of Benton, Calhoun, Clay, Wright and a caravan of other equally unfortunate law doctors, and cheerfully help to spread a plaster and bind up the *burnt, bleeding wounds* of a sore but blessed country.

The Southern people are hospitable and noble. They will help to rid so free a country of every vestige of slavery, whenever they are assured of an equivalent for their property. The country will be full of money and confidence when a national bank of twenty millions, and a State bank in every State, with a million or more, gives a tone to monetary matters, and make a circulating medium as valuable in the purses of a whole community, as in the coffers of a speculating banker or broker.

The people may have faults, but they should never be trifled with. I think Mr. Pitt's quotation in the British parliament of Mr.

Prior's couplet for the husband and wife, to apply to the course which the king and ministry of England should pursue to the then colonies of the *now* United States, might be a genuine rule of action for some of the *breath-made* men in high places to use towards the posterity of this noble, daring people:—

Be to her faults a little blind;
Be to her virtues very kind.

We have had Democratic Presidents, Whig Presidents, a pseudo-Democratic-Whig President, and now it is time to have *a President of the United States;* and let the people of the whole Union, like the inflexible Romans, whenever they find a *promise* made by a candidate that is not *practiced* as an officer, hurl the miserable sycophant from his exaltation, as God did Nebuchadnezzar, to crop the grass of the field with a beast's heart among the cattle.

Mr. Van Buren said, in his inaugural address, that he went "into the Presidential chair the inflexible and uncompromising opponent of every attempt, on the part of Congress, to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia, against the wishes of the slave holding States, and also with a determination equally decided to resist the slightest interference with it in the States where it exists.

Poor little Matty made this rhapsodical sweep with the fact before his eyes, that the State of New York, his native State, had abolished slavery without a struggle or a groan. Great God, how independent! From henceforth slavery is tolerated where it exists, constitution or no constitution, people or no people, right or wrong: *Vox Matti—Vox Diaboli* ("the voice of Matti"—"the voice of the Devil.") And, peradventure, his great "sub-treasury" scheme was a piece of the same mind. But the man and his measures have such a striking resemblance to the anecdote of the Welshman and his cart-tongue, that when the Constitution was so long that it allowed slavery at the capitol of a free people, it could not be cut off; but when it was so short that it needed a *sub-treasury* to save the funds of the nation, *it could be spliced!* Oh, granny, granny, what a long tail our puss has got! (As a Greek might say, *Hysteron proteron,* (the cart before the horse). But his mighty whisk through the great national

fire, for the presidential chestnuts, *burnt the locks of his glory with the blaze of his folly!*

In the United States the people are the government, and their united voice is the only sovereign that should rule, the only power that should be obeyed, and the only gentlemen that should be honored at home and abroad, on the land and on the sea. Wherefore, were I the President of the United States, by the voice of a virtuous people, I would honor the old paths of the venerated fathers of freedom; I would walk in the tracks of the illustrious patriots who carried the ark of the government upon their shoulders with an eye single to the glory of the people; and when that people petitioned to abolish slavery in the slave States, I would use all honorable means to have their prayers granted, and give liberty to the captive by paying the Southern gentlemen a reasonable equivalent for his property; that the whole nation might be free indeed!

When the people petitioned for a national bank, I would use my best endeavors to have their prayers answered, and establish one on national principles to save taxes, and make them the controllers of its ways and means. And when the people petitioned to possess the Territory of Oregon, or any other contiguous territory, I would lend the influence of a chief magistrate to grant so reasonable a request, that they might extend the mighty efforts and enterprise of a free people from the east to the west sea, and make the wilderness blossom as the rose. And when a neighboring realm petitioned to join the union of the sons of liberty, my voice would be *come*—yea, come, Texas; come, Mexico; come, Canada; and come, all the world: let us be brethren, let us be one great family, and let there be a universal peace. Abolish the cruel custom of prisons (except certain cases), penitentiaries, courts-martial for desertion; and let reason and friendship reign over the ruins of ignorance and barbarity; yea, I would, as the universal friend of man, open the prisons, open the eyes, open the ears, and open the hearts of all people, to behold and enjoy freedom—unadulterated freedom; and God, who once cleansed the violence of the earth with a flood, whose Son laid down His life for the salvation of all His Father gave Him out of the world, and who has promised that He will come and purify the world again with fire in the last days, should be supplicated by me for the good

of all people. With the highest esteem, I am a friend of virtue and of the people.

JOSEPH SMITH.

Nauvoo, Illinois, Feb. 7, 1844.

APPENDIX IV.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MARTYRDOM OF JOSEPH SMITH, BY PRESIDENT JOHN TAYLOR.

BEING requested by Elders George A. Smith and Wilford Woodruff, Church historians, to write an account of events that transpired before, and took place at, the time of the martyrdom of Joseph Smith, in Carthage jail, in Hancock County, State of Illinois, I write the following, principally from memory, not having access at this time to any public documents relative thereto farther than a few desultory items contained in Ford's "History of Illinois." I must also acknowledge myself considerably indebted to George A. Smith, who was with me when I wrote it, and who, although not there at the time of the bloody transaction, yet, from conversing with several persons who were in the capacity of Church historians, and aided by an excellent memory, has rendered me considerale service.

These and the few items contained in the note at the end of this account are all the aid I have had. I would further add that the items contained in the letter, in relation to dates especially, may be considered strictly correct.

After having written the whole, I read it over to the Hon. J. M. Bernhisel, who with one or two slight alterations, pronounced it strictly correct. Brother Bernhisel was present most of the time. I am afraid that, from the length of time that has transpired since the occurrence, and having to rely almost exclusively upon my memory, there may be some slight inaccuracies, but I believe that in the general it is strictly correct. As I figured in those transaction from the commencement to the end, they left no slight impression on my mind.

In the year 1844, a very great excitement prevailed in some

parts of Hancock, Brown and other neighboring counties of Illinois, in relation to the Mormons, and a spirit of vindictive hatred and persecution was exhibited among the people, which was manifested in the most bitter and acrimonious language, as well as by acts of hostility and violence, frequently threatening the destruction of the citizens of Nauvoo and vicinity, and utter annihilation of the Mormons and Mormonism, and in some instances breaking out in the most violent acts of ruffianly barbarity. Persons were kidnapped, whipped, persecuted and falsely accused of various crimes; their cattle and houses injured, destroyed, or stolen; vexatious prosecutions were instituted to harass and annoy. In some remote neighborhoods they were expelled from their homes without redress, and in others violence was threatened to their persons and property, while in others every kind of insult and indignity were heaped upon them, to induce them to abandon their homes, the County or the State.

These annoyances, prosecutions and persecutions were instigated through different agencies and by various classes of men, actuated by different motives, but all uniting in the one object—prosecution, persecution and extermination of the Saints.

There were a number of wicked and corrupt men living in Nauvoo and its vicinity, who had belonged to the Church, but whose conduct was incompatible with the Gospel; they were accordingly dealt with by the Church and severed from its communion. Some of these had been prominent members, and held official stations either in the city or Church. Among these were John C. Bennett, formerly mayor; William Law, counselor to Joseph Smith; Wilson Law, his natural brother, and general in the Nauvoo Legion; Dr. R. D. Foster, a man of some property, but with a very bad reputation; Francis and Chauncey Higbee, the latter a young lawyer, and both sons of a respectable and honored man in the Church, known as Judge Elias Higbee, who died about twelve months before.

Besides these, there were a great many apostates, both in the city and county, of less notoriety, who for their delinquencies, had been expelled from the Church. John C. Bennett and Francis and Chauncey Higbee were cut off from the Church; the former was also cashiered from his generalship for the most flagrant acts of seduction and adultery; and the developments in the cases were so scandal-

ous that the High Council, before which they were tried, had to sit with closed doors.

William Law, although counselor to Joseph, was found to be his most bitter foe and maligner, and to hold intercourse, contrary to all law, in his own house, with a young lady resident with him; and it was afterwards proven that he had conspired with some Missourians to take Joseph Smith's life, and was only saved by Josiah Arnold and Daniel Garn, who, being on guard at his house, prevented the assassins from seeing him. Yet, although having murder in his heart, his manners were generally courteous and mild, and he was well calculated to deceive.

General Wilson Law was cut off from the Church for seduction, felsehood, and defamation; both the above were also court-martialed by the Nauvoo Legion, and expelled. Foster was also cut off I believe, for dishonesty, fraud and falsehood. I know he was eminently guilty of the whole, but whether these were the specific charges or not, I don't know, but I do know that he was a notoriously wicked and corrupt man.

Besides the above characters and Mormonic apostates, there were other three parties. The first of these may be called religionists, the second politicians, and the third counterfeiters, black-legs, horse-thieves and cut-throats.

The religious party were chagrined and maddened because Mormonism came in contact with their religion, and they could not oppose it from the scriptures. Thus like the ancient Jews, when enraged at the exhibition of their follies and hypocrisies by Jesus and His apostles, so these were infuriated against the Mormons because of their discomfiture by them; and instead of owning the truth and rejoicing in it, they were ready to gnash upon them with their teeth, and to persecute the believers in principles which they could not disprove.

The political party were those who were of opposite politics to us. There were always two parties, the Whigs and Democrats, and we could not vote for one without offending the other; and it not unfrequently happened that candidates for office would place the issue of their election upon opposition to the Mormons, in order to gain political influence from the religious prejudice, in which case the Mor-

mons were compelled, in self-defense, to vote against them, which resulted almost invariably against our opponents. This made them angry; and although it was of their own making, and the Mormons could not be expected to do otherwise, yet they raged on account of their discomfiture, and sought to wreak their fury on the Mormons. As an instance of the above, when Joseph Duncan was candidate for the office of governor of Illinois, he pledged himself to his party that, if he could be elected, he would exterminate or drive the Mormons from the State.* The consequence was that Governor Ford was elected. The Whigs, seeing that they had been out-generaled by the Democrats in securing the Mormon vote, became seriously alarmed, and sought to repair their disaster by raising a crusade against the people. The Whig newspapers teemed with accounts of the wonders and enormities of Nauvoo, and of the awful wickedness of a party which could consent to receive the support of such miscreants. Governor Duncan, who was really a brave, honest man, and who had nothing to do with getting the Mormon charters passed through the Legislature, took the stump on this subject in good earnest, and expected to be elected governor almost on this question alone.

The third party, composed of counterfeiters, black-legs, horse-thieves and cut-throats, were a pack of scoundrels that infested the whole of the western country at that time. In some districts their influence was so great as to control important State and County offices. On this subject Governor Ford has the following:

"Then, again, the northern part of the State was not destitute of its organized bands of rogues, engaged in murders, robberies, horse-stealing and in making and passing counterfeit money. These rogues were scattered all over the north, but the most of them were located in the counties of Ogle, Winnebago, Lee and De Kalb.

"In the County of Ogle they were so numerous, strong, and well organized that they could not be convicted for their crimes. By getting some of their numbers on the juries, by producing a host of witnesses to sustain their defense, by perjured evidence, and by changing the venue of one County to another, by continuances from term

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*See his remarks as contained in his History of Illinois, page 269.

to term, and by the inability of witnesses to attend from time to time at distant and foreign Counties, they most generally managed to be acquitted."*

There was a combination of horse-thieves extending from Galena to Alton. There were counterfeiters engaged in merchandising, trading, and store-keeping in most of the cities and villages, and in some districts, I have been credibly informed by men to whom they have disclosed their secrets, the judges, sheriffs, constables, and jailors, as well, as professional men, were more or less associated with them. These had in their employ the most reckless, abandoned wretches, who stood ready to carry into effect the most desperate enterprises, and were careless alike of human life and property. Their object in persecuting the Mormons was in part to cover their own rascality, and in part to prevent them from exposing and prosecuting them; but the principal reason was plunder, believing that if they could be removed or driven they would be made fat on Mormon spoils, besides having in the deserted city a good asylum for the prosecution of their diabolical pursuits.

This conglomeration of apostate Mormons, religious bigots, political fanatics and black-legs, all united their forces against the Mormons, and organized themselves into a party, denominated anti-Mormons. Some of them, we have reason to believe, joined The Church in order to cover their infamous practices, and when they were expelled for their unrighteousness only raged with greater violence. They circulated every kind of falsehood that they could collect or manufacture against the Mormons. They also had a paper to assist them in their nefarious designs, called the *Warsaw Signal*, edited by a Mr. Thomas Sharp, a violent and unprincipled man, who shrunk not from any enormity. The anti-Mormons had public meetings, which were very numerously attended, where they passed resolutions of the most violent and inflammatory kind, threatening to drive, expel and exterminate the Mormons from the State, at the same time accusing them of every evil in the vocabulary of crime.

They appointed their meetings in various parts of Hancock,

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* Ford's History of Illinois, page 246.

M'Donough, and other counties, which soon resulted in the organization of armed mobs, under the direction of officers who reported to their headquarters, and the reports of which were published in the anti-Mormon paper, and circulated through the adjoining counties. We also published in the *Times and Seasons* and the *Nauvoo Neighbor* (two papers published and edited by me at that time) an account, not only of their proceedings, but our own. But such was the hostile feeling, so well arranged their plans, and so desperate and lawless their measures, that it was with the greatest difficulty that we could get our papers circulated; they were destroyed by postmasters and others, and scarcely ever arrived at the place of their destination, so that a great many of the people, who would have been otherwise peaceable, were excited by their misrepresentations, and instigated to join their hostile or predatory bands.

Emboldened by the acts of those outside, the apostate Mormons, associated with others, commenced the publication of a libelous paper in Nauvoo, called the *Nauvoo Expositor*. This paper not only reprinted from the others, but put in circulation the most libelous, false, and infamous reports concereing the citizens of Nauvoo, and especially the ladies. It was, however, no sooner put in circulation than the indignation of the whole community was aroused; so much so, that they threatened its annihilation; and I do not believe that in any other city of the United States, if the same charges had been made against the citizens, it would have been permitted to remain one day. As it was among us, under these circumstances, it was thought best to convene the city council to take into consideration the adoption of some measures for its removal, as it was deemed better that this should be done legally than illegally. Joseph Smith, therefore, who was mayor, convened the city council for that purpose; the paper was introduced and read, and the subject examined. All, or nearly all present, expressed their indignation at the course taken by the *Expositor*, which was owned by some of the aforesaid apostates, associated with one or two others. Wilson Law, Dr. Foster, Charles Ivins and the Higbees before referred to, some lawyers, storekeepers, and others in Nauvoo who were not Mormons, together with the anti-Mormons outside of the city, sustained it. The calculation was, by false statements, to unsettle the minds of many in the

city, and to form combinations there similar to the anti-Mormon associations outside of the city. Various attempts had heretofore been made by the party to annoy and irritate the citizens of Nauvoo; false accusations had been made, vexatious lawsuits instituted, threats made, and various devices resorted to, to influence the public mind, and, if possible, to provoke us to the commission of some overt act that might make us amenable to the law. With a perfect knowledge, therefore, of the designs of these infernal scoundrels who were in our midst, as well as those who surrounded us, the city council entered upon an investigation of the matter. They felt that they were in a critical position, and that any move made for the abating of that press would be looked upon, or at least represented, as a direct attack upon the liberty of speech, and that, so far from displeasing our enemies, it would be looked upon by them as one of the best circumstances that could transpire to assist them in their nefarious and bloody designs. Being a member of the city council, I well remember the feeling of responsibility that seemed to rest upon all present; nor shall I soon forget the bold, manly, independent expressions of Joseph Smith on that occasion in relation to this matter. He exhibited in glowing colors the meanness, corruption, and ultimate designs of the anti-Mormons; their despicable characters and ungodly influences, especially of those who were in our midst. He told of the responsibility that rested upon us, as guardians of the public interest, to stand up in the defense of the injured and oppressed, to stem the current of corruption, and, as men and Saints, to put a stop to this flagrant outrage upon this people's rights.

He stated that no man was a stronger advocate for the liberty of speech and of the press than himself: yet, when this noble gift is utterly prostituted and abused, as in the present instance, it loses all claim to our respect, and becomes as great an agent for evil as it can possibly be for good; and notwithstanding the apparent advantage we should give our enemies by this act, yet it behooved us, as men, to act independent of all secondary influences, to perform the part of men of enlarged minds, and boldly and fearlessly to discharge the duties devolving upon us by declaring as a nuisance, and removing this filthy, libelous, and seditious sheet from our midst.

The subject was discussed in various forms, and after the re-

marks made by the mayor, every one seemed to be waiting for some one else to speak.

After a considerable pause, I arose and expressed my feelings frankly, as Joseph had done, and numbers of others followed in the same strain; and I think, but am not certain, that I made a motion for the removal of that press as a nuisance. This motion was finally put, and carried by all but one; and he conceded that the measure was just, but abstained through fear.

Several members of the city council were not in The Church. The following is the bill referred to:

Bill for Removing of the Press of the "Nauvoo Expositor." *

Resolved by the city council of the city of Nauvoo, that the printing-office from whence issues the *Nauvoo Expositor* is a public nuisance; and also of said *Nauvoo Expositors* which may be or exist in said establishment; and the mayor is instructed to cause said establishment and papers to be removed without delay, in such manner as he shall direct.

Passed June 10th, 1844. GEO. W. HARRIS, President *pro tem.*
W. RICHARDS, Recorder.

After the passage of the bill, the marshal, John P. Greene, was ordered to abate or remove, which he forthwith proceeded to do by summoning a posse of men for that purpose. The press was removed or broken, I don't remember which, by the marshal, and the types scattered in the street.

This seemed to be one of those extreme cases that require extreme measures, as the press was still proceeding in its inflammatory course. It was feared that, as it was almost universally execrated, should it continue longer, an indignant people might commit some overt act which might lead to serious consequences, and that it was better to use legal than illegal means.

This, as was foreseen, was the very course our enemies wished us to pursue, as it afforded them an opportunity of circulating a very

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* *Deseret News*, No. 29, Sept. 23, 1857, p. 226.

plausible story about the Mormons being opposed to the liberty of the press and of free speech, which they were not slow to avail themselves of. Stories were fabricated, and facts perverted; false statements were made, and this act brought in as an example to sustain the whole of their fabrications; and, as if inspired by Satan, they labored with an energy and zeal worthy of a better cause. They had runners to circulate their reports, not only through Hancock County, but in all the surrounding counties. These reports were communicated to their anti-Mormon societies, and these societies circulated them in their several districts. The anti-Mormon paper, the *Warsaw Signal,* was filled with inflammatory articles and misrepresentations in relation to us, and especially to this act of destroying the press. We were represented as a horde of lawless ruffians and brigands, anti-American and anti-republican, steeped in crime and iniquity, opposed to freedom of speech and of the press, and all the rights and immunities of a free and enlightened people; that neither person nor property were secure: that we had designs upon the citizens of Illinois and of the United States, and the people were called upon to rise *en masse*, and put us down, drive us away, or exterminate us as a pest to society, and alike dangerous to our neighbors, the State, and commonwealth.

These statements were extensively copied and circulated throughout the United States. A true statement of the facts in question was published by us both in the *Times and Seasons* and the *Nauvoo Neighbor;* but it was found impossible to circulate them in the immediate counties, as they were destroyed in the post-offices or otherwise by the agents of the anti-Mormons, and in order to get the mail to go abroad, I had to send the papers a distance of thirty or forty miles from Nauvoo, and sometimes to St. Louis (upward of two hundred miles), to insure their proceeding on their route, and then one-half or two-thirds of the papers never reached the place of destination, being intercepted or destroyed by our enemies.

These false reports stirred up the community around, of whom many, on account of religious prejudice, were easily instigated to join the anti-Mormons and embark in any crusade that might be undertaken against us: hence their ranks swelled in numbers, and new organizations were formed, meetings were held, resolutions passed,

and men and means volunteered for the extirpation of the Mormons.

On these points Governor Ford writes: "These also were the active men in blowing up the fury of the people, in hopes that a popular movement might be set on foot, which would result in the expulsion or extermination of the Mormon voters. For this purpose public meetings had been called, inflammatory speeches had been made, exaggerated reports had been extensively circulated, committees had been appointed, who rode night and day to spread the reports and solicit the aid of neighboring counties, and at a public meeting at Warsaw resolutions were passed to expel or exterminate the Mormon population. This was not, however, a movement which was unanimously concurred in. The county contained a goodly number of inhabitants in favor of peace, or who at least desired to be neutral in such a contest. These were stigmatized by the name of Jack-Mormons, and there were not a few of the more furious exciters of the people who openly expressed their intention to involve them in the common expulsion or extermination.

"A system of excitement and agitation was artfully planned and executed with tact. It consisted in spreading reports and rumors of the most fearful character. As examples: On the morning before my arrival at Carthage, I was awakened at an early hour by the frightful report, which was asserted with confidence and apparent consternation, that the Mormons had already commenced the work of burning, destruction, and murder, and that every man capable of bearing arms was instantly wanted at Carthage for the protection of the county.

"We lost no time in starting; but when we arrived at Carthage we could hear no more concerning this story. Again, during the few days that the militia were encamped at Carthage, frequent applications were made to me to send a force here, and a force there, and a force all about the country, to prevent murders, robberies, and larcenies which, it was said, were threatened by the Mormons. No such forces were sent, nor were any such offenses committed at that time, except the stealing of some provisions, and there was never the least proof that this was done by a Mormon. Again, on my late visit to Hancock County, I was informed by some of their violent enemies that

the larcenies of the Mormons had become unusually numerous and insufferable.

"They admitted that but little had been done in this way in their immediate vicinity, but they insisted that sixteen horses had been stolen by the Mormons in one night near Lima, and, upon inquiry, was told that no horses had been stolen in that neighborhood, but that sixteen horses had been stolen in one night in Hancock County. This last informant being told of the Hancock story, again changed the venue to another distant settlement in the northern edge of Adams."*

In the meantime legal proceedings were instituted against the members of the city council of Nauvoo. A writ, here subjoined, was issued upon the affidavit of the Laws, Fosters, Higbees, and Ivins, by Mr. Morrison, a justice of the peace in Carthage, the county seat of Hancock, and put into the hands of one David Bettesworth, a constable of the same place.

Writ issued upon affidavit by Thomas Morrison, J. P., State of Illinois, Hancock County, ss.

"The people of the State of Illinois, to all constables, sheriffs, and coroners of said State, greeting:

"Whereas complaint hath been made before me, one of the justices of the peace in and for the county of Hancock aforesaid, upon the oath of Francis M. Higbee, of the said county, that Joseph Smith, Samuel Bennett, John Taylor, William W. Phelps, Hyrum Smith, John P. Greene, Stephen Perry, Dimick B. Huntington, Jonathan Dunham, Stephen Markham, William Edwards, Jonathan Holmes, Jesse P. Harmon, John Lytle, Joseph W. Coolidge, Harvey D. Redfield, Porter Rockwell, and Levi Richards, of said county, did, on the tenth day of June instant, commit a riot at and within the county aforesaid, wherein they with force and violence broke into the printing office of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, and unlawfully and with force burned and destroyed the printing press, type and fixtures of the same, being the property of William Law, Wilson Law, Charles Ivins, Francis M. Higbee, Chauncey L. Higbee, Robert D. Foster and Charles A. Foster.

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* Ford's History of Illinois, page 330, 331.

"These are therefore to command you forthwith to apprehend the said Joseph Smith, Samuel Bennett, John Taylor, William W. Phelps, Hyrum Smith, John P. Greene, Stephen Perry, Dimick B. Huntington, Jonathan Dunham, Stephen Markham, William Edwards, Jonathan Holmes, Jesse P. Harmon, John Lytle, Joseph W. Coolidge, Harvey D. Redfield, Porter Rockwell, and Levi Richards, and bring them before me, or some other justice of the peace, to answer the premises, and farther to be dealt with according to law.

"Given under my hand and seal at Carthage, in the county aforesaid, this 11th day of June, A. D. 1844.

"THOMAS MORRISON, J. P." (Seal.)*

The council did not refuse to attend to the legal proceedings in the case, but as the law of Illinois made it the privilege of the persons accused to go "or appear before the issuer of the writ, or any other justice of the peace," they requested to be taken before another magistrate, either in the city of Nauvoo or at any reasonable distance out of it.

This the constable, who was a mobocrat, refused to do; and as this was our legal privilege we refused to be dragged, contrary to law, a distance of eighteen miles, when at the same time we had reason to believe that an organized band of mobocrats were assembled for the purpose of extermination or murder, and among whom it would not be safe to go without a superior force of armed men. A writ of *habeas corpus* was called for, and issued by the municipal court of Nauvoo, taking us out of the hands of Bettesworth, and placing us in the charge of the city marshal. We went before the municipal court and were dismissed. Our refusal to obey this illegal proceeding was by them construed into a refusal to submit to law, and circulated as such, and the people either did believe, or professed to believe, that we were in open rebellion against the laws and the authorities of the State. Hence mobs began to assemble, among which all through the country inflammatory speeches were made, exciting them to mobocracy and violence. Soon they commenced their

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**Deseret News*, No. 30, September 30, 1857, page 233.

depredations in our outside settlements, kidnapping some, and whipping and otherwise abusing others.

The persons thus abused fled to Nauvoo as soon as practicable, and related their injuries to Joseph Smith, then mayor of the city, and lieutenant general of the Nauvoo Legion. They also went before magistrates, and made affidavits of what they had suffered, seen and heard. These affidavits, in connection with a copy of all our proceedings were forwarded by Joseph Smith to Mr. Ford, then governor of Illinois, with an expression of our desire to abide law, and a request that the governor would instruct him how to proceed in the case of arrival of an armed mob against the city. The governor sent back instructions to Joseph Smith that, as he was lieutenant general of the Nauvoo Legion, it was his duty to protect the city and surrounding country, and issued orders to that effect. Upon the reception of these orders Joseph Smith assembled the people of the city, and laid before them the governor's instructions; he also convened the officers of the Nauvoo Legion for the purpose of conferring in relation to the best mode of defense. He also issued orders to the men to hold themselves in readiness in case of being called upon. On the following day General Joseph Smith, with his staff, the leading officers of the Legion, and some prominent strangers who were in our midst, made a survey of the outside boundaries of the city, which was very extensive, being about five miles up and down the river, and about two and a half back in the center, for the purpose of ascertaining the position of the ground, and the feasibility of defense, and to make all necessary arrangements in case of an attack.

It may be well here to remark that numbers of gentlemen, strangers to us, either came on purpose or were passing through Nauvoo, and upon learning the position of things, expressed their indignation against our enemies, and avowed their readiness to assist us by their counsel or otherwise. It was some of these who assisted us in reconnoitering the city, and finding out its adaptability for defense, and how to protect it best against an armed force. The Legion was called together and drilled, and every means made use of for defense. At the call of the officers, old and young men came forward, both from the city and the country, and mustered to the number of about five thousand.

In the meantime our enemies were not idle in mustering their forces and committing depredations, nor had they been; it was, in fact, their gathering that called ours into existence; their forces continued to accumulate; they assumed a threatening attitude, and assembled in large bodies, armed and equipped for war, and threatened the destruction and extermination of the Mormons.

An account of their outrages and assemblages was forwarded to Governor Ford almost daily; accompanied by affidavits furnished by eye-witnesses of their proceedings. Persons were also sent out to the counties around with pacific intentions, to give them an account of the true state of affairs, and to notify them of the feelings and dispositions of the people of Nauvoo, and thus, if possible, quell the excitement. In some of the more distant counties these men were very successful, and produced the salutary influence upon the minds of many intelligent and well-disposed men. In neigboring counties, however, where anti-Mormon influence prevailed, they produced little effect. At the same time guards were stationed around Nauvoo, and picket-guards in the distance. At length opposing forces gathered so near that more active measures were taken; reconnoitering parties were sent out, and the city proclaimed under martial law. Things now assumed a belligerent attitude, and persons passing through the city were questioned as to what they knew of the enemy, while passes were in some instances given to avoid difficulty with the guards. Joseph Smith continued to send on messengers to the governor, (Philip B. Lewis and other messengers were sent.) Samuel James, then residing at La Harpe, carried a message and dispatches to him, and in a day or two after Bishop Edward Hunter and others went again with fresh dispatches, representations, affidavits, and instructions; but as the weather was excessively wet, the rivers swolen, and the bridges washed away in many places, it was with great difficulty that they proceeded on their journeys. As the mobocracy had at last attracted the governor's attention, he started in company with some others from Springfield to the scene of trouble, and missed, I believe, both Brothers James and Hunter on the road, and, of course, did not see their documents. He came to Carthage, and made that place, which was a regular mobocratic den, his headquarters; as it

was the county seat, however, of Hancock County, that circumstance might, in a measure, justify his staying there.

To avoid the appearance of all hostility on our part, and to fulfill the law in every particular, at the suggestion of Judge Thomas, judge of that judicial district, who had come to Nauvoo at the time, and who stated that we had fulfilled the law, but, in order to satisfy all he would council us to go before Esquire Wells, who was not in our Church, and have a hearing, we did so, and after a full hearing we were again dismissed.

The governor on the road collected forces, some of whom were respectable, but on his arrival in the neighborhood of the difficulties he received as militia all the companies of the mob forces who united with him. After his arrival at Carthage he sent two gentlemen from there to Nauvoo as a committee to wait upon General Joseph Smith, informing him of the arrival of his excellency, with a request that General Smith would send out a committee to wait upon the governor and represent to him the state of affairs in relation to the difficulties that then existed in the county. We met this committee while we were reconnoitering the city, to find out the best mode of defense as aforesaid. Dr. J. M. Bernhisel and myself were appointed as a committee by General Smith to wait upon the governor. Previous to going, however, we were furnished with affidavits and documents in relation both to our proceedings and those of the mob; in addition to the general history of the transaction, we took with us a duplicate of those documents which had been forwarded by Bishop Hunter, Brother James, and others. We started from Nauvoo in company with the aforesaid gentlemen at about 7 o'clock on the evening of the 21st of June, and arrived at Carthage about 11 p. m.

We put up at the same hotel with the governor, kept by a Mr. Hamilton. On our arrival we found the governor in bed, but not so with the other inhabitants. The town was filled with a perfect set of rabble and rowdies, who, under the influence of Bacchus, seemed to be holding a grand saturnalia, whooping, yelling and vociferating as if Bedlam had broken loose.

On our arrival at the hotel, and while supper was preparing, a man came to me, dressed as a soldier, and told me that a man named Daniel Garn had just been taken prisoner, and was about to be com-

mitted to jail, and wanted me to go bail for him. Believing this to be a ruse to get me out alone, and that some violence was intended, after consulting with Dr. Bernhisel, I told the man that I was well acquainted with Mr. Garn, that I knew him to be a gentleman, and did not believe that he had transgressed law, and, moreover, that I considered it a very singular time to be holding courts and calling for security, particularly as the town was full of rowdyism.

I informed him that Dr. Bernhisel and myself would, if necessary go bail for him in the morning, but that we did not feel ourselves safe among such a set at that late hour of the night.

After supper, on retiring to our room, we had to pass through another, which was separated from ours only by a board partition, the beds in each room being placed side by side, with the exception of this fragile partition. On the bed that was in the room which we passed through I discovered a man by the name of Jackson, a desperate character, and a reputed, notorious cut-throat and murderer. I hinted to the doctor that things looked rather suspicious, and looked to see that my arms were in order. The doctor and I occupied one bed. We had scarcely laid down when a knock at the door, accompanied by a voice announced the approach of Chauncey Higbee, the young lawyer and apostate before referred to.

He addressed himself to the doctor, and stated that the object of his visit was to obtain the release of Daniel Garn; that Garn he believed to be an honest man; that if he had done anything wrong, it was through improper counsel, and that it was a pity that he should be incarcerated, particularly when he could be so easily released; he urged the doctor, as a friend, not to leave so good a man in such an unpleasant situation; he finally prevailed upon the doctor to go and give bail, assuring him that on his giving bail Garn would be immediately dismissed.

During this conversation I did not say a word.

Higbee left the doctor to dress, with the intention of returning and taking him to the court. As soon as Higbee had left, I told the doctor that he had better not go; that I believed this affair was all a ruse to get us separated; that they knew we had documents with us from General Smith to show to the governor; that I believed their object was to get possession of those papers, and, perhaps, when they had separ-

ated us, to murder one or both. The doctor, who was actuated by the best of motives in yielding to the assumed solicitude of Higbee, coincided with my views; he then went to Higbee, and told him that he had concluded not to go that night, but that he and I would both wait upon the justice and Mr. Garn in the morning.

That night I lay awake with my pistols under my pillow, waiting for any emergency. Nothing more occurred during the night. In the morning we arose early, and after breakfast sought an interview with the governor, and were told that we could have an audience, I think, at ten o'clock. In the meantime we called upon Mr. Smith, a justice of the peace, who had Mr. Garn in charge. We represented that we had been called upon the night before by two different parties to go bail for a Mr. Daniel Garn, whom we were informed he had in custody, and that, believing Mr. Garn to be an honest man, we had now come for that purpose, and were prepared to enter into recognizances for his appearance, whereupon Mr. Smith, the magistrate, remarked that, under the present excited state of affairs, he did not think he would be justified in receiving bail from Nauvoo, as it was a matter of doubt whether property would not be rendered valueless there in a few days.

Knowing the party we had to deal with, we were not much surprised at this singular proceeding; we then remarked that both of us possessed property in farms out of Nauvoo in the country, and referred him to the county records. He then stated that such was the nature of the charge against Mr. Garn that he believed he would not be justified in receiving any bail. We were thus confirmed in our opinion that the night's proceedings before, in relation to their desire to have us give bail, was a mere ruse to separate us. We were not permitted to speak with Garn, the real charge against whom was that he was traveling in Carthage or its neighborhood: what the fictitious one was, if I knew, I have since forgotten, as things of this kind were of daily occurrence.

After waiting the governor's pleasure for some time we had an audience; but such an audience!

He was surrounded by some of the vilest and most unprincipled men in creation; some of them had an appearance of respectability, and many of them lacked even that. Wilson, and, I believe, William

Law, were there, Foster, Frank and Chauncey Higbee, Mr. Mar, a lawyer from Nauvoo, a mobocratic merchant from Warsaw, the aforesaid Jackson, a number of his associates, among whom was the governor's secretary, in all, some fifteen or twenty persons, most of whom were recreant to virtue, honor, integrity, and everything that is considered honorable among men. I can well remember the feelings of disgust that I had in seeing the governor surrounded by such an infamous group, and on being introduced to men of so questionable a character; and had I been on private business, I should have turned to depart, and told the governor that if he thought proper to associate with such questionable characters, I should beg leave to be excused; but coming as we did on public business, we could not, of course, consult our private feelings.

We then stated to the governor that, in accordance with his request, General Smith had, in response to his call, sent us to him as a committee of conference; that we were acquainted with most of the circumstances that had transpired in and about Nauvoo lately, and were prepared to give him all information; that, moreover, we had in our possession testimony and affidavits confirmatory of what we should say, which had been forwarded to him by General Joseph Smith; that communications had been forwarded to his excellency by Messrs. Hunter, James, and others, some of which had not reached their destination, but of which we had duplicates with us. We then, in brief, related an outline of the difficulties, and the course we had pursued from the commencement of the trouble up to the present, and handing him the documents, respectfully submitted the whole.

During our conversation and explanations with the governor we were frequently, rudely and impudently contradicted by the fellows he had around him, and of whom he seemed to take no notice.

He opened and read a number of the documents himself, and as he proceeded he was frequently interrupted by, "that's a lie!" "that's a God damned lie!" that's an infernal falsehood!" "that's a blasted lie!" etc.

These men evidently winced at the exposure of their acts, and thus vulgarly, impudently, and falsely repudiated them. One of their number, Mr. Mar, addressed himself several times to me while in conversation with the governor. I did not notice him until after a

frequent repetition of his insolence, when I informed him that "my business at that time was with Governor Ford," whereupon I continued my conversation with his excellency. During the conversation, the governor expressed a desire that Joseph Smith, and all parties concerned in passing or executing the city law in relation to the press, had better come to Carthage; that, however repugnant it might be to our feelings, he thought it would have a tendency to allay public excitement, and prove to the people what we professed, that we wished to be governed by law. We represented to him the course we had taken in relation to this matter, and our willingness to go before another magistrate other than the municipal court; the illegal refusal of our request by the constable; our dismissal by the municipal court, a legally constituted tribunal; our subsequent trial before 'Squire Wells at the instance of Judge Thomas, the circuit judge, and our dismissal by him; that we had fulfilled the law in every particular; that it was our enemies who were breaking the law, and, having murderous designs, were only making use of this as a pretext to get us into their power. The governor stated that the people viewed it differently, and that, notwithstanding our opinions, he would recommend that the people should be satisfied. We then remarked to him that, should Joseph Smith comply with his request, it would be extremely unsafe, in the present excited state of the country, to come without an armed force; that we had a sufficiency of men, and were competent to defend ourselves, but there might be danger of collision should our forces and those of our enemies be brought into such close proximity. He strenuously advised us not to bring our arms, and *pledged his faith as governor, and the faith of the State, that we should be protected, and that he would guarantee our perfect safety.*

We had at that time about five thousand men under arms, one thousand of whom would have been amply sufficient for our protection.

At the termination of our interview, and previous to our withdrawal, after a long conversation and the perusal of the documents which we had brought, the governor informed us that he would prepare a written communication for General Joseph Smith, which he desired us to wait for. We were kept waiting for this instrument some five or six hours.

About five o'clock in the afternoon we took our departure with not the most pleasant feelings. The associations of the governor, the spirit he manifested to compromise with these scoundrels, the length of time that he had kept us waiting, and his general deportment, together with the infernal spirit that we saw exhibited by those whom he had admitted to his counsels, made the prospect anything but promising.

We returned on horseback, and arrived at Nauvoo, I think, at about eight or nine o'clock at night, accompanied by Captain Yates in command of a company of mounted men, who came for the purpose of escorting Joseph Smith and the accused in case of their complying with the governor's request, and going to Carthage. We went directly to Brother Joseph's, when Captain Yates delivered to him the governor's communication. A council was called, consisting of Joseph's brother, Hyrum, Dr. Richards, Dr. Bernhisel, myself, and one or two others.

We then gave a detail of our interview with the governor. Brother Joseph was very much dissatisfied with the governor's letter and with his general deportment, and so were the council, and it became a serious question as to the course we should pursue. Various projects were discussed, but nothing definitely decided upon for some time.

In the interim two gentlemen arrived; one of them, if not both, sons of John C. Calhoun. They had come to Nauvoo, and were very anxious for an interview with Brother Joseph.

These gentlemen detained him for some time; and, as our council was held in Dr. Bernhisel's room in the Mansion House, the doctor lay down; and as it was now between 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning, and I had had no rest on the previous night, I was fatigued, and thinking that Brother Joseph might not return, I left for home and rest.

Being very much fatigued, I slept soundly, and was somewhat surprised in the morning by Mrs. Thompson entering my room about 7 o'clock, and exclaiming in surprise, "What, you here! the brethren have crossed the rive some time since."

"What brethren?" I asked.

"Brother Joseph, and Hyrum, and Brother Richards," she answered.

I immediately arose upon learning that they had crossed the river,

and did not intend to go to Carthage. I called together a number of persons in whom I had confidence, and had the type, stereotype plates, and most of the valuable things removed from the printing office, believing that, should the governor and his force come to Nauvoo, the first thing they would do would be to burn the printing office, for I knew they would be exasperated if Brother Joseph went away. We had talked over these matters the night before, but nothing was decided upon. It was Brother Joseph's opinion that, should we leave for a time, public excitement, which was then so intense, would be allayed; that it would throw on the governor the responsibility of keeping the peace; that in the event of an outrage, the onus would rest upon the governor, who was amply prepared with troops, and could command all the forces of the State to preserve order; and that the act of his own men would be an overwhelming proof of their seditious designs, not only to the governor, but to the world. He moreover thought that, in the east, where he intended to go, public opinion would be set right in relation to these matters, and its expression would partially influence the west, and that, after the first ebullition, things would assume a shape that would justify his return.

I made arrangements for crossing the river, and Brother Elias Smith and Joseph Cain, who were both employed in the printing office with me, assisted all that lay in their power together with Brother Brower and several hands in the printingoffice. As we could not find out the exact whereabouts of Joseph and the brethren, I crossed the river in a boat furnished by Brother Cyrus H. Wheelock and Alfred Bell; and after the removal of the things out of the printing office, Joseph Cain brought the account books to me, that we might make arrangements for their adjustment; and Brother Elias Smith, cousin to Brother Joseph, went to obtain money for the journey, and also to find out and report to me the location of the brethren.

As Cyrus H. Wheelock was an active, enterprising man, and in the event of not finding Brother Joseph I calculated to go to Upper Canada for the time being, and should need a companion, I said to Brother Cyrus H. Wheelock, "Can you go with me ten or fifteen hundred miles?"

He answered, "Yes."

"Can you start in half an hour?"

"Yes."

However, I told him that he had better see his family, who lived over the river, and prepare a couple of horses and the necessary equippage for the journey, and that, if we did not find Brother Joseph before, we would start at nightfall.

A laughable incident occurred on the eve of my departure. After making all the preparations I could, previous to leaving Nauvoo, and having bid adieu to my family, I went to a house adjoining the river, owned by Brother Eddy. There I disguised myself so as not to be known, and so effectually was the transformation that those who had come after me with a boat did not know me. I went down to the boat and sat in it. Brother Bell, thinking it was a stranger, watched my moves for some time very impatiently, and then said to Brother Wheelock, "I wish that old gentleman would go away; he has been pottering around the boat for some time, and I am afraid Elder Taylor will be coming." When he discovered his mistake, he was not a little amused.

I was conducted by Brother Bell to a house that was surrounded by timber on the opposite side of the river. There I spent several hours in a chamber with Brother Joseph Cain, adjusting my accounts; and I made arrangements for the stereotype plates of the Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants, to be forwarded east, thinking to supply the company with subsistence money through the sale of these books in the east.

My horses were reported ready by Brother Wheelock, and funds on hand by Brother Elias Smith. In about half an hour I should have started, when Brother Elias Smith came to me with word that he had found the brethren; that they had concluded to go to Carthage, and wished me to return to Nauvoo and accompany them. I must confess that I felt a good deal disappointed at this news, but I immediately made preparations to go. Escorted by Brother Elias Smith, I and my party went to the neighborhood of Montrose, where we met Brother Joseph, Hyrum, Brother Richards and others. Dr. Bernhisel thinks that W. W. Phelps was not with Joseph and Hyrum in the morning, but that he met him, myself, Joseph and Hyrum, W. Richards and Brother Cahoon, in the afternoon, near Montrose, returning to Nauvoo.

On meeting the brethren I learned that it was not Brother Joseph's desire to return, but that he came back by request of some of the brethren, and that it coincided more with Brother Hyrum's feelings than those of Brother Joseph. In fact, after his return, Brother Hyrum expressed himself as perfectly satisfied with the course taken, and said he felt much more at ease in his mind than he did before. On our return the calculation was to throw ourselves under the immediate protection of the governor, and to trust to his word and faith for our preservation.

A message was, I believe, sent to the governor that night, stating that we should come to Carthage in the morning, the party that came along with us to escort us back, in case we returned to Carthage, having returned.

It would seem from the following remarks of General Ford that there was a design on foot, which was, that if we refused to go to Carthage at the governor's request, there should be an increased force called for by the governor, and that we should be destroyed by them. In accordance with this project, Captain Yates returned with his *posse*, accompanied by the constable who held the writ.

The following is the governor's remark in relation to this affair:

"The constable and his escort returned. The constable made no effort to arrest any of them, nor would he or the guard delay their departure one minute beyond the time, to see whether an arrest could be made. Upon their return they reported that they had been informed that the accused had fled, and could not be found. I immediately proposed to a council of officers to march into Nauvoo with the small force then under my command, but the officers were of the opinion that it was too small, and many of them insisted upon a further call of the militia. Upon reflection I was of the opinion that the officers were right in the estimate of our force, and the project for immediate action was abandoned.

"I was soon informed, however, of the conduct of the constable and guard, and then I was perfectly satisfied that a most base fraud had been attempted, that, in fact, it was feared that the Mormons would submit, and thereby entitle themselve to the protection of the law. It was very apparent that many of the bustling, active spirits were afraid that there would be no occasion for calling out an over-

whelming militia force, for marching into Nauvoo, for probable mutiny when there, and for the extermination of the Mormon race. It appeared that the constable and the escort were fully in the secret, and acted well their part to promote the conspiracy."*

In the morning Brother Joseph had an interview with the officers of the Legion, with the leading members of the city council, and with the principal men of the city. The officers were instructed to dismiss their men, but to have them in a state of readiness to be called upon in any emergency that might occur.

About half past six o'clock the members of the city council, the marshal, Brothers Joseph and Hyrum, and a number of others, started for Carthage, on horseback. We were instructed by Brother Joseph Smith not to take any arms, and we consequently left them behind. We called at the house of Brother Fellows on our way out. Brother Fellows lived about four miles from Carthage.

While at Brother Fellow's house, Captain Dunn, accompanied by Mr. Coolie, one of the governor's aides-de-camp, came up from Carthage *en route* for Nauvoo with a requisition from the governor for the State arms. We all returned to Nauvoo with them; the governor's request was complied with, and after taking some refreshments, we all returned to proceed to Carthage. We arrived there late in the night. A great deal of excitement prevailed on and after our arrival. The governor had received into his company all of the companies that had been in the mob; these fellows were riotous and disorderly, halloowing, yelling, and whooping about the streets like Indians, many of them intoxicated; the whole presented a scene of rowdyism and low-bred ruffianism only found among mobocrats and desperadoes, and entirely revolting to the best feelings of humanity. The governor made a speech to them to the effect that he would show Joseph and Hyrum Smith to them in the morning.

About here the companies with the governor were drawn up in line, and General Demming, I think, took Joseph by the arm and Hyrum(Arnold says that Joseph took the governor's arm), and as he passed through between the ranks, the governor leading in front,

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*Ford's History of Illinois, page 333.

very politely introduced them as General Joseph Smith and General Hyrum Smith.*

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*The *Deseret News* gives the following account of Joseph and Hyrum Smith's passing through the troops in Carthage:

"CARTHAGE, June 25, 1844.

"Quarter past nine. The governor came and invited Joseph to walk with him through the troops. Joseph solicited a few moments' private conversation with him, which the governor refused.

"While refusing, the governor looked down at his shoes, as though he was ashamed. They then walked through the crowd, with Brigadier General Miner R. Demming, and Dr. Richards, to General Demming's quarters. The people appeared quiet until a company of Carthage Grays flocked round the doors of General Demming in an uproarious manner, of which notice was sent to the governor. In the meantime the governor had ordered the McDonough troops to be drawn up in line, for Joseph and Hyrum to pass in front of them, they having requested that they might have a clear view of the General Smiths. *Joseph had a conversation with the governor for about ten minutes, when he again pledged the faith of the State that he and his friends should be protected from violence.*

"Robinson, the postmaster, said, on report of martial law being proclaimed in Nauvoo, he had stopped the mail, and notified the postmaster general of the state of things in Hancock County.

"From the general's quarters Joseph and Hyrum went in front of the lines, in a hollow square of a company of Carthage Grays. At seven minutes before ten they arrived in front of the lines, and passed before the whole, Joseph being on the right of General Demming and Hyrum on his left, Elders Richards, Taylor and Phelps following. Joseph and Hyrum were introduced by Governor Ford about twenty times along the line as General Joseph Smith and General Hyrum Smith, the governor walking in front on the left. The Carthage Grays refused to receive them by that introduction, and some of the officers threw up their hats, drew their swords, and said they would introduce themselves to the damned Mormons in a different style. The governor mildly entreated them not to act so rudely, but their excitement increased; the governor, however, succeeded in pacifying them by making a speech, and promising them that they should have 'full satisfaction.' General Smith and party returned to their lodgings at five minutes past ten."—*Deseret News, No. 35, Nov. 4, 1857, page 274.*

All were orderly and courteous except one company of mobocrats —the Carthage Grays—who seemed to find fault on account of too much honor being paid to the Mormons. There was afterwards a row between the companies, and they came pretty near having a fight; the more orderly not feeling disposed to endorse or submit to the rowdyism of the mobocrats. The result was that General Demming, who was very much of a gentleman, ordered the Carthage Grays, a company under the command of Captain Smith, a magistrate in Carthage, and a most violent mobocrat, under arrest. This matter, however, was shortly afterward adjusted, and the difficulty settled between them.

The mayor, aldermen, councilors, as well as the marshal of the city of Nauvoo, together with some persons who had assisted the marshal in removing the press in Nauvoo, appeared before Justice Smith, the aforesaid captain and mobocrat, to again answer the charge of destroying the press; but as there was so much excitement, and as the man was an unprincipled villain before whom we were to have our hearing, we thought it most prudent to give bail, and consequently became security for each other in $500 bonds each, to appear before the County Court at its next session. We had engaged as counsel a lawyer by the name of Wood, of Burlington, Iowa; and Reed, I think, of Madison, Iowa After some little discussion the bonds were signed, and we were all dismissed.

Almost immediately after our dismissal, two men—Augustine Spencer and Norton—two worthless fellows, whose words would not have been taken for five cents, and the first of whom had a short time previously been before the mayor in Nauvoo for maltreating a lame brother, made affidavits that Joseph and Hyrum Smith were guilty of treason, and a writ was accordingly issued for their arrest, and the constable Bettesworth, a rough, unprincipled man, wished immediately to hurry them away to prison without any hearing. His rude, uncouth manner in the administration of what he considered the duties of his office made him exceedingly repulsive to us all. But, independent of these acts, the proceedings in this case were altogether illegal. Providing the court was sincere, which it was not, and providing these men's oaths were true, and that Joseph and Hyrum were guilty of treason, still the whole course was illegal.

The magistrate made out a mittimus, and committed them to prison without a hearing, which he had no right legally to do. The statute of Illinois expressly provides that "all men shall have a hearing before a magistrate before they shall be committed to prison;" and Mr. Robert H. Smith, the magistrate, had made out a mittimus committing them to prison contrary to law without such hearing. As I was informed of this illegal proceeding, I went immediately to the governor and informed him of it. Whether he was apprised of it before or not, I do not know; but my opinion is that he was.

I represented to him the characters of the parties who had made oath, the outrageous nature of the charge, the indignity offered to men in the position which they occupied, and declared to him that he knew very well it was a vexatious proceeding, and that the accused were not guilty of any such crime. The governor replied, he was very sorry that the thing had occurred; that he did not believe the charges, but that he thought the best thing to be done was to let the law take its course. I then reminded him that we had come out there at his instance, not to satisfy the law, which we had done before, but the prejudices of the people, in relation to the affairs of the press; that at his instance we had given bonds, which we could not by law be required to do to satisfy the people, and that it was asking too much to require gentlemen in their position in life to suffer the degredation of being immured in a jail at the instance of such worthless scoundrels as those who had made this affidavit. The governor replied that it was an unpleasant affair, and looked hard; but that it was a matter over which he had no control, as it belonged to the judiciary; that he, as the executive, could not interfere with their proceedings, and that he had no doubt but that they would immediately be dismissed. I told him that we had looked to him for protection from such insults, and that I thought we had a right to do so from the solemn promises which he had made to me and to Dr. Bernhisel in relation to our coming without guard or arms; that we had relied upon his faith, and had a right to expect him to fulfill his engagements after we had placed ourselves implicity under his care, and complied with all his requests, although extrajudicial.

He replied that he would detail a guard, if we required it, and see us protected, but that he could not interfere with the judiciary.

I expressed my dissatisfaction at the course taken, and told him, that, if we were to be subject to mob rule, and to be dragged, contrary to law, into prison at the instance of every infernal scoundrel whose oaths could be bought for a dram of whiskey, his protection availed very little, and we had miscalculated his promises.

Seeing there was no prospect of redress from the governor, I returned to the room, and found the constable Bettesworth very urgent to hurry Brothers Joseph and Hyrum to prison, while the brethren were remonstrating with him. At the same time a great rabble was gathered in the streets and around the door, and from the rowdyism manifested I was afraid there was a design to murder the prisoners on the way to jail.

Without conferring with any person, my next feelings were to procure a guard, and seeing a man habited as a soldier in the room, I went to him and said, "I am afraid there is a design against the lives of the Messrs. Smith; will you go immediately and bring your captain; and, if not convenient, any other captain of a company, and I will pay you well for your trouble?" He said he would, and departed forthwith, and soon returned with his captain, whose name I have forgotten, and introduced him to me. I told him of my fears, and requested him immediately to fetch his company.

He departed forthwith, and arrived at the door with them just at the time when the constable was hurrying the brethren down stairs. A number of the brethren went along, together with one or two strangers; and all of us, safely lodged in prison, ramained there during the night.

At the request of Joseph Smith for an interview with the governor, he came the next morning, Thursday, June 26th, at half past 9 o'clock, accompanied by Colonel Geddes, when a lengthy conversation was entered into in relation to the existing difficulties; and after some preliminary remarks, at the governor's request, Brother Joseph gave him a general outline of the state of affairs in relation to our difficulties, the excited state of the country, the tumultuous mobocratic movements of our enemies, the precautionary measures used by himself (Joseph Smith), the acts of the city council, the destruction of the press, and the moves of the mob and ourselves up to that time.

The following report is, I believe, substantially correct:

Governor—"General Smith, I believe you have given me a general outline of the difficulties that have existed in the country in the documents forwarded to me by Dr. Bernhisel and Mr. Taylor; but, unfortunately, there seems to be a great discrepancy between your statements and those of your enemies. It is true that you are substantiated by evidence and affidavit, but for such an extraordinary excitement as that which is now in the country there must be some cause, and I attribute the last outbreak to the destruction of the *Expositor*, and to your refusal to comply with the writ issued by Esquire Morrison. The press in the United States is looked upon as the great bulwark of American freedom, and its destruction in Nauvoo was represented and looked upon as a high-handed measure, and manifests to the people a disposition on your part to suppress the liberty of speech and of the press. This, with your refusal to comply with the requisition of a writ, I conceive to be the principal cause of this difficulty; and you are moreover represented to me as turbulent, and defiant of the laws and institutions of your country."

General Smith—"Governor Ford, you, sir, as governor of this State, are aware of the persecutions that I have endured. You know well that our course has been peaceable and law-abiding for I have furnished this State ever since our settlement here with sufficient evidence of my pacific intentions, and those of the people with whom I am associated, by the endurence of every conceivable indignity and lawless outrage perpetrated upon me and upon this people since our settlement here; and you know yourself that I have kept you well posted in relation to all matters associated with the late difficulties. If you have not got some of my communications, it has not been my fault.

"Agreeably to your orders, I assembled the Nauvoo Legion for the protection of Nauvoo and the surrounding country against an armed band of marauders; and ever since they have been mustered I have almost daily communicated with you in regard to all the leading events that have transpired; and whether in the capacity of mayor of the city, or lieutenant general of the Nauvoo Legion, I have striven, according to the best of my judgment, to preserve the peace and to administer even-handed justice; but my motives are

impugned, my acts are misconstrued, and I am grossly and wickedly misrepresented. I suppose I am indebted for my incarceration to the oath of a worthless man, who was arraigned before me and fined for abusing and maltreating his lame, helpless brother. That I should be charged by you, sir, who know better, of acting contrary to law, is to me a matter of surprise. Was it the Mormons or our enemies who first commenced these difficulties? You know well it was not us; and when this turbulent, outrageous people commenced their insurrectionary movements I made you acquainted with them officially, and asked your advice, and have followed strictly your counsel in every particular. Who ordered out the Nauvoo Legion? I did, under your direction. For what purpose? To suppress the insurrectionary movements. It was at your instance, sir, that I issued a proclamation calling upon the Nauvoo Legion to be in readiness at a moment's warning to guard against the incursions of mobs, and gave an order to Jonathan Dunham, acting major-general, to that effect.

"Am I, then, to be charged with the acts of others? and because lawlessness and mobocracy abound, am I, when carrying out your instructions, to be charged with not abiding law? Why is it that I must be made accountable for other men's acts? If there is trouble in the country, neither I nor my people made it; and all that we have ever done, after much endurance on our part, is to maintain and uphold the Constitution and institutions of our country, and to protect an injured, innocent, and persecuted people against misrule and mob violence.

"Concerning the destruction of the press to which you refer, men may differ somewhat in their opinions about it; but can it be supposed that after all the indignities to which they have been subjected outside, that people could suffer a set of worthless vagabonds to come into their city, and, right under their own eyes and protection, vilify and calumniate not only themselves, but the character of their wives and daughters, as was impudently and unblushingly done in that infamous and filthy sheet?

"There is not a city in the United States that would have suffered such an indignity for twenty-four hours. Our whole people were indignant, and loudly called upon our city authorities for a redress of their grievances, which, if not attended to, they themselves would

have taken into their own hands, and have summarily punished the audacious wretches as they deserved. The principle of equal rights that has been instilled into our bosoms from our cradles as American citizens forbids us submitting to every foul indignity, and succumbing and pandering to wretches so infamous as these. But, independent of this, the course that we pursued we consider to be strictly legal; for, notwithstanding the result, we were anxious to be governed strictly by law, and therefore we convened the city council; and being desirous in our deliberations to abide by law, we summoned legal counsel to be present on the occasion. Upon investigating the matter, we found that our city charter gave us power to remove all nuisances. Furthermore, after consulting Blackstone upon what might be considered a nuisance, it appeared that that distinguished lawyer, who is considered authority, I believe, in all our courts, states among other things that 'a libelous and filthy press may be considered a nuisance, and abated as such.' Here, then, one of the most eminent English barristers, whose works are considered standard with us, declares that a libelous and filthy press may be considered a nuisance; and our own charter, given us by the Legislature of this State, gives us power to remove nuisances; and by ordering that press to be abated as a nuisance, we conceived that we were acting stricly in accordance with law. We made that order in our corporate capacity, and the city marshal carried it out. It is possible there may have been some better way, but I must confess that I could not see it.

"In relation to the writ served upon us, we are willing to abide the consequences of our own acts, but are unwilling, in answering a writ of that kind, to submit to illegal exactions, sought to be imposed upon us under the pretense of law, when we knew they were in open violation of it. When that document was presented to me by Mr. Bettesworth, I offered, in the presence of more than twenty persons, to go to any other magistrate, either in our city, in Appanoose, or any other place where we should be safe, but we all refused to put ourselves into the power of a mob. What right had that constable to refuse our request? He had none according to law; for you know, Governor Ford, that the statute law in Illinois is, that the parties served with the writ 'shall go before him who issued it, or some other

justice of the peace.' Why, then, should we be dragged to Carthage, where the law does not compel us to go? Does not this look like many others of our persecutions with which you are acquainted? and have we not a right to expect foul play? This very act was a breach of law on his part, an assumption of power that did not belong to him, and an attempt, at least, to deprive us of our legal and constitutional rights and privileges. What could we do, under the circumstances, different from what we did do? We sued for, and obtained a writ of *habeas corpus* from the municipal court, by which we were delivered from the hands of Constable Bettesworth, and brought before and acquitted by the municipal court. After our acquittal, in a conversation with Judge Thomas, although he considered the acts of the party illegal, he advised that, to satisfy the people, we had better go before another magistrate who was not in our Church. In accordance with his advice, we went before Esquire Wells, with whom you are well acquainted; both parties were present, witnesses were called on both sides, the case was fully investigated, and we were again dismissed. And what is this pretended desire to enforce law, and wherefore are these lying, base rumors put into circulation but to seek, through mob influence, under pretense of law, to make us submit to requisitons which are contrary to law and subversive of every principle of justice? And when you, sir, required us to come out here, we came, not because it was legal, but because you required it of us, and we were desirous of showing to you, and to all men, that we shrunk not from the most rigid investigation of our acts. We certainly did expect other treatment than to be immured in a jail at the instance of these men, and I think, from your plighted faith, we had a right so to expect, after disbanding our own forces, and putting ourselves entirely in your hands. And now, after having fulfilled my part, sir, as a man and an American citizen, I call upon you, Governor Ford, to deliver us from this place, and rescue us from this outrage that is sought to be practiced upon us by a set of infamous scoundrels."

Governor Ford.—"But you have placed men under arrest, detained men as prisoners, and given passes to others, some of which I have seen,"

John P. Greene, City Marshal.—"Perhaps I can explain. Since these

difficulties have commenced, you are aware that we have been placed under very peculiar circumstances; our city has been placed under a very rigid police guard; in addition to this, frequent guards have been placed outside the city to prevent any sudden surprise, and those guards have questioned suspected or suspicious persons as to their business. To strangers, in some instances, passes have been given to prevent difficulty in passing those guards; it is some of these passes that you have seen. No person, sir, has been imprisoned without a legal cause in our city."

Governor.—"Why did you not give a more speedy answer to the posse that I sent out?"

General Smith.—We had matters of importance to consult upon; your letter showed anything but an amiable spirit. We have suffered immensely in Missouri from mobs, in loss of property, imprisonment, and otherwise. It took some time for us to weigh duly these matters; we could not decide upon matters of such importance immediately, and your posse were too hasty in returning; we were consulting for a large people, and vast interests were at stake. We had been outrageously imposed upon, and knew not how far we could trust any one; besides, a question necessarily arose, How shall we come? Your request was that we should come unarmed. It became a matter of serious importance to decide how far promises could be trusted, and how far we were safe from mob violence."

Colonel Geddes.—"It certainly did look, from all I have heard, from the general spirit of violence and mobocracy that here prevails, that it was not safe for you to come unprotected."

Governor Ford.—"I think that sufficient time was not allowed by the posse for you to consult and get ready. They were too hasty; but I suppose they found themselves bound by their orders. I think, too, there is a great deal of truth in what you say, and your reasoning is plausible, but I must beg leave to differ from you in relation to the acts of the City Council. That Council, in my opinion, had no right to act in a legislative capacity, and in that of the judiciary. They should have passed a law in relation to the matter, and then the Municipal Court, upon complaint, could have removed it; but for the City Council to take upon themselves the law-making and the execution of the law, is, in my opinion, wrong; besides, these men

ought to have had a hearing before their property was destroyed; to destroy it without was an infringement on their rights; besides, it is so contrary to the feelings of American people to interfere with the press. And, furthermore, I cannot but think that it would have been more judicious for you to have gone with Mr. Bettesworth to Carthage, notwithstanding the law did not require it. Concerning your being in jail, I am sorry for that; I wish it had been otherwise. I hope you will soon be released, but I can not interfere."

Joseph Smith.—"Governor Ford, allow me, sir, to bring one thing to your mind that you seem to have overlooked. You state that you think it would have been better for us to have submitted to the requisition of Constable Bettesworth, and to have gone to Carthage. Do you not know, sir, that that writ was served at the instance of an anti-Mormon mob, who had passed resolutions, and published them, to the effect that they would exterminate the Mormon leaders? And are you not informed that Captain Anderson was not only threatened but had a gun fired at his boat by this said mob in Warsaw when coming up to Nauvoo, and that this very thing was made use of as a means to get us into their hands; and we could not, without taking an armed force with us, go there without, according to their published declarations, going into the jaws of death? To have taken a force with us would only have fanned the excitement, and they would have stated that we wanted to use intimidation; therefore, we thought it the most judicious to avail ourselves of the protection of the law."

Governor Ford.—"I see, I see."

Joseph Smith.—"Furthermore, in relation to the press, you say that you differ from me in opinion. Be it so; the thing, after all, is only a legal difficulty, and the courts, I should judge, are competent to decide on that matter. If our act was illegal, we are willing to meet it; and although I cannot see the distinction that you draw about the acts of the City Council, and what difference it could have made in point of fact, law, or justice between the City Council's acting together or separate) or how much more legal it would have been for the Municipal Court, who were a part of the City Council, to act separately instead of with the councilors, yet, if it is deemed that we did a wrong in destroying that press, we refuse not to pay for it; we are desirous to fulfill the law in every particular, and are responsible

for our acts. You say that the parties ought to have a hearing. Had it been a civil suit, this of course, would have been proper; but there was a flagrant violation of every principle of right—a nuisance; and it was abated on the same principle that any nuisance, stench, or putrefied carcass would have been removed. Our first step, therefore, was to stop the foul, noisome, filthy sheet, and then the next in our opinion would have been to have prosecuted the man for a breach of public decency. And, furthermore, again let me say, Governor Ford, I shall look to you for our protection. I believe you are talking of going to Nauvoo; if you go, sir, I wish to go along. I refuse not to answer any law, but I do not consider myself safe here."

Governor.—"I am in hopes that you will be acquitted, and if I go I will certainly take you along. I do not, however, apprehend danger. I think you are perfectly safe either here or anywhere else. I can not, however, interfere with the law. I am placed in peculiar circumstances and seem to be blamed by all parties."

Joseph Smith.—"Governor Ford, I ask nothing but what is legal; I have a right to expect protection, at least from you; for, independent of law, you have pledged your faith and that of the State for my protection, and I wish to go to Nauvoo."

Governor.—"And you shall have protection, General Smith. I did not make this promise without consulting my officers, who all pledged their honor to its fulfillment. I do not know that I shall go tomorrow to Nauvoo, but if I do I will take you along."

At a quarter past ten o'clock the governor left.

At about half past twelve o'clock, Mr. Reed, one of Joseph's counsel, came in, apparently much elated; he stated that, upon an examination of the law, he found that the magistrate had transcended his jurisdiction, and that having committed them without an examination, his jurisdiction ended, that he had him upon a pinhook; that he ought to have examined them before he committed them, and that, having violated the law in this particular, he had no further power over them; for, once committeed, they were out of his jurisdiction, as the power of the magistrate extended no farther than their committal, and that now they could not be brought out except at the regular session of the Circuit Court, or by a writ of *habeas corpus;* but that if

Justice Smith would consent to go to Nauvoo for trial, he would compromise matters with him, and overlook this matter.

Mr. Reed further stated that the anti-Mormons, or mob, had concocted a scheme to get out a writ from Missouri, with a demand upon Governor Ford for the arrest of Joseph Smith, and his conveyance to Missouri, and that a man by the name of Wilson had returned from Missouri the night before the burning of the press for this purpose.

At half past two o'clock Constable Bettesworth came to the jail with a man named Simpson, professing to have some order, but he would not send up his name, and the guard would not let him pass. Dr. Bernhisel and Brother Wasson went to inform the governor and council of this. At about twenty minutes to three Dr. Bernhisel returned, and stated that he thought the governor was doing all he could. At about ten minutes to three Hyrum Kimball appeared with news from Nauvoo.

Soon after Constable Bettesworth came with an order from Esquire Smith to convey the prisoners to the court-house for trial. He was informed that the process was illegal, that they had been placed there contrary to law, and that they refused to come unless by legal process. I was informed that Justice Smith (who was also captain of the Carthage Grays) went to the governor and informed him of the matter, and that the governor replied, "You have your forces, and of course can use them." The constable certainly did return, accompanied by a guard of armed men, and by force, and under protest, hurried the prisoners to the court.

About four o'clock the case was called by Captain Robert F. Smith, J. P. The counsel for the prisoners called for subpœnas to bring witnesses. At twenty-five minutes past four he took a copy of the order to bring the prisoners from jail to trial, and afterwards he took names of witnesses.

Counsel present for the State; Higbee, Skinner, Sharp, Emmons, and Morrison. Twenty-five minutes to five the writ was returned as served, June 25th.

Many remarks were made at the court that I paid but little attention to, as I considered the whole thing illegal and a complete burlesque. Wood objected to the proceedings in toto, in consequence of its illegality, showing that the prisoners were not only illegally

committed, but that, being once committed, the magistrate had no further power over them; but as it was the same magistrate before whom he was pleading who imprisoned them contrary to law, and the same who, as captain, forced them from jail, his arguments availed but little. He then urged that the prisoners be remanded until witnesses could be had, and applied for a continuance for that purpose. Skinner suggested until twelve o'clock next day. Wood again demanded until witnesses could be obtained; that the court meet at a specified time, and that, if witnesses were not present, again adjourn, without calling the prisoners. After various remarks from Reed, Skinner, and others, the court stated that the writ was served yesterday, and that it will give until tomorrow at twelve m. to get witnesses.

We then returned to jail. Immediately after our return Dr. Bernhisel went to the governor, and obtained from him an order for us to occupy a large open room containing a bedstead. I rather think that the same room had been appropriated to the use of debtors; at any rate, there was free access to the jailer's house, and no bars or locks except such as might be on the outside door of the jail. The jailer, Mr. George W. Steghall, and his wife, manifested a disposition to make us as comfortable as they could; we ate at their table, which was well provided, and, of course, paid for it.

I do not remember the names of all who were with us that night and the next morning in jail, for several went and came; among those that we considered stationery were Stephen Markham, John S. Fullmer, Captain Dan Jones, Dr. Willard Richards, and myself. Dr. Bernhisel says that he was there from Wednesday in the afternoon until eleven o'clock next day. We were, however, visited by numerous friends, among whom were Uncle John Smith, Hyrum Kimball, Cyrus H. Wheelock, besides lawyers, as counsel. There was also a great variety of conversation, which was rather desultory than otherwise, and referred to circumstances that had transpired, our former and present grievances, the spirit of the troops around us, and the disposition of the governor; the devising for legal and other plans for deliverance, the nature of testimony required; the gathering of proper witnesses, and a variety of other topics, including our religious hopes, etc.

During one of these conversations Dr. Richards remarked: "Brother Joseph, if it is necessary that you die in this matter, and if they will take me in your stead, I will suffer for you." At another time, when conversing about deliverance, I said, "Brother Joseph, if you will permit it, and say the word, I will have you out of this prison in five hours, if the jail has to come down to do it." My idea was to go to Nauvoo, and collect a force sufficient, as I considered the whole affair a legal farce, and a flagrant outrage upon our liberty and rights. Brother Joseph refused.

Elder Cyrus H. Wheelock came in to see us, and when he was about leaving drew a small pistol, a six-shooter, from his pocket, remarking at the same time, "Would any of you like to have this?" Brother Joseph immediately replied, "Yes, give it to me;" whereupon he took the pistol, and put it in his pantaloons pocket. The pistol was a six-shooting revolver, of Allen's patent; it belonged to me, and was one that I furnished to Brother Wheelock when he talked of going with me to the east, previous to our coming to Carthage. I have it now in my possession. Brother Wheelock went out on some errand, and was not suffered to return. The report of the governor having gone to Nauvoo without taking the prisoners along with him caused very unpleasant feelings, as we were apprised that we were left to the tender mercies of the Carthage Grays, a company strictly mobocratic, and whom we knew to be our most deadly enemies; and their captain, Esquire Smith, was a most unprincipled villain. Besides this, all the mob forces, comprising the governor's troops, were dismissed, with the exception of one or two companies, which the governor took with him to Nauvoo. The great part of the mob was liberated, the remainder was our guard.

We looked upon it not only as a breach of faith on the part of the governor, but also as an indication of a desire to insult us, if nothing more, by leaving us in the proximity of such men. The prevention of Wheelock's return was among the first of their hostile movements.

Colonel Markham then went out, and he was also prevented from returning. He was very angry at this, but the mob paid no attention to him; they drove him out of town at the point of the bayonet, and threatened to shoot him if he returned. He went, I am informed,

to Nauvoo for the purpose of raising a company of men for our protection. Brother Fullmer went to Nauvoo after witnesses; it is my opinion that Brother Wheelock did also.

Some time after dinner we sent for some wine. It has been reported by some that this was taken as a sacrament. It was no such thing; our spirits were generally dull and heavy, and it was sent for to revive us. I think it was Captain Jones who went after it, but they would not suffer him to return. I believe we all drank of the wine, and gave some to one or two of the prison guards. We all of us felt unusually dull and languid, with a remarkable depression of spirits. In consonance with those feelings I sang a song, that had lately been introduced into Nauvoo, entitled, "A poor, wayfaring man of grief," etc.

The song is pathetic, and the tune quite plaintive, and was very much in accordance with our feelings at the time, for our spirits were all depressed, dull and gloomy, and surcharged with indefinite ominous forebodings. After a lapse of some time, Brother Hyrum requested me again to sing that song. I replied, "Brother Hyrum, I do not feel like singing;" when he remarked, "Oh, never mind; commence singing, and you will get the spirit of it." At his request I did so. Soon afterwards I was sitting at one of the front windows of the jail, when I saw a number of men, with painted faces, coming around the corner of the jail, and aiming towards the stairs. The other brethern had seen the same, for, as I went to the door, I found Brother Hyrum Smith and Dr. Richards already leaning against it. They both pressed against the door with their shoulders to prevent its being opened, as the lock and latch were comparatively useless. While in this position, the mob, who had come up stairs, and tried to open the door, probably thought it was locked, and fired a ball through the keyhole; at this Dr. Richards and Brother Hyrum leaped back from the door, with their faces towards it; almost instantly another ball passed through the panel of the door, and struck Brother Hyrum on the left side of the nose, entering his face and head. At the same instant, another ball from the outside entered his back, passing through his body and striking his watch. The ball came from the back, through the jail window, opposite the door, and must, from its range, have been fired from the Carthage Grays,

who were placed there ostensibly for our protection, as the balls from the fire-arms, shot close by the jail, would have entered the ceiling, we being in the second story, and there never was a time after that when Hyrum could have received the latter wound. Immediately, when the balls struck him, he fell flat on his back, crying as he fell, "I am a dead man." He never moved afterwards.

I shall never forget the deep feeling of sympathy and regard manifested in the countenance of Brother Joseph as he drew nigh to Hyrum, and, leaning over him, exclaimed, "Oh! my poor, dear brother Hyrum!" He, however, instantly arose, and with a firm, quick step, and a determined expression of countenance, approached the door, and pulling the six-shooter left by Brother Wheelock from his pocket, opened the door slightly, and snapped the pistol six successive times; only three of the barrels, however, were discharged. I afterwards understood that two or three were wounded by these discharges, two of whom, I am informed, died. I had in my hands a large, strong hickory stick, brought there by Brother Markham, and left by him, which I had seized as soon as I saw the mob approach; and while Brother Joseph was firing the pistol, I stood close behind him. As soon as he had discharged it he stepped back, and I immediately took his place next to the door, while he occupied the one I had done while he was shooting. Brother Richards, at this time, had a knotty walking-stick in his hands belonging to me, and stood next to Brother Joseph, a little farther from the door, in an oblique direction, apparently to avoid the rake of the fire from the door. The firing of Bother Joseph made our assailants pause for a moment; very soon after, however, they pushed the door some distance open, and protruded and discharged their guns into the room, when I parried them off with my stick, giving another direction to the balls.

It certainly was a terrible scene: streams of fire as thick as my arm passed by me as these men fired, and, unarmed as we were, it looked like certain death. I remember feeling as though my time had come, but I do not know when, in any critical position, I was more calm, unruffled, energetic, and acted with more promptness and decision. It certainly was far from pleasant to be so near the muzzles of those fire-arms as they belched forth their liquid flames and deadly balls. While I was engaged in parrying the guns, Brother

Joseph said, "That's right, Brother Taylor, parry them off as well as you can." These were the last words I ever heard him speak on earth.

Every moment the crowd at the door became more dense, as they were unquestionably pressed on by those in the rear ascending the stairs, until the whole entrance at the door was literally crowded with muskets and rifles, which, with the swearing, shouting and demoniacal expressions of those outside the door and on the stairs, and the firing of the guns, mingled with their horrid oaths and execrations, made it look like Pandemonium let loose, and was, indeed, a fit representation of the horrid deed in which they were engaged.

After parrying the guns for some time, which now protruded thicker and farther into the room, and seeing no hope of escape or protection there, as we were now unarmed, it occurred to me that we might have some friends outside, and that there might be some chance of escape in that direction, but here there seemed to be none. As I expected them every moment to rush into the room—nothing but extreme cowardice having thus far kept them out—as the tumult and pressure increased, without any other hope, I made a spring for the window which was right in front of the jail door, where the mob was standing, and also exposed to the fire of the Carthage Grays, who were stationed some ten or twelve rods off. The weather was hot, we all of us had our coats off, and the window was raised to admit air. As I reached the window, and was on the point of leaping out, I was struck by a ball from the door about midway of my thigh, which struck the bone, and flattened out almost to the size of a quarter of a dollar, and then passed on throug the fleshy part to within about half an inch of the outside. I think some prominent nerve must have been severed or injurd, for, as soon as the ball struck me, I fell like a bird when shot, or an ox when struck by a butcher, and lost entirely and instantaneously all power of action or locomotion. I fell upon the window-sill, and cried out, "I am shot!" Not possessing any power to move, I felt myself falling outside of the window, but immediately I fell inside, from some, at that time, unknown cause. When I struck the floor my animation seemed restored, as I have seen it sometimes in squirrels and birds after being shot. As soon as I felt the power of motion I crawled under the bed which was in a

corner of the room, not far from the window where I received my wound. While on my way and under the bed I was wounded in three other places; one ball entered a little below the left knee, and never was extracted; another entered the forepart of my left arm, a little above the wrist, and, passing down by the joint, lodged in the fleshy part of my hand, about midway, a little above the upper joint of my little finger; another struck me on the fleshy part of my left hip, and tore away the flesh as large as my hand, dashing the mangled fragments of flesh and blood against the wall.

My wounds were painful, and the sensation produced was as though a ball had passed through and down the whole length of my leg. I very well remember my reflections at the time. I had a very painful idea of becoming lame and decrepid, and being an object of pity, and I felt as though I would rather die than be placed in such circumstances.

It would seem that immediately after my attempt to leap out of the window, Joseph also did the same thing, of which circumstance I have no knowledge only from information. The first thing that I noticed was a cry that he had leaped out of the window. A cessation of firing followed, the mob rushed down stairs, and Dr. Richards went to the window. Immediately afterwards I saw the doctor going towards the jail door, and as there was an iron door at the head of the stairs adjoining our door which led into the cells for criminals, it struck me that the doctor was going in there, and I said to him, "Stop, doctor, and take me along." He proceeded to the door and opened it, and then returned and dragged me along to a small cell prepared for criminals.

Brother Richards was very much troubled, and exclaimed, "Oh! Brother Taylor, is it possible that they have killed both Brother Hyrum and Joseph? it cannot surely be, and yet I saw them shoot them;" and, elevating his hands two or three times, he exclaimed, "Oh Lord, my God, spare thy servants!" He then said, "Brother Taylor, this is a terrible event;" and he dragged me farther into the cell, saying, "I am sorry I can do no better for you;" and, taking an old, filthy mattress, he covered me with it, and said, "That may hide you, and you may yet live to tell the tale, but I expect they will kill

me in a few moments." While lying in this position I suffered the most excruciating pain.

Soon afterwards Dr. Richards came to me, informed me that the mob had precipitately fled, and at the same time confirmed my worst fears that Joseph was assuredly dead. I felt a dull, lonely, sickening sensation at the news. When I reflected that our noble chieftain, the prophet of the living God, had fallen, and that I had seen his brother in the cold embrace of death, it seemed as though there was a void or vacuum in the great field of human existence to me, and a drak, gloomy chasm in the kingdom, and that we were left alone. Oh how lonely was that feeling! How cold, barren and desolate! In the midst of difficulties he was always the first in motion; in critical positions his counsel was always sought. As our prophet he approached our God, and obtained for us his will; but now our prophet, our counselor, our general, our leader was gone, and amid the fiery ordeal that we then had to pass through, we were left alone without his aid, and as our future guide for things spiritual or temporal, and for all things pertaining to this world or the next, he had spoken for the last time on earth!

These reflections and a thousand others flashed upon my mind. I thought, Why must the good perish, and the virtuous be destroyed? Why must God's nobility, the salt of the earth, the most exalted of the human family, and the most perfect types of all excellence, fall victims to the cruel, fiendish hate of incarnate devils?

The poignancy of my grief, I presume, however, was somewhat allayed by the extreme suffering that I endured from my wounds.

Soon afterwards I was taken to the head of the stairs and laid there, where I had a full view of our beloved and now murdered Brother Hyrum. There he lay as I had left him; he had not moved a limb; he lay placid and calm, a monument of greatness even in death; but his noble spirit had left its tenement, and was gone to dwell in regions more congenial to its exalted nature. Poor Hyrum! he was a great and good man, and my soul was cemented to his. If ever there was an exemplary, honest, and virtuous man, an embodiment of all that is noble in the human form, Hyrum Smith was its representative.

While I lay there a number of persons came around, among whom

was a physician. The doctor, on seeing a ball lodged in my left hand, took a penknife from his pocket and made an incision in it for the purpose of extracting the ball therefrom, and having obtained a pair of carpenter's compasses, made use of them to draw or pry out the ball, alternately using the penknife and compasses. After sawing for some time with a dull penknife, and prying and pulling with the compasses, he ultimately succeded in extracting the ball, which weighed about half an ounce. Some time afterwards he remarked to a friend of mine that I had "nerves like the devil," to stand what I did in its extraction. I really thought I had need of nerves to stand such surgical butchery, and that, whatever my nerves may be, his practice was devilish.

This company wished to remove me to Mr. Hamilton's hotel, the place where we had staid previous to our incarceration in jail. I told them, however, that I did not wish to go; I did not consider it safe. They protested that it was, and that I was safe with them; that it was a perfect outrage for men to be used as we had been; that they were my friends; that it was for my good they were counseling me, and that I could be better taken care of there than here.

I replied, "I don't know you. Who am I among? I am surrounded by assassins and murderers; witness your deeds! Don't talk to me of kindness or comfort; look at your murdered victims. Look at me! I want none of your counsel nor comfort. There may be some safety here; I can be assured of none anywhere," etc.

They G—— d—— their souls to hell, made the most solemn asservations, and swore by God and the devil, and everything else that they could think of, that they would stand by me to death and protect me. In half an hour every one of them had fled from the town.

Soon after a coroner's jury were assembled in the room over the body of Hyrum. Among the jurors was Captain Smith, of the Carthage Grays, who had assisted in the murder, and the same justice before whom we had been tried. I learned of Francis Higbee as being in the neighborhood. On hearing his name mentioned, I immediately arose and said, "Captain Smith, you are a justice of the peace; I have heard his name mentioned; I want to swear my life against him." I was informed that word was immediately sent to him to leave the place, which he did.

Brother Richards was busy during this time attending to the coroner's inquest, and to the removal of the bodies, and making arrangements for their removal from Carthage to Nauvoo.

When he had a little leisure, he again came to me, and at his suggestion I was removed to Hamilton's tavern. I felt that he was the only friend, the only person, that I could rely upon in that town. It was with difficulty that sufficient persons could be found to carry me to the tavern; for immediately after the murder a great fear fell upon all the people, and men, women, and children fled with great precipitation, leaving nothing nor anybody in the town but two or three women and children and one or two sick persons.

It was with great difficulty that Brother Richards prevailed upon Mr. Hamilton, hotel-keeper, and his family, to stay; they would not until Brother Richards had given a solemn promise that he would see them protected, and hence I was looked upon as a hostage. Under these circumstances, notwithstanding, I believe they were hostile to the Mormons, and were glad that the murder had taken place, though they did not actually participate in it; and, feeling that I should be a protection to them, they staid.

The whole community knew that a dreadful outrage had been perpetrated by those villains, and fearing lest the citizens of Nauvoo, as they possessed the power, might have a disposition to visit them with a terrible vengeance, they fled in the wildest confusion. And, indeed, it was with very great difficulty that the citizens of Nauvoo could be restrained. A horrid, barbarous murder had been committed, the most solemn pledge violated, and that, too, while the victims were, contrary to the requirements of the law, putting themselves into the hands of the governor to pacify a popular excitement. This outrage was enhanced by the reflection that our people were able to protect themselves against not only all the mob, but against three times their number and that of the governor's troops put together. They were also exasperated by the speech of the governor in town.

The whole events were so faithless, so dastardly, so mean, cowardly, and contemptible, without one extenuating circumstance, that it would not have been surprising if the citizens of Nauvoo had arisen *en masse*, and blotted the wretches out of existence. The citizens of Carthage knew they would have done so under such circumstances,

and, judging us by themselves, they were all panic-stricken, and fled. Colonel Markham, too, after his expulsion from Carthage, had gone home, related the circumstances of his ejectment, and was using his influence to get a company to go out. Fearing that when the people heard that their prophet and patriarch had been murdered under the above circumstances they might act rashly, and knowing that if they once got roused, like a mighty avalanche they would lay the country waste before them and take a terrible vengeance—as none of the Twelve were in Nauvoo, and no one, perhaps, with sufficient influence to control the people, Dr. Richards, after consulting me, wrote the following note, fearing that my family might be seriously affected by the news. I told him to insert that I was slightly wounded.

*Willard Richards' Note from Carthage Jail to Nauvoo.**

"Carthage jail, 8 o'clock 5 min. p. m., June 27th, 1844.

"Joseph and Hyrum are dead. Taylor wounded, not very badly. I am well. Our guard was forced, as we believe, by a band of Missourians from 100 to 200. The job was done in an instant, and the party fled towards Nauvoo instantly. This is as I believe it. The citizens here are afraid of the 'Mormons' attacking them; I promise them no.

W. Richards.

"N. B.—The citizens promise us protection; alarm guns have been fired.

"John Taylor."

I remember signing my name as quickly as possible, lest the tremor of my hand should be noticed, and the fears of my family excited.

A messenger was dispatched immediately with the note, but he was intercepted by the governor, who, on hearing a cannon fired at Carthage, which was to be the signal for the murder, immediately fled with his company, and fearing that the citizens of Nauvoo, when apprised of the horrible outrage, would immediately rise and pursue, he turned back the messenger, who was George D. Grant. A second

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* *Deseret News*, No. 38, Nov. 25, 1857, p. 297.

one was sent, who was treated similarly; and not until a third attempt could news be got to Nauvoo.

Samuel H. Smith, brother to Joseph and Hyrum, was the first brother I saw after the outrage; I am not sure whether he took the news or not; he lived at the time in Plymouth, Hancock County, and was on his way to Carthage to see his brothers, when he was met by some of the troops, or rather mob, that had been dismissed by the governor, and who were on their way home. On learning that he was Joseph Smith's brother they sought to kill him, but he escaped, and fled into the woods, where he was chased for a length of time by them; but, after severe fatigue, and much danger and excitement, he succeeded in escaping, and came to Carthage. He was on horseback when he arrived, and was not only very much tired with the fatigue and excitement of the chase, but was also very much distressed in feelings on account of the death of his brothers. These things produced a fever, which laid the foundation for his death, which took place on the 30th of July. Thus another of the brothers fell a victim although not directly, but indirectly to this infernal mob.

I lay from about five o'clock until two next morning without having my wounds dressed, as there was scarcely any help of any kind in Carthage, and Brother Richards was busy with the dead bodies, preparing them for removal. My wife Leonora started early the next day, having had some little trouble in getting a company or a physician to come with her; after considerable difficulty she succeeded in getting an escort, and Dr. Samuel Bennet came along with her. Soon after my father and mother arrived from Oquakie, near which place they had a farm at that time, and hearing of the trouble hastened along.

General Demming, Brigadier General of the Hancock County Militia, was very much of a gentleman, and showed me every courtesy, and Colonel Jones also was very solicitous about my welfare.

I was called upon by several gentlemen of Quincy and other places, among whom was Judge Ralston, as well as by our own people, and a medical man extracted a ball from my left thigh that was giving me much pain; it lay about half an inch deep, and my thigh was considerably swollen. The doctor asked me if I would be tied during the operation; I told him no; that I could endure the cutting

associated with the operation as well without, and I did so; indeed, so great was the pain I endured that the cutting was rather a relief than otherwise.

A very laughable incident occurred at the time; my wife Leonora went into an adjoining room to pray for me, that I might be sustained during the operation. While on her knees at prayer, a Mrs. Bedell, an old lady of the Methodist association, entered, and, patting Mrs. Taylor on her back with her hand, said, "There's a good lady, pray for God to forgive your sins, pray that you may be converted, and the Lord may have mercy on your soul."

The scene was so ludicrous that Mrs. Tayloy knew not whether to laugh or be angry. Mrs. Taylor informed me that Mr. Hamilton, the father of the Hamilton who kept the house, rejoiced at the murder, and said in company that "it was done up in the best possible style, and showed good generalship;" and she further believed that the other branches of the family sanctioned it. These were the associates of the old lady referred to, and yet she could talk of conversion and saving souls in the midst of blood and murder: such is man and such consistency.

The ball being extracted was the one that first struck me, which I before referred to: it entered on the outside of my left thigh, about five inches from my knee, and, passing rather obliquely towards my body, had, it would seem, struck the bone, for it was flatted out nearly as thin and large as a quarter of a dollar.

The governor passed on, staying at Carthage only a few minutes, and he did not stop until he got fifty miles from Nauvoo. There had been various opinions about the complicity of the governor in the murder, some supposing that he knew all about it, and assisted or winked at its execution. It is somewhat difficult to form a correct opinion; from the facts presented it is very certain that things looked more than suspicious against him.

In the first place, he positively knew that we had broken no law.

Secondly. He knew that the mob had not only passed inflammatory resolutions, threatening extermination to the Mormons, but that they had actually assembled armed mobs and commenced hostilities against us.

Thirdly. He took those very mobs that had been arrayed against us, and enrolled them as his troops, thus legalizing their acts.

Fourthly. He disbanded the Nauvoo Legion, which had never violated law, and disarmed them, and had about his person in the shape of militia known mobocrats and violaters of the law.

Fifthly. He requested us to come to Carthage without arms, promising protection, and then refused to interfere in delivering us from prison, although Joseph and Hyrum were put there contrary to law.

Sixthly. Although he refused to interfere in our behalf, yet, when Captain Smith went to him and informed him that the persons refused to come out, he told him that he had a command and knew what to do, thus sanctioning the use of force in the violation of law when opposed to us, whereas he would not for us interpose his executive authority to free us from being incarcerated contrary to law, although he was fully informed of all the facts of the case, as we kept him posted in the affairs all the time.

Seventhly. He left the prisoners in Carthage jail contrary to his plighted faith.

Eightly. Before he went he dismissed all the troops that could be relied upon, as well as many of the mob, and left us in charge of the "Carthage Grays," a company that he knew were mobocratic, our most bitter enemies, and who had passed resolutions to exterminate us, and who had been placed under guard by General Demming only the day before.

Ninthly. He was informed of the intended murder, both before he left and while on the road, by several different parties.

Tenthly. When the cannon was fired in Carthage, signifying that the deed was done, he immediately took up his line of march and fled. How did he know that this signal portrayed their death if he was not in the secret? It may be said some of the party told him. How could he believe what the party said about the gun signal if he could not believe the testimony of several individuals who told him in positive terms about the contemplated murder?

He has, I believe, stated that he left the "Carthage Grays" there because he considered that, as their town was contiguous to ours, and

as the responsibility of our safety rested solely upon them, they would not dare suffer any indignity to befall us. This very admission shows that he did really expect danger; and then he knew that these people had published to the world that they would exterminate us, and his leaving us in their hands and taking of their responsibilities was like leaving a lamb in charge of a wolf, and trusting to its humanity and honor for its safe-keeping.

It is said, again that he would not have gone to Nauvoo, and thus placed himself in the hands of the Mormons, if he had anticipated any such event, as he would be exposed to their wrath. To this it may be answered that the Mormons did not know their signals, while he did; and they were also known in Warsaw, as well as in other places; and as soon as the gun was fired, a merchant of Warsaw jumped upon his horse and rode directly to Quincy, and reported "Joseph and Hyrum killed, and those who were with them in jail." He reported further that "they were attempting to break jail, and were all killed by the guard." This was their story; it was anticipated to kill all, and the gun was to be the signal that the deed was accomplished. This was known in Warsaw. The governor also knew it and fled; and he could really be in no danger in Nauvoo, for the Mormons did not know it, and he had plenty of time to escape, which he did.

It is said that he made all his officers promise solemnly that they would help him to protect the Smiths; this may or may not be. At any rate, some of these same officers helped to murder them.

The strongest argument in the governor's favor, and one that would bear more weight with us than all the rest put together, would be that he could not believe them capable of such atrocity; and, thinking that their talk and threatenings were a mere ebullition of feeling, a kind of braggadocio, and that there was enough of good moral feeling to control the more violent passions, he trusted to their faith. There is, indeed, a degree of plausibility about this, but when we put it in juxtaposition to the amount of evidence that he was in possession of, it weighs very little. He had nothing to inspire confidence in them, and everything to make him mistrust them. Besides, why his broken faith? why his disregard of what was told him by several parties? Again, if he knew not the plan, how did he under-

stand the signal? Why so oblivious to everything pertaining to the Mormon interest, and so alive and interested about the mobocrats? At any rate, be this as it may, he stands responsible for their blood, and it is dripping on his garments. If it had not been for his promises of protection, they would have protected themselves; it was plighted faith that led them to the slaughter; and to make the best of it, it was a breach of that faith and a non-fulfillment of that promise, after repeated warning, that led to their death.

Having said so much, I must leave the governor with my readers and with his God. Justice, I conceive, demanded this much, and truth could not be told with less; as I have said before, my opinion is that the governor would not have planned this murder, but he had not sufficient energy to resist popular opinion, even if that opinion led to blood and death.

It was rumored that a strong political party, numbering in its ranks many of the prominent men of the nation, were engaged in a plot for the overthrow of Joseph Smith, and that the governor was of this party, and Sharp, Williams, Captain Smith, and others were his accomplices, but whether this was the case or not I do not know. It is very certain that a strong political feeling existed against Joseph Smith, and I have reason to believe that his letters to Henry Clay, were made use of by political parties opposed to Mr. Clay, and were the means of that statesman's defeat. Yet, if such a combination as the one referred to existed, I am not apprised of it.

While I lay at Carthage, previous to Mrs. Taylor's arrival, a pretty good sort of a man, who was lame of a leg, waited upon me, and sat up at night with me; afterwards Mrs. Taylor, mother and others waited upon me.

Many friends called upon me, among whom were Richard Ballantyne, Elizabeth Taylor, several of the Perkins family, and a number of the brethren from Macedonia and La Harpe. Besides these, many strangers from Quincy, some of whom expressed indignant feelings against the mob and sympathy for myself. Brother Alexander Williams called upon me, who suspected that they had some designs in keeping me there, and stated that he had, at a given point in some woods, fifty men, and if I would say the word he would raise other fifty, and fetch me out of there. I thanked him, but told him I thought

there was no need. However, it would seem that I was in some danger; for Colonel Jones, before referred to, when absent from me, left two loaded pistols on the table in case of an attack, and some time afterward, when I had recovered and was publishing the affair, a lawyer, Mr. Backman, stated that he had prevented a man by the name of Jackson, before referred to, from ascending the stairs, who was coming with a design to murder me, and that now he was sorry he had not let him do the deed.

There were others also, of whom I heard, that said I ought to be killed, and they would do it, but that it was too damned cowardly to shoot a wounded man; and thus, by the chivalry of murderers, I was prevented from being a second time mutilated or killed. Many of the mob, came around and treated me with apparent respect, and the officers and people generally looked upon me as a hostage, and feared that my removal would be the signal for the rising of the Mormons.

I do not remember the time that I staid at Carthage, but I think three or four days after the murder, when Brother Marks with a carriage, Brother James Allred with a wagon, Dr. Ells, and a number of others on horseback, came for the purpose of taking me to Nauvoo. I was very weak at the time, occasioned by the loss of blood and the great discharge of my wounds, so when my wife asked me if I could talk I could barely whisper, no. Quite a discussion arose as to the propriety of my removal, the physician and people of Carthage protesting that it would be my death, while my friends were anxious for my removal if possible.

I suppose the former were actuated by the above-named desire to keep me. Colonel Jones was, I believe, sincere; he had acted as a friend all the time, and he told Mrs. Taylor she ought to persuade me not to go, for he did not believe I had strength enough to reach Nauvoo. It was finally agreed, however, that I should go; but it was thought that I could not stand riding in a wagon or carriage, they prepared a litter for me; I was carried down stairs and put upon it. A number of men assisted to carry me, some of whom had been enengaged in the mob. As soon as I got down stairs, I felt much better and strengthened, so that I could talk; I suppose the effect of the fresh air.

When we got near the outside of the town I remembered some

woods that we had to go through, and telling a person near to call for Dr. Ells, who was riding a very good horse, I said, "Doctor, I perceive that the people are getting fatigued with carrying me; a number of Mormons live about two or three miles from here, near our route, will you ride to their settlement as quick as possible, and have them come and meet us?" He started off on a gallop immediately. My object in this was to obtain protection in case of an attack, rather than to obtain help to carry me.

Very soon after the men from Carthage made one excuse after another until they had all left, and I felt glad to get rid of them. I found that the tramping of those carrying me produced violent pain, and a sleigh was produced and attached to the hind end of Brother James Allred's wagon, a bed placed upon it, and I propped up on the bed. Mrs. Taylor rode with me, applying ice and ice-water to my wounds. As the sleigh was dragged over the grass on the prairie, which was quite tall, it moved very easy and gave me very little pain.

When I got within five or six miles of Nauvoo the brethren commenced to meet me from the city, and they increased in number as we drew nearer, until there was a very large company of people of all ages and both sexes, principally, however, men.

For some time there had been almost incessant rain, so that in many low places on the prairie it was from one to three feet deep in water, and at such places the brethren whom we met took hold of the sleigh, lifted it, and carried it over the water; and when we arrived in the neighborhood of the city, where the roads were excessively muddy and bad, the brethren tore down the fences, and we passsed through the fields.

Never shall I forget the difference of feeling that I experienced between the place that I had left and the one that I had now arrived at. I had left a lot of reckless, bloodthirsty murderers, and had come to the City of the Saints, the people of the living God; friends of truth and righteousness, thousands of whom stood there with warm, true hearts to offer their friendship and services, and to welcome my return. It is true it was a painful scene, and brought sorrowful remembrance to mind, but to me it caused a thrill of joy to find myself once more in the bosom of my friends, and to meet with the cordial welcome of true, honest hearts. What was very remark-

able, I found myself very much better after my arrival at Nauvoo than I was when I started on my journey, although I had traveled eighteen miles.

The next day as some change was wanting, I told Mrs. Taylor that if she could send to Dr. Richards, he had my purse and watch, and they would find money in my purse.

Previous to the doctor leaving Carthage, I told him that he had better take my purse and watch, for I was afraid the people would steal them. The doctor had taken my pantaloons' pocket, and put the watch in it with the purse, cut off the pocket, and tied a string around the top; it was in this position when brought home. My family, however, were not a little startled to find that my watch had been struck with a ball. I sent for my vest, and, upon examination, it was found that there was a cut as if with a knife, in the vest pocket which had contained my watch. In the pocket the fragments of the glass were found literally ground to powder. It then occurred to me that a ball had struck me at the time I felt myself falling out of the window, and that it was this force that threw me inside. I had often remarked to Mrs. Taylor the singular fact of finding myself inside the room, when I felt a moment before after being shot, that I was falling out, and I never could account for it until then; but here the thing was fully elucidated, and was rendered plain to my mind. I was indeed falling out, when some villain aimed at my heart. The ball struck my watch, and forced me back; If I had fallen out I should assuredly have been killed, if not by the fall, by those around, and this ball intended to dispatch me, was turned by an overruling Providence into a messenger of mercy, and saved my life. I shall never forget the feelings of gratitude that I then experienced towards my Heavenly Father; the whole scene was vividly portrayed before me, and my heart melted before the Lord. I felt that the Lord had preserved me by a special act of mercy; that my time had not yet come, and that I had still a work to perform upon the earth.

(Signed),

JOHN TAYLOR.